

Edw. Smith THE *But in Char*
WORKS

Contab. Series OF
That Reverend, Iudicious, and
Learned DIVINE,
Mr Ioseph Mede, B. D.
Late Fellow of Christs Colledge in
CAMBRIDGE.

BEING
Discourses on divers Texts of Scripture,
and four Treatises formerly printed: But now re-
vised and corrected according to the Authors own Manuscript.

Whereunto are added,
Sundry DISCOURSES on other Texts of Scripture,
never before published :
As also a Treatise of the Christian Sacrifice,
By the same Author.

Together with two Tables,
One of the principall Contents.
Another of the places of Scripture expounded.

L O N D O N,
Printed by M.F. for *John Clark*, and are to be sold at his Shop
under S. Peters Church in Cornhill. 1 6 4 8.

W. O. W.

M. J. J.

D. J. J.

2. J. J. J.

3. J. J. J.

DIATRIBÆ.
DISCOURSES
ON
DIVERS TEXTS OF
SCRIPTURE:

Delivered upon severall occasions,

BY
JOSEPH MEDE, B. D. late Fellow
of *Christs Colledge* in CAMBRIDGE.

Printed by the Authors own Copy.

The second EDITION.



L O N D O N,
Printed by M. F. for J O H N C L A R K, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. *Peters* Church in Cornhill.
M D C X L V I I I.

DISCOVERIES
OF
DIVERS TEXTS OF
SCRIPTURE

Discovered upon several occasions

AT

London, in the year 1715

Printed by J. Sturges, at the

Printers, in Pall-mall



Printed by J. Sturges, at the
Printers, in Pall-mall



THE
Severall Texts of Scripture, upon
which these Discourses were made.

The letter B. directs to the third Alphabet
where the Folio's begin anew.

S. MATTH. 6. 9.

Thus therefore praye, Our Father, &c. pag. 1.

MATTH. 6. 9. LUK. II. 2.

Sanctified, or, hallowed be thy Name. 12

ACTS 17. 4.

*There associated themselves to Paul and Silas of the
worshipping Greeks a great multitude.* 56

2 PETER 2. 4.

For if God spared not the Angels which sinned,
[ἀλλὰ οὐκ εἰς ζῶντα καταπόρευσε παρῴντων εἰς χρίσιν τετυρημένους]
*but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into
chains of darknesse to be reserved unto Judgement, &c.*
so we translate it :

To which of S. Peter, answers that of S. Jude,
(as almost that whole Epistle doth, to this) verse 6.

The Texts.

And the Angels which kept not their first estate [or principality] but left their own habitation, be hath reserved in everlasting chains under darknesse unto the Indgement of the great Day. 68

I COR. 4. 1.

Let a man so account of us, as of the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God. 73

S. JOHN 10. 20.

He hath a Devil and is mad. 83

PROVERBS 21. 16.

The Man that wandreth out of the way of understanding, shall remain in the Congregation of the Dead.
 בְּקוֹל רִפְאִים, in coetu Gigantum. 91

GEN. 49. 10.

The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, untill SHILOH come, and unto him shall the gathering of the People be. 100

PSALME 8. 2.

Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou hast ordained strength, because of thine enemies; that thou mightest quell the Enemy and the Avenger. 108

ZACH. 4. 10.

These seven are the Eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro though the whole earth. 120

S. MARK

The Texts.

S. MARK II. 17.

Is it not written, My House shall be called a House of Prayer, [and not this] to all [the] Nations? 131

S. JOHN 4. 23.

But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth; For the Father seeketh such to worship him. 138

S. LUKE 24. 45.

Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures. 46. And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day. 147

EXOD. 4. 25.

Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the fore-skin of her sonne, and cast it at his feet, and said אֲחֵרֵי כִי חָתַן וְסִי, *Sponsus sanguinum tu mihi es.* 156

EZEKIEL 20. 20.

Hallow my Sabbaths, and they shall be a sign between me and you, to acknowledge that I Jehovah am your God. 165

I COR. II. 5.

Every woman praying or prophesying with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head. 173

TITUS 3. 5.

By the washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost. 184

JOSH.

The Texts.

JOSEPH. 24. 26. 2

And (Joshuah) took a great stone, and set it up there
(viz. in Sichem) under the Oak, which was in the San-
ctuary of the Lord: Alii, by the Sanctuary. Heb. וּפְתוּחַ.

192

1 TIM. 5. 17.

Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of dou-
ble honour: especially they that labour in the Word and
Doctrine.

207

ACTS 2. 5. 2

And there were [γενομένων] sojourning at Jerusalem
Jews, devout men, out of every Nation under heaven.

217

1 COR. 9. 14.

Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which
preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel; in ΕΤΑΓ-
ΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΧΥ.

226

HEBREI. 13. 17.

1 COR. 13. 1.

1 TIM. 3. 2.

The Texts newly added.

LUKE 2. 13, 14.

AND suddenly there was with the Angel a multitude of the heavenly Host, praising God, and saying, Glory be to God on high, (Or, in the highest) and on earth peace, good-will towards men. pag. 241

MATTH. 7. 21.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of heaven; but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven. 264

ACTS 10. 4.

And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine Almes are come up for a memoriall before God: Or, (as it is verse 31.) are had in remembrance. 285

PSALM 112. 6.

The Righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance. 311

NEHEM. 13. 14, 22.

Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds [Heb. יְחִי] that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof.

And spare me according to the greatnesse of thy mercy. 324

MATTH. 10. 41.

He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward. 336

DEUT. 33. 8.

And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Vrim be with thy Holy One. 350

(a)

ACTS

The Texts.

ACTS 5. 3, 4, 5.

But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to purloin of the price of the land?

Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.

And Ananias hearing these words, fell down and gave up the Ghost, &c.

379

JOEL 2. 17.

Let the Priests, the Ministers of the Lord, weep between the Porch and the Altar, and say, Spare thy people, o Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach.

404

GEN. 3. 13, 14, 15.

And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

And the Lord God said unto the Serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattell, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.

And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

414

MALACH. I. II.

For from the rising of the Sun, even unto the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place Incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure offering: for my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.

471

Four

The Texts.

Four other Treatises by the same Author formerly Printed: viz.

1. *The Name* ALTAR, or ΘΤΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

2. CHURCHES, *that is*, Appropriate places for Christian Worship.

I COR. II. 22.

*Have ye not Houses to eat and drink in? [ἢ τὰς ΕΚ-
ΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ἢ οὐκ καταφρονεῖτε;] Or despise ye the
CHURCH of God?* 31. B.

3. The Reverence of GOD'S HOUSE.

ECCL. IASTES 5. 1.

*Look to thy foot [or feet] when thou comest to the
House of God; and be more ready to obey, then to offer the
sacrifice of fools; for they know not that they doe evill.*

81. B.

4. Daniels WEEKS.

DAN. 9. 24, 25, 26, 27.

24. *Seventy Weeks are allotted for thy people, and
for thy holy City, to finish transgression, and make an
end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and
to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to fulfill Visions
and Prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.* 140. B.

25. *Also know and understand, that from the going
forth of the Commandement to cause to return and to
build Jerusalem, unto MESSIAH the PRINCE,*

(42)

shall

The Texts.

shall be *Sevens of Weeks*; even *threescore and two Weeks*; the *street* shall be built again and the *Wall*, even in a *strait of Times*. 146. B.

26. And after *threescore and two weeks* shall *MES-SIAH* be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the *Prince* that shall come, shall destroy the *City*, and the *Sanctuary*; and the end thereof shall be with a *flood*, and unto the end of the *Warre Desolations* are determined. 158. B.

27. And he shall confirm the *Covenants* with many for one *Week*: and in the midst of the *Week* he shall cause the *Sacrifice* and the *Oblation* to cease, and for the over-spreading of *Abominations*, he shall make it desolate, even untill the *consummation*; and that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate. 163. B.

Dis-



DISCOURSES
ON
DIVERS TEXTS
of SCRIPTURE.

S. MATTHEW 6. 9.

Thus therefore pray ye, Our Father, &c.

IT was well hoped, after the question about the lawfulness and fitness of a *set forme of Prayer* had been so long debated in our Church, that the sect of those who opposed it, had been ere this well-nigh extinguished; but experience tells us the contrary; that this fancy is not onely still living, but begins, as it were, to recover and get strength afresh: In which regard, my discourse, at this time, will not be unseasonable, if, taking my rise from these words of our Saviour, I acquaint you, upon what grounds and example

B

this

Mat. 6. 9.

this practise of the Christian Church hath been established, and how frivolous and weak the reasons are, which some of late doe bring against it. To begin therefore ; You see by the Text I have now read, that our blessed Saviour delivered a *set form* of prayer unto his Disciples, and in so doing hath commended the use of a set form of prayer unto his Church ; *Thus therefore* (saith he) *pray ye, Our Father which art in heaven, &c.*

Is not this a set form of prayer ? and did not our Saviour deliver it to be used by his Disciples ? They tell us, No. For *Thus*, say they, in this place is not thus to be understood, but for, in this manner, to this effect or sense, or after this pattern, not in these words and syllables. To this I answer ; It is true, that this form of prayer is a pattern for us to make other prayers by ; but that this only should be the meaning of our Saviours *Thus*, and not the rehearfall of the words themselves, I utterly deny : and I prove it out of the eleventh Chapter of S. *Luke*, where the same prayer is again delivered in these words, Ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε, *When you pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven--* that is, doe it *in hac Verba*. For what other phrase is there to expresse such a meaning, if this be not ? Besides, in this of S. *Luke*, the occasion would be considered. *It came to passe* (saith he) *as Iesus was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased, one of his Disciples said unto him, Lord teach us to pray, as Iohn also taught his Disciples.* From whence it may not improbably be gathered, that this was the custome of the Doctors of Israel, to deliver some certain *form* of Prayer unto their Disciples, to use, as it were a Badge and *Symbolum* of their

their Discipleship ; at least *Iohn Baptist* had done so unto his Disciples ; and thereupon our *Saviours* Disciples besought him, that he also would give them in like manner some forme of his making : that they might also pray with their Masters spirit, as *Iohns* Disciples did with theirs. For that either our *Saviours*, or *Iohns* Disciples knew not how to pray till now, were ridiculous to imagine; they being both of them Jews, who had their certaine *set houres* of prayer, which they constantly observed, as the *third*, *sixt*, and *ninth*. It was therefore a *forme* of *prayer* of their Masters making, which both *Iohn* is said to have given his Disciples, and our *Saviours* Disciples besought him to give them.

For the fuller understanding whereof, I must tell you something more, and the rather because it is not commonly taken notice of ; and that is, That this delivery of the *Lords prayer* in *S. Luke*, is not the same with that related by *S. Matthew*, but another, at another time, and upon another occasion: That of *S. Matthew* in that famous Sermon of Christ upon the Mount, whereof it is a part; that of *S. Luke* upon a speciall motion of the Disciples at a time when himselfe had done praying: That of *S. Matthew* in the second ; that of *S. Luke* in the third yeare after his Baptisme: Consider the Text of both, and you shall finde it impossible to bring them into one and the same : whence it follows, that the Disciples, when it was first uttered, understood not that their Master intended it for a *forme* of *prayer* unto them, but for a pattern or example onely, or it may be to instruct them in speciall, in what manner to ask forgiveness of sins : For if they

Mat. 6. 9.

had thought he had given them a *forme of prayer* then, they would never have asked him for one now; wherefore our Saviour this second time utters himselfe more expressly, *Ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγαθὲ, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven* —

Thus their inadvertency becomes our confirmation; For as *Ioseph* said to *Pharaoh*, *The dreame is doubled unto Pharaoh, because the thing is established by God*; so may wee say here; The delivery of this prayer was doubled unto the Disciples, that they and we might thereby know the more certainly, that our Saviour intended and commended it for a *set form of prayer* unto his Church.

Thus much of that set forme of prayer, which our Saviour gave unto his Disciples, as a precedent and warrant to his Church to give the like forms to her Disciples, or members; a thing which from her infancy she used to doe. But because her practice is called in question, as not warranted by Scripture, let us see what was the practice of the Church of the *old Testament*, then whose example and use, wee can have no better rule to follow in the *New*.

First therefore, wee find two *set forms of prayer* or invocation, appointed by God himselfe in the Law of *Moses*: One, the form wherewith the Priests were to blesse the people; *Num. 6. 23. On this wise, saith he, shall Aaron and his sons blesse the children of Israel, saying unto them: The Lord blesse thee and keepe thee, the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* Is not this a *set forme of Prayer*? For what is to blesse, but to pray over or invoke God for another? The

The second, is the forme of profession and prayer to be used by him, who had paid his Tithes every third yeare, *Deut. 26. 13.* O Lord God, I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the Fatherlesse and unto the widow, according to all thy commandements, which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed thy Commandements, neither have I forgotten them. 14. I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I taken away ought thereof for any uncleane use, &c. 15. Look downe from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and blesse thy people Israel, and the Land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest to our Fathers, a Land that floweth with Milke and honey.

But what need we seek thus for scattered Formes, when wee have a whole booke of them together? The Booke of *Psalmes* was the Jewish Liturgie, or the chiefe part of the vocall service wherewith they worshipped God in the Temple; This is evident by the Titles of the *Psalms* themselves, which shew them to have beene commended to the severall *Quires* in the same, to *Asaph*, to the *sonnes of Korah*, to *Ieduthun*, and almost forty of them to the *Magister Symphonia* in generall. The like wee are to conceive of those which have no titles; as for example, of the 105 and 96 *Psalmes*, which, though they have no such Inscription in the *Psalme-booke*, yet wee finde *1 Chron. 16. 7.* That they were delivered by David into the hands of *Asaph* and his Brethren for formes to thanke the Lord. This a man would think were sufficient to take away all scruple in this point; especi-

Mat. 6. 9.

ally, when we our selves, and all the reformed Churches, use to sing the same Psalmes not onely as *set formes*, but set in Meeter, that is after a humane composition. Are not the Psalmes set formes of Confession, of Prayer, and of Praising God? And in case there had been no prayers amongst them, yet what reason could be given, why it should not bee as lawfull to pray unto God in a set forme, as to praise him in such a one? What therefore doe they say to this? Why, they tell us, that the Psalmes are not sung in the Church unto God, but so rehearsed for instruction of the people onely; namely, as the Chapters and Lessons are there read, and no otherwise. But, if either wee doe, ought, or may sing the Psalmes in the Church, with the same end and purpose that the Church of the old Testament did, (and it were absurd to say wee might not) this exception will not subsist: for what is more certaine, then that the Church of Israel used the Psalmes for Formes of praising and invocating God? What mean else those formes, *Cantemus Domino, Psallite Domino*, and the like so frequent in them? But there are more direct and expresse testimonies: In the 1 Chron. 25. it is expressly said of Ieduthun and his sonnes, that their office was, *to prophesie with a Harpe, to give thanks and to praise the Lord*. In the second of Chron. 30. 21. wee read, *that the Levites and Priests praised the Lord day by day, singing with loud Instruments unto the Lord*. And as ye heard even now out of 1 Chron. 16. that David, at the time when he brought up the Ark unto Jerusalem, then first delivered the 105. and 95 Psalmes into the hands of Asaph and his sonnes, *to confesse or give thanks*

thanks unto the Lord. And lastly, to leave no place for farther doubt, wee read *Ezra 3. 11.* *That the Levites the sonnes of Asaph were set with Cymbals to praise the Lord, after the ordinance of David King of Israel.* And that, they sung together by course, in praising & giving thanks unto the Lord, because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever. For this reason, the foure and twenty Courses or Quires, into which the singers of the Temple were divided by King *David* to serve in their turnes, consisted each of them of twelve, according to the number of the tribes of Israel; that so every Tribe might have a mouth and voyce, to praise and to give thanks unto God for him in the Temple.

Mat. 6. 9.

Thus we have seene, what warrant to pray, and call upon God in a *set forme* hath from the practice of the Church of God in the old Testament; And, if reason may have place, in the publike service of God, where one is the mouth of many, there is none so proper and convenient. For how can the Minister be said properly to be the mouth of the Congregation in prayer unto God, when the Congregation is not first made acquainted, and privy to what he is to render unto God in their names? which in a *voluntary* and *extemporary* Prayer they are not, nor well can be. I am sure neither so properly, nor conveniently, as in a *set forme*, which both they and the whole Church have agreed upon, and offer unto God at the same time, though in severall places, in the self-same forme and words: And this may be a second reason; I meane from *Uniformity*; For how can the Church, being a mysticall Body, better testifie her unity before God, then in her uniformity in calling upon him?

Mat. 6. 9.

especially our Saviour telling us, that if but *two or three shall agree together on earth, as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done unto them of his Father which is in heaven*; So previsible with All-mighty God is the power of consent in prayer.

Let us now, in the last place, see what reasons they bring, who contend altogether for *voluntary prayer*, and would have no *set formes* used. First, they say, it is the ordinance of God, that the Church should be *edified* by the gifts of her Ministers, as well in praying as preaching. *Ergo*, their prayers should be *extemporary or voluntary*; because in reading a *set forme* this gift cannot be shewn.

To this I answer: First, that there is not, in this point, the same reason for *Prayer*, and for *Preaching*; for in prayer (I meane Publique) the Minister is the mouth of the Church unto God, and therefore it were convenient, they should know what he puts up to God, in their names; but in preaching, he is not so. Secondly, Why should not the Pastours and Ministers of the Church, edify the Church by their gift of prayer, as well in composing a *set forme* of prayer for her use by generall agreement, as in uttering a voluntary or extemporary prayer in a particular Congregation? Thirdly, Are not the members of the Church to be edified, as well by the Spirit of the Church, as the Church or some part thereof by the Spirit of a member? But how can the Church edifie her members by her gift of prayer, otherwise then by a *set form* agreed upon by her consent? Fourthly, Ostentation of gifts is one thing, but edification by them another. Ostentation of the gift of prayer is indeed

indeed best shewn in a voluntary or extemporary prayer; but the Church may be edified as well by a set forme; Yea, such a forme in the publike service of God is more edificative, then a voluntary. And that, both because the Congregation is first made acquainted therewith; and secondly, because they are better secured from being engaged in ought that might be unfit to speak unto God, either for matter or manner, or such as they would not have given their consent to, if they had been aware of it. For, now that extraordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was in the Primitive and Apostolicall times, is long since ceased; And all men, to whom that office belongeth, to speake to God for others, are not at all times discreet and well advised, when they speake to him at will, and *extempore*, but subject to miscarriage. Lastly, I answer, That the Church is to be edified by the gift of her Ministers in voluntary prayer, *loco & tempore*, in fit place and upon fit occasions, not in all places, and upon all occasions. And thus much to this objection.

But they object secondly; that the *Spirit* ought to be *free and unlimited*, and that therefore a *Book* or set forme of prayer, which limits the spirit in praying, is not to be tolerated or used.

To this I answer: it is false, that the acting of the *Spirit* in one Christian, may not be limited or regulated by the Spirit of another; especially, the spirit of a particular man in the publike worship, by the spirit of the Church, whereof he is a member. For doth not the Apostle tell us, *1 Cor. 14.* that even that extraordinary spirit of Prophecy, usuall in his time, might be limited

Mat. 6. 9.

limited by the spirit of another Prophet? *Let the Prophets, saith he, speak two or three, and let the other judge: If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.* Is not this a limiting? He gives a reason: *For the spirits of the Prophets, saith he, are subject to the Prophets.* Besides, are not the spirits of the people, as well limited and determined by a voluntary prayer, when they joine therein with their Minister, as they are by a set forme? True, the spirit of the Minister is then free; but theirs is not so, but tied and led by the spirit of the Minister, as much as if he used a set forme. But to elude this, they tell us, that the Question is not of limiting the spirit of the people, but of the Minister onely; For, as for the people, no more is required of them, but to join with their Minister, and to testifie it by saying *Amen*; but the spirit of the Minister ought to be left free, and not to be limited. But where is this written? that the one may not be limited as well as the other. We heard the Apostle say even now, *The spirit of the Prophets, is subject to the Prophets*; If in prophecyng, why not in praying? And what shew of reason can be given, why the spirit of a particular Minister in the publick worship of the Church, may not, yea ought not to be limited, and regulated by the spirit of the Church representative, as well as the spirit of a whole Congregation, by the spirit of a particular Minister? For every particular Minister, is as much subordinate to the spirit of the Church representative, as the spirit of the Congregation is to his; So much for this objection.

There remaineth yet a third, which may be answered

ed in two or three words. No set forme of prayer, say they, can serve for all occasions : What then ? Yet why may it not be used for all such occasions as it serves for ? if any sudden and unexpected occasion happen, for which the Church cannot provide, the spirit of her Ministers is free : Who will forbid them to supply in such a case, that by a voluntary and arbitrary forme, which the Church could not provide for in a set forme ? And this is what I intended to say of this argument.

Mat. 6. 9.



Mat. 6. 9.
 Luke 11. 2.



THE SANCTIFICATION OF GODS NAME.

MATTH. 6. 9. LUKE 11. 2.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum.

Sanctified, or hallowed be thy Name.



Lthough I make no question, but that which we so often repeat unto Almighty God in our daily prayers, is for the generall meaning thereof, by the most of us, in some competent measure understood : Yet because by a more full and distinct explication, the knowledge of some may be improved, and the meditations of others occasioned to a further search : I hope I shall not doe amisse, nor be thought to have chosen a theame, either needlesse, or not so fit for this Auditory ; if I shall inquire what that is we pray for, in this first Petition of the prayer our Lord hath taught us, when we desire, *That Gods Name may be sancti-*

sanctified: For perhaps we shall find more contained therein, then is commonly taken notice of.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

The words are few, and therefore shall need no other Analyse, then what their very number presents unto us, *viz.* Gods Name, and the *sanctifying* thereof; *Sanctificetur Nomen tuum.* I will begin first with the last in order, but first in nature, *Nomen tuum, Gods Name.* By which, according to the style of holy Scripture, we are to understand in this place, first of all, God himself, or his sacred Deity, to wit, abstractly expressed, according to the style of eminency and dignity; *i. Dei aēloua, The Divina Majesty*; as we are wont for the King, to say *His Majesty*, or the *Kings Majesty*, and of other persons of honour and eminency, *Their Highnesse, Their Honour, His Excellency*, and the like; So of God *His Name*, and sometimes with the self-same meaning, *His Glory*, as *Ier. 2. 11. Hath any Nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? but my people have changed their Glory (i. their God) for that which is good for nought.* So *Psalm 106. 20. of the Calf made in the Wildernesse: They changed their Glorie into the similitude of an Oxe, that eateth grasse.* And *S. Paul, Rom. 1. 23. They changed the Glory (i. the Majesty) of the incorruptible God into an Image, made like to corruptible man, &c.* Such is the notion, but much more frequent, of *Gods Name.* In a word, *Nomen Dei*, in this kinde of use, is nothing else but *Divinum Nomen.* Whence it is, that in Scripture, *To call upon the Name of God, To blaspheme the Name of God, To love his Name, To swear by his Name, To build a Temple to his Name, for his Name to dwell there; And in the New Testament, To believe in the Name of the Lord Jesus,*

To

213

Mat. 6.9.
 Luke 11.2.

To call upon the Name of the Lord Iesus ; these I say, and the like expressions, have no other meaning, then to doe these things to the Divine Majesty, to the Lord Iesus, whose is that Name above every Name, whereat every knee must bow. Accordingly here, *Sanctificetur Nomen tuum, Hallowed be thy Name*, is as much as to say, *Sanctificetur Numen tuum, Sanctified be thy Divine Majesty*.

Secondly, under the Name of God here to be sanctified or hallowed, understand, besides the Majesty of his Godhead, that also *super quod invocatum est Nomen ejus*, whereupon his Name is called; or that which is called by his Name, (as we in our Bibles commonly expresse this phrase of Scripture ;) that is, all whatsoever is Gods, or God is the Lord and owner of by a peculiar right; such as are things sacred, whether they be persons, or whether things by distinction so called, or Times, or Places, which have upon them a relation of peculiarienesse towards God. For such as these are said in Scripture, *To have the Name of God called upon them*, or *To be called by his Name* ; that is, To be His. Thus we read in Scripture, of an House which had the Name of God upon it, or which was called by his Name, that is, of Gods House, (1 Kings 8. 43. Jer. 7. 10. &c.) Of a City upon which the Name of God was called or named, to wit, the Holy City, Jerusalem the City of the great King, the Lord of hosts, (Jer. 25. 29. Dan. 9. 18.) Of an Ark upon which the Name of God the Lord was called (1 Chro. 13. 6. 2 Sam. 6. 2.) that is, the Lords Ark, or the Ark of his Covenant, as it is elswhere named. Of a people upon which the Name of the Lord was called, or which were

were called by his Name (*Deut. 28. 10. Dan. 9. 19.* and elsewhere) that is, were his peculiar and holy people; as is said in like manner, and with like meaning of the Church of the New Testament, *James 2. 7. Acts 15. 17.* I represent not these places of Scripture at large, because I know that every ear that is acquainted with Scripture, can beare witness unto them. And for the meaning of this expression of Gods Name to be called upon a thing, or a thing to be called by his Name, that it is all one as to say it to be *His*, (besides the evidence of the matter wherabout it is used) appeares by the same phrase used in two other places, of the like relation of men to that which is theirs, as *Gen. 48. 16.* Where *Iacob* blessing *Iosephs* sons saith, *“The Angell which redeemed me from all evil, blesse the lads, and let my name be called upon them;”* That is, let them be mine, namely, as *Reuben* and *Simeon* are mine, as he saith a little before; for they are words of adoption. Again, in the fourth of *Esay*, where it is said, *“That seven women should take hold of one man, and say, We will eat our own bread, and weare our own apparel; onely let thy Name be called upon us to take away our reproach;”* That is. Doe thou own us, or let us be thine, that it may not be a reproach unto us, that we have no husband. The Ancients were wont to set the Names of the Owners upon their houses, and other possessions, which they called *Tituli*, Titles: *Chrysologus Serm. 145. Sicut dominos pradiorum liminibus affixi Tituli proloquuntur. S. Augustine in Psal. 21. Quando potens aliquis invenerit Titulos suos, nonne iure rem sibi vindicat, & dicit, Non poneret titulos meos, nisi res mea esset?* Whether this phrase

Mat. 6. 2.
Luke 11. 2.

Mat. 6 9.
Luke 11.2.

phraſe of Scripture, of Gods Name to be called or named upon a thing, hath reference unto any ſuch cuſtome, I cannot affirme, but ſurely the meaning is the ſame; to wit, that God is the Lord and Proprietar of them. And thus ye have heard what is this *Name of God* we pray here to be ſanctified; to wit, a twofold Name: Firſt, His Name and Maieſty which we call upon; Secondly, that alſo which is called by his Name: The firſt we may call his *Perſonall*, the other his *Denominative* or *participated Name*.

Having learned what *Nomen Dei* importeth, and ſo cleared the object of what we pray for, let us next enquire, What that is, which the word *Sanctifie*, or *To be ſanctified*, implieth, being that which our vote witneſſeth, ought to be done thereunto. And this I intended for the main and principall Argument of my preſent Diſcourſe, being a matter not ſo well traced as the former, and perhaps not altogether freed of obſcurity and difficulty to be underſtood. For our more certain and aſſured diſcovery whereof, we will firſt examine the abſtract thereof, *Sanctity*, & find out the notion of it; namely, what is the *ratio formalis*, the formall ſtate, or nature of that which the Scripture entitleth in the generall, *קדוש* or *ἅγιος*, that is, *Holy*; not regarding what notion the Greeks or Latines had reſpect to in their Languages; but what the holy Scripture properly intendeth under that name: For becauſe *to be ſanctified* can have but theſe two ſenſes, either *To be made holy*, or *To be uſed and done unto according to, or as becometh its Holineſſe*; and that the Maieſty of God, which is the prime object of this Act, is not capable of the firſt ſenſe (viz. to be

be made holy,) but of the second onely: if we therefore once rightly understand what is the condition and property of Sanctity, according to the notion of Scripture, we shall not be long ignorant, what it is either for the Name or Majesty of God, or that which is called by his Name to be hallowed or Sanctified, namely, to be done unto according to their Holiness.

Now R. David Kimchi upon the 56 of Esay, *ver. 2* [“Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it”] hath these words, The sanctification of the Sabbath (saith he) *להבדילו מאחר היום* to separate or distinguish it from other dayes: because every word of Sanctity *הוא ענין הבדלה* imports a thing separated or divided from other things, by way of preeminence or excellency. Thus the Rabbi. And that this which he saith is true, namely, that sanctity consists in discretion and distinction from other things, by way of exaltation and preeminence, may appeare by these instances and examples, which I shall now produce out of Scripture.

And first from that Law touching the holy oyle, *Exod. 30.31.* where, after the composition thereof described; “This (saith the Lord) shall be an holy anointing oyl unto me: what is that: it follows, “*Upon mans flesh shall it not be poured, neither shall ye make any other like it, after the composition thereof. It is Holy, therefore it shall be Holy unto you: that is, As this Oyle is Holy and discrete from other Oyles, so shall it accordingly by you be used with difference and discrimination: For the Text goes on; “Whoso*

C

“ upon

Mat. 6. 9.
Luk. 11. 2.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

“upon a stranger, (that is, upon any besides those he was appropriated to) shall be cut off from his people. What else means all this, but that this Oyle should be a singular or peculiar Oyle, set apart and distinguished from all other Oyles, both in its composition and use, and that to be such, was to be Holy or Sacred?

The like we shall finde in the 35. verse of the same Chapter, concerning the Holy perfume there described: “Thou shalt make it, saith he, (to wit, with the ingredients he afore mentioned) “a perfume, a “confection, after the art of the Apothecary, tempered “together, pure and Holy. verse 37. Thou shalt not make “to your selves (i. not for your own use) according to “the composition thereof. It shall be unto you holy for the “Lord. ver. 38. Whosoever shall make the like unto it, “to smell thereto, shall be cut off from his people.

But above all others this notion of sanctity or holiness is most expressly intimated and taught us in those divine periphrases or circumlocutions, which the Lord himself more then once makes of an Holy People, as Lev. 26. 24. speaking on this manner; I am the Lord your God which have separated you from other people. - And ye shall be Holy unto me: for I the Lord am Holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine. Mark here, that to separate is to make Holy, and that to be Holy is to be separated from others of the same rank. Again, Deut. 26. 18, 19. The Lord hath avouched thee (to wit, Israel) this day to be his peculiar (or appropriate) people, as he hath promised thee. And to make thee high above all Nations, which he hath made, in praise, in name, and in honour; namely,

namely, that thou must be an Holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken. What is this but Rabbi Kimchi's definition almost verbatim? That to be sacred or Holy is to be separated or set apart from other things by way of excellence, or which is all one, To be set in some state of singularity, or appropriatedness, whereby it is advanced above the common condition of things of the same order. He that will, may compare also two other passages, *Deut. 7. 6.* & *14. 2.* parallels to those I have produced; where to be an holy, and to be a peculiar people, are made one and the same, or the one expounded by the other.

It may be yet further confirmed by comparing *Deut. 19. 2, 7.* with *Ioshuah 20. 7.* For whereas in the former of these places it is said, concerning the Cities of refuge: *Thou shalt separate, יפרד, three Cities for thee, in the midst of thee:* In *Ioshuah*, where this commandement is put in execution, we read in stead of separated, יפרד, they sanctified three Cities, *Kedesh, Shechem, and Hebron*. Where that the one is equivalent to the other, the *Septuagint* so well understood, that even in this place of *Ioshuah*, for יפרד, which is, *Sanctificarunt*, they rendered * *διεμεραν, separarunt, or discreverunt.*

The same notion of Holiness may be gathered also from the Antithesis, or opposite thereunto, to wit, *unholy, or unclean*, which the Scripture is wont to express by the name of *Common*. So *S. Peter* in his Vision, *Acts 10.* "Lord, saith he, I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean, Οὐδὲν ἅγιον ἔφαγον καὶ κοινόν ἢ ἀγίαστον. For know, because that which is Holy ought to be kept pure and clean; or rather, be-

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

* By which they are wont otherwise to render the verb *פרד* or *פרד*.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

cause cleanness imports a separation from filth, as Holiness doth from common, thence clean and holy, & so also unholy and unclean are used the one for the other: whence 1 Cor. 7. 14. Unclean and Holy are opposed. But to goe on; The voice from heaven answers S, Peter in the same language: « *What God hath cleansed* (that is, sanctified) *οὐ μὴ κοινῶν, accounts not thou common.* So in 1 Mac. Chap. 1. *κλινὴ κοινὰ* are unclean beasts; and *φαγίην κοινὰ*, to eat unclean things.

The like Antithesis of *holy* and *common* is to be found Heb. 10. 29. where the Apostle saith of a Believer or Christian that lives an ungodly and wicked life; « *He hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and accounted the blood of the Covenant wherewith he was sanctified, κοινῶν, as a common thing*; that is, he hath profaned it. Our translation rendreth it *an unholy thing*, the opposition thereof to *sanctified*, witnessing that to be the meaning. Now then, if to be unholy or unclean be to be common, surely it follows by the Law of opposition, that to be holy, is to be separated from the common, and to be singular and appropriate in some manner or other.

Lastly, it is to be observed, that whereas in the Law given *Numbers 6.* concerning the Vow of Nazarine (which signifies *separation*, of *Nazar*, to separate) the words, *To separate*, and *separation* come very often in the Text; the vulgar Latine renders for them above ten times, *Consecrare, consecratio, sanctificare, and sanctificatio*: which shews, that this notion, namely, that Holiness consists in a state of separation, is no new conceit, but such as Antiquity took notice of.

The

As the 70.
once or
twice in
this place,
and else-
where
sometimes
render the
same word.

The nature of Holinesse, wherein it consisteth, according to the idiome of Scripture being thus found out and cleared, that which was aimed at in this inquiry, to wit, what the same meaneth by *To sanctifie*, and *to be sanctified*, will be no hard matter to resolve. For *sanctity*, and *to sanctifie* being Conjugates, or Denominatives, as Logicians call them, the one openeth the way to the knowledge of the other. If therefore Sanctity or Holinesse be a condition of discretion and distinction from other things, as we have shewed it to be; then *To sanctifie* must either be to put a thing into that state, which we call, *To consecrate*; or if it be such already, *To use*, and doe unto it, as becomes the sanctity thereof; that is *Habere cum discrimine*, to put a difference between it and other things by way of excellency, or in a dignifying wise, by appropriating and severing it in the use thereof from things of ordinary and common rank: or, which is all one, To use it singularly, appropriately, and in a word, uncommonly. For not to use it so, it being such, were to abuse it; which the Scripture calls *to prophane*; *to sanctifie*, and *to prophane* being opposites. Whence Ezek. 22. 26. *To prophane*, is expounded by *not putting a difference*: "The Priests (saith the Lord) have violated my Law, and have prophaned my holy things, they have put no difference between the holy and prophane."

This to be *to sanctifie*, all the places almost which I have alledged out of the Law, for the notion and nature of sanctity, doe apparently proclaim: for the one is so nearly linked to the other, that they could not well be separated. Thus was Israel, Gods holy

Mat. 6. 9.
Luk. 11. 2.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

people, to sanctifie themselves by a discriminative manner of living, or usance, because the Lord their God had discriminated or separated them from other people. So Lev. 20. 24, 25, &c. "I am the Lord
"your God, which have separated you from other people.
"Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts
"and unclean, and between unclean fowls, and clean:
"and ye shall not make your souls abominable by beast or
"by fowl, or by any manner of living thing that creepeth
"on the ground, which I have separated from you as
"unclean. But ye shall be holy unto me; for I the Lord
"am holy, and have severed you from other people, that
"ye should be mine.

After the same manner were the *Holy Ointment*, and *Holy Perfume* or Incense to be sanctified by a discriminative, singular, appropriate usance of them, and not to be used as other Ointments and Perfumes: to wit, the one not to be poured upon mans flesh, nor the other used for mans smelling unto; yea none of the like composition to the one or the other, to be made for any prophane or common use, upon pain of his being cut off from his people, who should dare to doe it. That is, not the particular or *Individuum* onely, but even the whole kinde of that composition was to be accounted sacred; otherwise this caution needed not, since for the Individuall, all sacred things ought to be appropriate and incommunicable in their use.

And to this notion it is not altogether improbable, but the Apostle may allude, 1 Cor. 11. 29. when he expresseth the prophanation of the *Holy Supper* in coming to it, and using it as a common banquet, by
μὴ διακρίνειν τὴν κυρίαν ἢ κελύον, by not differencing the Lords
body;

body; i. not sanctifying it, or using it, as became so holy a thing.

HITHERTO I have considered the words of my Text apart: but now let us put them again together, and see, how the Name of God ought to be Sanctified, in the manner now specified, both in it self, and in the things which it is called upon; as in the beginning I distinguished. For the better understanding of which, we are to take notice of a twofold *Holinesse*; One originall, absolute and essentiall in God; the other derived or relative in the things which are *Hū*, properly (according to the use of the Latine) called *Sacra*, *Sacred things*. Both these have their severall and distinct Sanctifications belonging unto them: for whatsoever is Holy, ought to be sanctified, according to the condition and proportion of the Holinesse it hath.

To speak of them distinctly; The first, originall or absolute *Holinesse* is nothing else, but the incommunicable eminency of the divine Majesty, exalted above all, and divided from all other *εξισμاتا*, or Eminences whatsoever. For that which a man takes to be, and makes account of, as his God, (whether it be such indeed, or by him fancied onely) he ascribes unto it, in so doing, a condition of eminency, above, and distinct from all other eminencies whatsoever, that is of *Holinesse*. Hence it comes, that we find the LORD the God of Israel, and the onely true God, in Scripture so often styled *Sanctus Israelis*, The *Holy One of Israel*, that is, Israels most eminent and incommunicable one, or which is all one, *His God*: as namely *Psal. 89. 18. The Lord is our defence, the HOLY ONE*

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

Mat. 6. 9.
 Luke 11. 2.

See Es. y
 24. 14.
 Micah 4. 3.

of Israel is our King. Esay 17. 7. " At that day shall a
 " man look unto his MAKER, and his eyes shall have re-
 " spect to the HOLY ONE of Israel. Habak. 1. 12. Art not
 thou from everlasting, O LORD my God, mine HOLY
 ONE? Agreeably whereunto the Lord is said also
 now and then, To swear by his HOLINESS, that is, by
 himself: as in the Psalm before alledged v. 35. " Once
 " have I sworn by my HOLINESS, that I will not lie
 " unto David, &c. Amos 4. 2. The Lord God hath sworn
 " by his HOLINESS, that lo, the days shall come upon
 " you that he will take you away with hooks, &c. Accord-
 ing to this sense I suppose also that of Amos 8. 7. is to
 be understood: The LORD hath sworn by the Excellen-
 cy of Jacob, (that is, Jacobs most eminent and incommu-
 nicable One; or by Jacobs HOLY ONE) " Surely I
 " will never forget any of their works, &c. For indeed
 the Gods of the Nations were not properly and truly
 Holy, because but partially and respectively onely;
 Forasmuch as the Divine eminency, which they were
 supposed to have, was, even in the opinion of those
 who worshipped them, common to others with them,
 and so not discriminated from, nor exalted above all.
 But the God of Israel was simply and absolutely such,
 both in himself and to them ward who worshipped
 him, as who might acknowledge no other; and there-
 fore ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, and by way of distinction from all
 other Gods called Sanctus Israelis, The Holy One of Is-
 rael; i. That sole, absolute, and onely incommunica-
 ble One, or ἀκδιώτητος Ὀνομα (as the Author of the
 Book of Wisdome calls him chap. 14. v. 21.) that God
 exalted above all, and divided from all, without pa-
 reil, there being no other such besides him. There is

none

none Holy as the Lord (saith Hannah) *for there is none besides thee,* [The Septuagint, *none Holy besides thee*] *neither is there any Rock like our God.* Wherefore it is to be observed, that although the Scripture every where vouchsafes the Gentiles Demons the name of Gods, yet it never, I think, calls them Holy Ones; as indeed they were not. Thus you see that as *Holinesse* in generall imports a state of eminency and separation, so this of God, as I have described it, disagrees not from that generall notion, when I affirm it to consist in a state of peerlesse or incommunicable Majesty: for that which is such, includes both the one and the other. But would you understand it yet better? Apply it then to his attributes whereby he is known unto us, and know that *The Lord is Holy*, is as much to say, He is a Majesty of peerlesse Power, of peerlesse Wisdom, of peerlesse Goodnesse, and so of the rest. Such a one is our God, and such is his *Holinesse*.

Now then to *Sanctifie* this peerlesse Name or Majesty of his, must be by doing unto him according to that which his *Holinesse* challengeth in respect of the double importance thereof: namely, To serve and glorifie him; because of his eminency; and to doe it with a singular, separate and incommunicated worship, because He is Holy. Not to doe the former is *Irreligion* and *Atheisme*, as not to acknowledge God to be the chief and Sovereign eminency: not to observe the second is *Idolatry*. For as the Lord our God is a singular and peerlesse Majesty, distinguished from, and exalted above all things and eminencies else whatsoever; so must his worship be singular, incommunicable and proper to him alone. Otherwise (saith *Ioshuah* to

Mat 6.3.
Luke 11.2.
1 Sam. 2.

Mat. 6. 9.

Luke 11. 2.

10th. 3. 19

to the people) *You cannot serve the Lord. Why ?*
“ For (saith he) He is an Holy God : he is a jealous God
“ (that can endure no corrivall,) he will not forgive
“ your transgressions nor your sins, if ye forsake the Lord
“ and serve strange gods, &c.

Whence in Scripture, those who communicate the worship given unto him with any besides him, or together with him, by way of Object, that is, whether immediately, or but mediately, are deemed to deny his incomparable Sanctity, and therefore said to prophane his Holy Name : See Ezek. 20. 39. 43. 7. 8.

In a word, all that whole immediate Duty and service, which we owe unto God, whether inward or outward, contained under the name of Divine worship, (when either we confesse, praise, pray unto ; call upon or swear by his Name) yea all the worship both of men and Angels, is nothing else but to acknowledge in thought, word, and work this peerlesse preheminance of his power, of his wisdom, of his goodness and other attributes, that is, *His Holinesse* ; by ascribing and giving unto him that which we give and ascribe to none besides him, that is, *To sanctifie his most Holy Name* : This is that the Holy Ghost would teach us, when describing how the Seraphims worship and glorifie God, *Isa. 6.* he brings them in crying one unto another *“ Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of*
“ hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory ; that is, Sanctifying him. From whence is derived that which we repeat every day in the Hymne : *To thee al Angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein ; To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually doe cry, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabaoth ; Heaven and earth*

earth are full of the Majesty of thy Glory.

And because the pattern of Gods holy worship is not to be taken from earth, but from heaven, the same Spirit therefore in the Apocalypse expresseth the worship of God in the new Testament with the same form of hallowing or holiing his Name which the heavenly Hoste useth. For so the 4. *Animalia* representing the Catholique Church of Christ in the four quarters, of the world, are said when they give glory, honour and thanks to him that sitteth upon the throne and liveth for ever and ever, to doe it by singing day and night this *Trisagium*; *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*: that is, the summe of all that they did was but to agnize his Sanctity or Holinesse, or which is all one, to *Sanctifie his holy Name*. When therefore the same 4. *Animalia* are afterwards brought in chanting; *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, riches, wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing* And again; *Blessing, honour, glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever*: all is to bee understood, as comprehended within this generall *Doxologie*, as being but an exemplification thereof; and therefore the Elogies or blazons mentioned therein to be taken, according to the style of Holinesse, in an exclusive sense, of such prerogatives as are peculiar to God alone.

And according to this notion of sanctifying Gods name which I contend for, would the Lord have his Name Sanctified *Esa. 8. 13.* when he saith; *“ Fear ye not their Fear, (that is, the Idolaters *שֵׁלִדְוָתָא* or “ Gods; for so Fear here signifies, to wit, the thing feared)*

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

Apoc. 4.

As Gen.
31. 42, 43.
Psal. 76.
11. So the
Chaldee
useth their
שֵׁלִדְוָתָא,
and more
then once
renders
F A H the
name of
God by it

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

feared) neither dread ye it: But Sanctifie the Lord of Hosts himself, and let him be your Fear, and let him be your Dread; that is, your God. Again chap. 29. 23. They shall sanctifie my Name, (saith he) even Sanctifie the holy One of Iacob, and shall fear the God of Israel. The latter words shew the meaning of the former.

The like we have in the first Epist. of S. Peter ch. 3. v. 15. ἢ φοβῶν αὐτῶν (i. Gentilium) καὶ φοβησῶντες, καὶ δὲ ταχαυβῶντες, &c. Fear ye not their Fear, nor be in dread thereof, that is, Fear not nor dread ye the gods of the Gentiles which persecute you) but sanctifie the Lord God in your hearts, that is, Fear and worship him with your whole hearts. For that this passage (howsoever we are wont to expound it) ought to be construed in the same sense with that of *Esay* 8. before alledged, and the words to be rendred suitably; I take it to be apparent for this reason, because they are *verbatim* taken from thence, as he that shall compare the Greek words of S. Peter with the Septuagint in that place of *Esay*, will be forced to confesse.

Besides this evident and expresse use of the word *Sanctifie*, in the notion of religious and holy worship and fear of the Divine Majesty; there is yet another expression sometimes used in holy Scripture, which implieth the self-same thing: that namely, to worship God with that which wee call holy and divine worship, is all one with to agnize his holiness, or to sanctifie his Name. Those speeches I mean, wherein we are exhorted to worship the Lord, because he is Holy. As Psal. 99. 5. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his foot-stoole, for he is holy. Again, in the end of the Psalm: Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at his holy hill,

hill, for the Lord our God is holy. The same meaning is yet more emphatically expressed by those that sing the song of victory over the Beast, *Apo. 15.* Great (say they) and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy ways, thou King of Nations. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy Name? *ἁγίων* * *ΑΓΙΟΣ*, (for that I beleve is the true reading, not *ἁγιος*) for thou onely art Holy; therefore all the Nations shall come and worship before thee: i. they shall relinquish their Idols and plurality of Gods, and worship thee as God onely. For this was the Doctrine both of Moses in the Old Testament, and of Christ Jesus the Lamb of God in the New; That one God onely, that made the heaven and the earth, was to be acknowledged and worshipped, and with an incommunicable worship: In respect whereof, as I take it, these Victors are there said to sing the Song of Moses, & the Lamb; that is, a gratulatory Song of the worship of one God; “After that his * Ordinances were made manifest. For otherwise the Ditty is borrowed from the 86. Psalm, the 8, 9, & 10. verses, where wee read, “Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord, “neither are there any works like unto thy works. All “Nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorifie thy Name. For “thou art great, and dost wondrous works: Thou art “God alone; that is, Thou onely art Holy. Compare *Ier. 10. ver. 6, 7.*

I have one thing more to adde, before I finish this part of my Discourse, lest I might leave unsatisfied that which may perhaps seem to some to weaken this my explication of the sanctification of Gods Name.

For

*Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.*

* So Edition Complu-
Andreas, &
exempl. 15.

* *ἁγίων* -
ἁγία,
ἁγία.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

For the word, *to sanctifie, or be sanctified*, is sometimes used of God in a more generall sense then that I have hitherto specified, namely, as signifying *any way to be glorified, or to glorifie*; as when he saith, He will bee *sanctified* in the destruction of his enemies, or in the deliverance of his people, and that before the Heathen, and the like; that is, he would purchase him glory, or be glorified thereby. I answer, it is true, that *to be sanctified* is in these passages, *to be glorified*; but yet always to be glorified as God, and not otherwise. Namely, when God by the works of his power, of his mercy, or justice extorts from men the confession of his great and holy Godhead; he is then said *to sanctifie, or make himself to be sanctified* amongst them; that is, to be glorified and honoured by their conviction and acknowledgement of his power and Godhead. For although men may be also said to glorifie, or purchase honour unto themselves, when by their noble acts they make their abilities and worth known unto the world: yet, for such respect, to be said to be *sanctified*, is peculiar unto him alone, whose Glory is *his Holinesse*; i. unto God.

Thus we have learned how the Name or Majesty of God is to be sanctified personally, or in it self; which is the chiefest thing we pray for, and ought so to be in our endeavour; namely, to worship and glorifie him incommunicably, according to his most eminent & unparalleld Holiness: and so, O Lord, *Hallowed be thy Name*. But there is another sanctification or hallowing of Gods Name yet behind, which must be joyned therewith; which is, *To sanctifie* him also in the things which have his Name upon them; that is, are
sepa-

Mat. 6. 9.
 Luke 11. 2.

separate and dedicate to his service, or in a word, which are *His*, namely, by a peculiar relation. For otherwise it is true: *The whole earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof, the World and those that dwell therein.* But there are some things *his*, not as other things are, and so as they are no longer *ours*, such as according to the style of Scripture (as I have already noted) are said, *to be called by his Name, or to have his Name called upon them.* These are things *sacred*. Therefore I told you before of a twofold sanctity or Holinesse: The one originall, absolute, and essentiall in God: the other derived, or relative in that which is set apart to be in a peculiar and appropriate manner *His*. For whatsoever belongeth unto him in this manner, is divided from other things with preeminence, whether they be things or persons which are so separated. For in such separation we shewed the nature of sanctity in generall to consist. Now as the Divine Majesty it self is separate and holy, so know, it is a part of that honour we owe unto his most Sacred Name, that the things whereby, and wherewith he is served, should not be promiscuous and common, but appropriate and set apart to that sacred end. It is an honour which in some degree of resemblance we afford unto Kings, Princes, and other persons of dignity, (of infinite lesse eminency then God is) to interdict the use of that to others, which they are wont to use; sometimes the whole kinde, sometimes the individuall onely. As we know in former times, to wear purple, to subscribe with the Ink called *Encensum*, of a purple colour, and other the like, which the diligent may finde, were appropriate to the use of Kings and Emperours

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

perours onely. In the Book of the *Kings*, we reade of the *Kings Mule*, so appropriate to his use, as to ride upon him was to be made King, 1 *Kings* 1. 33, 34. In the Book of *Esther*, Chap. 6. v. 8. of the *Horſe* that King *Ahaſuerus* uſed to ride upon, put in the ſame rank with the *Crown* and royall apparell, which none but the King might weare. And of individuall Utenſils thus appropriated, and as it were dedicated to the alone uſe of perſons of eminency, our own times want not examples. Whence naturall inſtinct may ſeem to prompt unto us, that ſuch appropriation is a teſtimony of honour and reſpect. Sure I am, that Almighty God hath revealed it to be a part of that honour we owe unto him. Thus all the Utenſils of the Tabernacle and Temple were ſacred and ſet apart to that uſe; and not the Utenſils of the Altar onely, but even the inſtruments of muſick, which *David* ordained to praiſe the Lord with in the Temple, were not common, but conſecrated unto God for that end, whence they are called, 1 *Chron.* 16. 42. חֲלֵלֵי־שִׁיר Instrumenta muſica Dei, The muſicall inſtruments of God; that is, ſacred ones: And 2 *Chron.* 7. 6. כְּלֵי־שִׁיר הַיְהוָה, The muſicall Inſtruments of the LORD. Agreeably whereunto thoſe who ſung the fore-alledged ſong of victory over the Beaſt, are ſaid to have had in their hands, קַדְשָׁם וְתִנְיָא, The harps of God, that is, not prophane or common, but ſacred Harps, the Harps of the Temple, for there they ſung this their Antheme, ſtanding upon the great Laver or Sea of glaſſe which was therein.

Apoc. 15.

Nay, our bleſſed Saviour, *Mark* 11. would not ſuffer a profane or common veſſell to be ſo much as carried

ried through his Fathers House, accounting it as great a profanation, as to buy and sell there. And yet was not this abuse (which is a thing well to be marked) within those Septs of the Temple, which the Jews accounted sacred, but in the outmost Court called *Atrium gentium & immundorum*, the place in which together with such as were unclean, the Gentiles, and uncircumcised were admitted to pray; as that of the Prophet cited by our Saviour, rightly rendred, intimates, *My house shall be called a house of prayer, so (or for) ALL NATIONS.* Consider *Esay 56.6,7.* This Court therefore the Jews made no other account of, then as of a prophane place; but our Saviour proved by Scripture, that this Gentiles Oratory was also part of his Fathers house, and accordingly not to be prophaned with common use. Lastly, there was never any age of the Christian Church (till of late) wherein it was not commonly beleevd, that God was to bee honoured by such appropriation or consecration as we speak of; that is, that Gods Name was in this manner to be sanctified. But are there any (will you say) now that deny it? Yes, there are some in our age so far carried away into a contrary extreme to that they flie from, that they hold that no oblation or consecration of things unto God, by the devotion of men, in the New Testament, whether of Utenils, goods, times, or places, ought to be esteemed lawfull; but that all distinction between sacred and prophane in externall things, by vertue of such consecration (excepting only the Sacraments) is flat superstition: Yet to him that seriously considers it, it cannot chuse, me thinks, but seem strange and absurd to affirm, (as this

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 13. 2.

D

asser-

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

assertion doth) that men now in the time of the Gospel, are exempted and freed from agnizing God to be Lord of the creature, by giving some part thereof unto him; then which no part of Divine Worship is more naturall, and which hath been used by mankind ever since the beginning of the world. Yea, in the state of Paradise, among all the trees in the Garden, which God gave man freely to enjoy, one tree was *Noli me tangere*, and reserved to God as holy, in token he was Lord of the Garden. So that the first sin of Mankind, for the *species* of the fact, was *Sacrilege*, in prophaning that which God had made holy.

They say, It is true, that in the Old Testament, this way of honouring and acknowledging God was warranted by the Divine Law: but in the New wee finde no precept given concerning it nor confirmation of that which was before. Now God is not to be worshipped with any worship, but what he hath himself prescribed in his Word. I answer, What though there be no particular precept in the New Testament for this, no more then for divers other duties, which a Christian is bound to; yet if a generall warrant be, the particular needs not. But our Saviour saith in his Gospel, in that Euangelicall Sermon hee preached upon the Mount, That hee came not to dissolve the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfill or perfect them. *Think not* (saith he) *that I am come to dissolve the Law and the Prophets* [that is, to take away the obligation of that rule of the duty of man to God and his neighbour, given first by *Moses* in the Law, and afterwards repeated and inculcated by the Prophets; for so Prophets are here to be

be * understood, and not of predictions] *ἵνα πληρωσται*, but to fulfill them, that is, to supply, accomplish, or perfect those rules and doctrines of just and unjust contained in them, by a more ample interpretation, and other improvement besitting the state of the Gospel. For surely, this must be the meaning of this speech of our Saviour, if we be more willing (as we should) to take a sense from Scripture, then to bring one to it. Doth not the whole context following evince it? Indeed the Law, that is, the Legall Covenant, or Covenant of works (as Law is oft taken in the New Testament) together with all the rites depending thereon, is dissolved by the coming of Christ; and a better Covenant with new rites established in stead thereof: But the Law, that is, the Doctrine and Rule of life given by God contradistinct from those ordinances, which were onely appendages of that Covenant, (though these were also in some sense perfected by bringing the truth and substance, in stead of the figure and shadow thereof) is not disannulled, but confirmed and perfected by him, in such manner as became the condition of the Covenant of the Gospel. For that this confirmation is not to bee restrained to the Decalogue onely, is manifest; because our Savior in the following words, insists upon other precepts besides it. If it be said, they are reducible thereto; this will not serve the turn, for so are all the rest of Gods Commandements. Unless therefore it can be shewn, that to honour God by an oblation of his creature, is no part of the Law here confirmed by our Saviour: Let no man be so daringly bold, as to exempt himself and others from the obligation there-

D 2

of;

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

* According as in that Mat. 22. 40. On these two Commandements [viz To love God above all, & our neighbour as our selves] hang all the Law & the Prophets; and in that Luk. 16. 29 They have Moses and the Prophets.

Mat. 6 9.
 Luke 11.2.

of; unless he means to be one of them of whom our Saviour speaks immediately, saying, "*Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least of these Commandments, and shall teach men so to do, (mark it) he shall be called (i. he shall be) the least in the Kingdome of heaven.*" The word is *λύον*, i. loose, or dis-binde, as he doth, both that abrogates, and that observes it not; much more, he that affirmeth it unlawfull to be observed.

Nay how dare we disbind or loose our selves from the tie of that way of agnizing and honouring God, which the Christian Church from her first beginnings durst not doe? *Irenaeus*. witnesse of that age which next succeeded the Apostles, is plain. *Lib. 4. c. 34*
 "*Offerre oportet Deo (saith he) primitias creaturae ejus; sicut & Moses ait, Non apparebis vacuus ante conspectum Domini Dei tui. — Et non genus oblationum reprobatur est: oblationes enim & illic, (sc. in V. T.) oblationes autem & hic; sacrificia in populo, sacrificia & in Ecclesia: sed species immutata est tantum; quippe cum jam non à servis, sed à liberis offeratur. Vnus enim & idem Dominus; proprium autem character servilis oblationis, & proprium liberorum; uti & per oblationes ostendatur indicium libertatis. — It behoveth us (saith he) to offer unto God a present of his creature; as also Moses saith, Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty. — For offerings in the generall are not reprobated: there were offerings there, (viz. in the Old Test.) there are also offerings here in the Church: but the specification only is changed; Forasmuch as offerings now are not made by bond, but free men. For there is one and the same*

" same Lord still; but there is a proper character of a
 " bond or servile offering, and a proper character of free-
 " mens; that so even the Offerings may shew forth the
 " tokens of freedom. — Now where in Scripture he
 beleev'd this doctrine and practise to be grounded,
 he lets us know in the XXVII. chap. of the same
 Book: "*Et quia Dominus naturalia legis, per que ho-*
 "*mo justificatur, (qua etiam ante legislationem custo-*
 "*diebant, qui fide justificabantur, & placebant Deo)*
 "*non dissolvit, sed extendit, sed & implevit, ex sermo-*
 "*nibus ejus ostenditur. i. That our Lord dissolved not,*
 "*but enlarged and perfected the naturall precepts of the*
 "*Law, whereby a man is just, which also before the Law*
 "*was given they observed, who were justified by faith*
 "*and pleased God, is evident by his words. Then hee*
 cites some of the passages of that his Sermon upon
 the Mount *Mat. V. 20. &c.* And a little after addes:
 "*Neceſſe fuit auferre quidem vincula ſervitutis, quibus*
 "*jam homo aſſueverat, & ſine vinculis ſequi Deum, ſu-*
 "*perextendi verò decretalibertatis, & augeri ſubjectio-*
 "*nem qua eſt ad Regem, ut non retrorſus quis renitens*
 "*indignus appareas ei qui ſe liberavit. — Et pro-*
 "*pter hoc Dominus, pro eo quod eſt, Non mœchaberis,*
 "*nec concupiſcere præcepit; & pro eo quod eſt, Non occi-*
 "*des, neque irāſcī quidem; & pro eo quod eſt Decimare,*
 "*omnia qua ſunt pauperibus dividere. i. It was needful,*
 "*that thoſe bonds of ſervitude, which man had before*
 "*been inured to, ſhould be taken off, that ſo he might*
 "*without Giv'es follow God: but that the laws and ordi-*
 "*nances of freedom ſhould be extended, and his ſubje-*
 "*ction to the King encreaſed, leſt that drawing back-*
 "*ward he might appear unworthy of him that freed*
 " him.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

“him. — And for this reason, our Lord in stead of,
“Thou shalt not commit adultery, commands not so much
“as to lust: in stead of, Thou shalt not kill, not so much
“as to be angry: in stead of to Tithe, to distribute all we
“have to the poore, &c. All which saith he, in the same
place, are not *solventis legem, sed adimplentis, & ex-*
tenduntis & dilatantis, not of one that dissolves the
Law, but fulfils, extends and enlarges it: alluding still
to that in our Saviours Sermon upon the Mount.

Besides, those who are acquainted with Antiquity
can tell, that the Primitive Christians understood the
holy Eucharist, to be, A commemoration of the sa-
crifice of Christs death upon the crosse, in an oblation
of bread and wine. Tis witnessed by the Fathers of
those first ages generally. Whereupon the same *Ire-*
naeus also affirmeth, That our Saviour by the institu-
tion of the Eucharist had confirmed oblations in the
new Testament. Namely, to thanksgive or blesse a
thing in way to a sacred use, he took to be an offering
of it unto God. And was not *Dauids* Benediction and
thanksgiving at the preparation for the Temple an
Offertory? Where note well that as he, upon that
occasion, blessed the Lord, saying: *Thine, O LORD,*
is the greatnesse, the power and the glory — all that is
in heaven and earth is thine, thine is the Kingdome —
Both riches and honour come of thee — Ergo, because
all things come of thee, of thine own have we given thee.
So doe Christs redeemed in their Euangelicall Song,
Apoc. 5. ascribe no lesse unto him, saying, *Worthy is*
the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power, and Riches,
and Wisdome, and strength, and honour and glory, and
blesting. Yea, the 24. Elders, which are the Christian
Presby-

Presbytery, expresseing (ch.4.ult.) the very argument and summe of that Hymnology which the Primitive Church used at the offering of bread and wine for the Eucharist, worship God, saying : *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power : for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.*

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

TAKING therefore for granted, that which the practise of the Church of God in all ages ; yea, I think, I may say the consent of mankinde from the beginning of the world, beareth witnesse to ; that among those duties of the Sanctification of Gods Name, wherewith his Divine Majesty is immediately and personally glorified (of which I have before spoken) this is one, and a principall one ; to agnize and confesse his peerlesse Sovereignty and dominion over the creature, by yeelding him some part thereof toward his worship and service, of which we renounce the propriety our selves ; and that accordingly there are both things and persons now in the Gospel (as well as were before the Law was given) in this manner lawfully and acceptably set apart and separated, by the devotion of men, unto the Divine Majesty, and consequently *relatively Holy* (which is nothing else, but to be Gods by a peculiar right:) Ifay, that these are likewise to be done unto according to their degree of sanctity, in honour of him, whose they are : Not to be worshipped with divine worship, or the worship which we give unto God, communicated to them, (farre be it from us, to deferre to any creature the honour due unto the Divine Majesty, either together with him, or without him ;) but yet *Habenda cum dis-*

Mat. 6 9.
 Luke 11.2.

crimine, To be regarded with a worthy and discriminative use, that is, used with a select, and differing respect from other things : as namely, if *Places*, not as other places ; if *Times*, not as other times ; if *Things* by way of distinction so called, not as other things ; if *Persons* set apart unto the service and worship of God, neither to be used by others, nor they to carry themselves in their fashion of life, as other persons, (for that which in other things sacred is their use ; in persons sacred is their conversation, demeanour or carriage of themselves) but all to be sanctified with a select, appropriate, or uncommon usage ; that as they are Gods by peculiar relation, and have his Name called upon them, so to be *separate*, as far as they are capable, from common use, and employed as instruments and circumstances of his worship and service : which is the highest and most singular honour that any creature is capable of. Nay, (as I have said before) even this is to the honour of God, that as himself is that singular, incommunicable, and absolutely *Holy One*, and his service and worship therefore incommunicable : so should that also which hath his Name thereon, or is consecrated to his service, be in some proportion incommunicably used, and not promiscuously and commonly as other things are. They are the words of *Maymonides* the Jew, but such as will not misbecome a Christian to make use of, concerning that Law, *Levit. V. 15.* *If a soule commit a trespass, and sin through ignorance in the holy things of the LORD : then he shall bring unto the Lord for his trespass, a Ram, &c.* “ *Behold, saith hee, how great weight there is in the Law, touching sacrilegious trans-*

"transgression And what though they be wood, and
"stone, and dust and ashes? when the Name of the Lord
"of all the world is called upon things, they are sanctifi-
"ed (i. made holy.) And who so useth them to common
"use, he transgresseth therein; and though he doe it
"through ignorance, he must needs bring his atonement.
Yea, it is a thing worthy to be taken speciall notice
of, that, that so presumptuous, and most dreadfully
vindicated sin of Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and their
company, in offering incense unto the Lord being not
called thereunto, did not discharge their Censers of
this discriminative respect due unto things Sacred.
For thus the Lord said unto Moses, after that fire
from heaven had consumed them for their impiety:
"Speak unto Eleazar the Son of Aaron the Priest, that
"he take up the Censers out of the burning, and scatter
"thou the fire yonder, for they are hallowed: The Censers
"of these Sinners against their own souls, let them make
"of them broad plates for a covering of the Altar: for
"they offered them before the Lord, therefore they are
"hallowed, or holy. Num. 16. 37, 38.

Now that by this discriminative use or sanctifi-
cation of things sacred, the Name of God is honou-
red and sanctified, according to the tenour of our pe-
tition; is apparent, not onely from reason, which tels
us that the honour and respect had unto ought that
belongs unto another, because it is his, redounds unto
the owner and Master; but from Scripture, which
tels us, that by the contrary use of them, his name is
prophaned. Hear himself, Lev. XXII. 2. "Speak unto
"Aaron, (saith he) and his Sons; that they separate
"themselves from the Holy things of the children of Is-
"rael,

Mat. 6. 6.
Luke 11. 2.

These things
offer to the
consecration
of the altar

Mat. 6.9.
 Luke 11.2.

“rael, and that they prophane not my Holy Name in the things which they hallow unto me. Also in the Chapter next before, v. 6. The Priest that should not discriminate himself according to those singular observations, or differing rules there prescribed, is said, *“To prophane the Name of his God:* Again, Ezek. XXII. 26. When the Priests prophaned Gods holy things, by putting no difference between the Holy and Prophane: *I (saith the Lord) am prophaned amongst them.* Likewise Chap. XLIII. ver. 7. together with other abominations there mentioned, the Lord saith, that his *“Holy Name had been polluted, or prophaned, by the carcases of their Kings,* that is, of *Manasse and Amon* buried in the Kings Garden hard by the walls of the Temple: for so by the Hebrews, and others that place is understood. See 2 Kings XXI. ver. 18, 26. by the pollution of the Temple, the Lord esteemed his own Name prophaned. Take in also if you will, that of *Malachi Cha. 1.* where the Lord says of those, who despised and dishonoured his Table, or Altar by offering, thereon for sacrifice, the lame, the blinde, and sick, which the Law had made unclean and polluted, that they had prophaned his *Holy Name.* But if the Name of God be prophaned by the disesteem and misusage of the things it is called upon, then surely it is sanctified, when the same are worthily and discriminatively used, that is, as becommeth the relation they have to him.

I have already specified the severall kinds of Sacred things which are thus to be sanctified: yet lest something contained under some of them might not be taken notice of, by so generall an intimation, it will not be

be amisse a little more fully and particularly to explicate them, then I have yet done. Remember therefore that I ranged all sacred things under four heads.

1. Of *Persons* Sacred; such as were the Priests and Levites in the Old Testament, and now in the New, the Christian Clergy, or *Clerus*; so called from the beginning of Christian Antiquity, either because they are the Lords *καὶ* or Portion, which the Church dedicateth unto him out of her self, (namely, as the Levites were an offering of the Children of Israel, which they offered unto him out of their Tribes,) or because their inheritance and livelihood is the Lords portion. I preferre the first; yet either of both will give their Order the title of Holinesse, as doth also more especially their descent which they derive from the Apostles; that is, from those, for whom their Lord and Master prayed unto his Father, saying, *Father, ἀγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου*, [*in* for *eis*] *Sanctifie them unto, or for thy Truth: thy Word is Truth*; that is, *Separate them unto the Ministry of thy Truth*, the word of thy Gospel, which is the truth and verification of the promises of God. It follows, *As thou hast sent me into the world, so have I also sent them into the world*, (this is the key which unlocks the meaning of that before and after.) *And for their sakes I sanctifie my self, that they might be sanctified for thy Truth*; that is, And for as much as they cannot be consecrated to such an Office, without some sacrifice, to atone and purifie them; therefore for their consecration to this holy function of ministration of the new Covenant, I offer my self a Sacrifice unto thee for them, in lieu of those legall and typicall ones, wherewith *Αα-*

Mat. 6.9.
Luke 11.2.

Num. x. 11

Joh. 17.
17, 18, 19.

YON

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

ron and his sons first, and then the whole Tribe of Levi were consecrated unto thy service in the old. An Ellipsis of the first Substantive in Scripture is frequent. So here ἀλήθεια onely, is put for διακονία ἡ ἀληθείας, Truth, for the Ministry of Truth.

Now that the Christian Church (for of the Jewish I shall need say nothing) hath always taken it for granted, that those of her Clergy ought, according to the separation and sanctity of their Order, to be distinguished, and differenced from other Christians, both passively in their usance from others, but especially actively, by a restrained conversation, and peculiarnesse in their manner of life, is manifest by her ancient Canons and Discipline. Yea, so deeply hath it been rooted in the minds of men, that the Order of Church-men binds them to some differing kinde of conversation and form of life from the Laity; that even those who are not willing to admit of the like discrimination due in other things, have still in their opinions some relique thereof remaining in this, though perhaps not altogether to be acquitted of that imputation, which Tertullian charged upon some in his time, to wit, "*Quod quum excellimur & inflamur adversus Clerum, tunc unum omnes sumus, tunc omnes Sacerdotes; quia Sacerdotes nos Deo & Patri fecit. Quum ad persequationem Discipline Sacerdotalis provocamur, deponimus insulas, & impares sumus. When we want, and are puffed up against the Clergy, then we are all one, then we are all Priests; For he made us Priests to God and his Father. But when we are called upon, to equall in our lives the example of Priestly Discipline, then down goe our Mitres, and we are another sort of men.*"

Ano-

De Monogamia, ca. 2.

Another sort of things sacred, which I named, was Sacred *P L A C E S*, to wit, *Churches*, and *Oratories*, as the Christian name *κλειστός*, implieth them to be, that is, *The Lords*. A third, Sacred *Times*, dedicated and appointed for the solemn celebration of the worship of God, and Divine duties : such are with us, (for those of the Jews concern us not) *κλειστοὶ ἡμέραι*, our Lords days, with other our Christian Festivals, and holy days. Of the manner of the discrimination from common, or sanctifying both the one and the other, by actions some commanded, others interdicted to be done in them, the Canons and Constitutions of our Church will both inform, and direct us. For holy Times and holy Places are Twins (Time and Place being, as I may so speak, pair-circumstances of action) and therefore *Lev. XIX. 30.* And again *XXVI. 2.* they are joyned together, "*tanquam ejusdem rationis: Keep my Sabbaths and reverence my Sanctuary.*"

The fourth sort of Sacred things is of such as are neither Persons, Times, nor Places, but *Things* in a speciall sense, by way of distinction from them. And this sort containeth under it many particulars, which may be specified after this manner.

1. Sacred *Revenue* of what kinde soever : which in regard of the dedication thereof, as it must not bee prophaned by sacrilegious alienation, so ought to be sanctified by a different use and imployment from other Goods ; namely such a one as becommeth that which is the *Lords*, and not mans. For that Primitive Christian Antiquity so esteemed them, appears by their calling them *τὰ κλειστά*, as they did their Place
of

Mat. 6. 5.
Luke 11. 2.

Ma. 6.9.
Luke 11.2.

of Worship *κλειανόν*, and their *Holy day κλειανή*; all of the Lord, as it were, Christening the old notion of Sacred, by a new name. So *Can. Apostol. XL.* "*Manifesta sunt Episcopi res propria (si quidem res habet proprias) & manifesta sint τα κλειανή, i. res Dominica*" — *Author Constitut. Apost. lib. 2. c. 28. al. 24.* "*Episcopus ne utatur τοῖς κλειανήοις, Dominicis rebus, tanquam alienis aut communibus, sed moderate.* See also *Balsamon in Can. 15. Concilii Ancyran.* and the Canon it self.

Secondly, Sacred *Vtenfils*, as the Lords *Table, Vessels* of ministraton, the *Books* of God, or Holy Scripture, and the like. Which that the Church, even in her better times, respected with an holy and discriminative usance, may be learned from the Story of that calumnious crimination, devised by the Arrian Faction against *Athanasius*, as a charge of no small impiety; namely, that in his Visitation of the Tract of *Marcotis, Macarius*, one of his Presbyters, by his command, or instinct, had entered into a Church of the Miletian Schismatiques, and there broken the *Chalice*, or *Communion Cup*, thrown down the *Table*, and burnt some of the *Holy Books*. All which argues, that in the generall opinion of Christians of that time, such acts were esteemed prophane and impious; otherwise they could never have hoped (as they did) to have blasted the reputation of the holy Bishop by such a slander.

Touching the *Books of God*, or holy Scripture, (which I referred to this title) especially those which are for the publique service of God in the Church, I adde this further; That under that name I would have

have comprehended the *senses, words and phrases* appropriated to the expression of Divine and Sacred things; which a Religious eare cannot endure to hear abused with prophane and scurrilous application.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

Thirdly, under this fourth head of things Sacred I comprehend *Sacred Acts*; such as are the Acts of Gods holy worship and administration of his Sacraments. For albeit these Acts are duties of the first and personall Sanctification of Gods Name, whereof the immediate object is God; yet are the Acts themselves sacred things, and therefore have some sanctification due to them also, as other sacred things have: of which, although it be most true, that the unfained devotion of the heart (as before him who alone knoweth the hearts of the children of men) be the main and principall requisite; yet unlesse even in the outward performance, they be, for the manner and circumstances, discriminated from common acts, by a select accommodation befitting their holinesse, their sanctification is defective, and by such defect, if voluntary, Gods Name is prophaned, even then when wee are worshipping him. How much more, when our carriage therein commeth short even of that wonted reverence, wherewith we come before an earthly Potentate? May not God here justly use the same expostulation with us, that he did with those in the Prophet *Malachi*, who presented themselves before him with such an offering, as was in regard of the blemishes unworthy of, and unbecoming so great a Majesty, and therefore to be accounted rather an affront then an act of honour and worship? Yee have,

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

Malacc. c. 1.
v. 6, 8, 12,
14.

have, saith he, despised and prophaned my Name —

“ Offer it now unto thy Governour : will he be pleased

“ with thee, or accept thy person ? — yet I am a

“ great King, saith the Lord of hosts. And this is the document or lesson, which this place naturally and unavoydably ministreth to us ; That to come before the Divine Majesty, with lesse reverent and regardfull deportment, then we doe before earthly Kings and potentates, is to despise and prophane his holy Name. And not that, which some would shelter under this text, and lean too much upon ; namely, That the afts of Gods externall worship ought to be wholly conform to the use of the semblable actions performed unto men, and not differ from them : and upon this ground charge the Christian Liturgies with absurdity in their forms of praying, and praising God with *responsals*, singing *by turns*, and speaking *many together*. For this principle is directly repugnant to the nature of Sanctification, which consists in discrimination and difference. And therefore, though the materiall of our gestures and other expressions vocall or visible, be borrowed from the use and custome of men ; yet for the formality of them, not onely they may, but ought to be differenced from them. Moreover, touching this reproof of the Prophet ; take notice that it is grounded upon the Law, *Levit. XXII.* where we are taught, that when that is not observed concerning the Rites of Gods service which the sanctity of them requireth, as in other particulars, so in this of a not defective or unblemished offering, his Name is thereby prophaned. See *v. 32.* with the rest of the chapter foregoing it. And if so, then by the contrary it is sanctified.

Lastly,

Lastly, Unto this head of sacred Acts I reduce *Oaths* and *sacred Covenants*, that is, such as are made either with God, or between men; Gods Name being called upon, which therefore *1 Sam. 20.8.* are styled *Covenants of the Lord*: For that the observance due touching both is a sanctifying of them, as things upon which the Name of the Lord is called, is apparent; forasmuch as when they are violated by falsehood, they are said to be prophaned, as *Levit. 19. 12. Psal. 55.20. Jerem. 34.15.*

Thus together with my explication of these severall sorts of sacred things, I have briefly and in generall pointed at that also wherein the proper sanctification of each consisteth, which though far short of such a tractation as the matter requireth: yet if it may serve but to give occasion onely to others who are better able, to bend their thoughts upon this argument (which perhaps the times call for) I shall fully attain the end I aimed at. For mine own part, to descend to particulars would be a task too high for me, and as I suspect, not very acceptable. For it is ten to one (if the grounds I have laid be true) but that the most of us would be found faulty in some things, and some of us in all. Well, the summe of my argumentation hath been this: Is there any thing in the New Test. Gods by a peculiar right? To say there is not, is absurd and against the perpetuall tradition of Christianity: If there be, then it is *holy*; if holy, then to be *sanctified*; if sanctified, then to be *discriminated* in the use and respect thereof, from that which is of common condition.

NOW out of this discourse, which I have hitherto

E

therto

Mat. 6.9.
Luke 11.2.

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

thereto made, you may see and take notice, That (contrary to the vulgar opinion) the Prohibition of Idolatry and the discriminative observance of things sacred; not to prophane them by a promiscuous and common use; are derived both of them from one and same principle, sc. Gods Incommunicableness, which derives a shadow and resemblance upon the things which have his Name called upon them, to wit, a state of appropriatenesse and singularity. Wherefore the Apostle, Rom. 2. not without good reason, compares together the transgressions of the one and the other kinde, as parallel sins, or sins of affinity: "*Thou that hatest Idols* (saith he) *doest thou commit Sacrilege*? Where by Sacrilege understand not onely the usurpation of things sacred, but the violation of that which is sacred, in generall: And it is as if he had said, thou hast mended the matter well indeed, for still thou dashest against the same principle. For it is one of the exemplifications of that he saith in the beginning of the Chapter: *He that judgeth or condemneth another, and doth the same; or the like himself, is inexcusable.* By this it appears how much they are mistaken, who under pretence of avoyding Idolatry and superstition, cannot endure that any distinction should be made between things sacred and common. Is not this to unhalloo Gods Name one way, that so we might not prophane it another? Far be it from me to be a patron of idolatry or superstition in the least degree: yet I am afraid, lest we who have reformed the worship of God from that pollution (and blessed be his name therefore,) *ἀπαρτελῶν καὶ ἀβελανδῶν*, as S. Basil speaks, that is, by bending

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

bending the crooked stick too much the other way, have run too far into the contrary extream, and taken away. (some of us) all difference in a manner between *Sacred* and *prophane*; and by this our transgression in doing Gods work, made our selves liable to that upbraid of the Apostle; *Tu qui idola abominaris sacrilegium (i. sacrarum rerum profanationem) admittis*? Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit sacriledge? that is, profanest thou Gods Name by violating that which is sacred?

Let no man think it strange or incredible, that such an enormity should be committed, or an occasion at least given thereof, in the manage of so holy and glorious a work: seeing the experience of all ages sufficiently witnesseth, how prone the nature of man is, in flying one extream, to run too far towards the other. Why then should we think it unlikely, or rather not think it very likely, that we also may have miscarried in the same manner? unlesse we will arrogate unto our selves that priviledge of infallibility, and freedom from error, which we condemn as intolerable presumption in our Adversaries.

Besides, it is to be taken notice of, because of the prejudicate misprision of many to the contrary; That the measure of truth and falsehood, best and worst, is not the greater or lesser distance from Popery, (forasmuch as Popery also containeth much of Christianity) nor that which is most destructive of the man of sin, alwayes most warrantable and safe to be embraced. If it were, there be some in the world, (whose religion we would be loth to ad-

bordering on

E 2

mit

Mat. 6. 9.
 Luke 11. 2.

mit of) that would be found more orthodox and better reformed Christians then any of us all.

Nay, give me leave, without offence, for the better awakening of some out of their deafnesse to whatsoever else may be said to this purpose, to propound such a Demand as this: Who knoweth, whether this transgression I speak of, be not a main and principall ingredient of that guilt, which the Divine Majesty admonisheth us to take notice of, in this his so long and so severe visitation of our neighbours and brethren? whether he doth not visibly, or, if some passages be considered, almost vocally, upbraid them; *Thou that hatest Idols dost thou commit Sacrilege?* I know right well, that rashly to assigne the particular causes of Gods judgements, without rule or precedent of Scripture, is a sin of presumption, and a bold intrusion into Gods secrets; and therefore I affirm not, but demand onely, whether there be not here some cause which may minister such a suspicion. But whatsoever it be, the compassion of their wofull affliction calls upon me rather to pray for them, then to follow this harsh and unpleasant passage any further. Onely thus much, If that which the Apostle saith in particular of the things which befell the Israelites, Gods first people, in the Wildernesse; *"These things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come:* If this be to be extended also unto those punishments and their analogy, which befell them afterwards: then may perhaps two things further not unseasonably be enquired into. First, for what other sins, it is remembered

*Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.*

remembred in Scripture, that God gave his people, during that his first Covenant (especially after they came to dwell in their own Land) under the sword of an externall enemy, or his worship thereby at any time to be trodden under foot; besides these two, *Idolatry*, and *Prophanation* of that which was holy, or *Sacriledge*. Examples of the first who knows not of the second, see the Story of *Achan*, *Josh. the vii.* of *Elies* sons, *1 Sam. Chap. II.* the punishment of the Sacriledge of the seventh, or Sabbaticall year, (*2 Chron. XXXVI.* and the parallel places) for by the Law every seventh year, not onely the whole Land, but all servants and debts were holy unto the Lord, and therefore to be released, *Levit. 25. 2, 4.* *Deut. 15.* *Exodus 21.* Secondly, What was that Transgression, after the return from *Babylon*, mentioned in that Prophecie of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Dan. 8. 12.* for which it is there foretold, that “ *An*
“ *host should be given him against the daily Sacrifice,*
“ *and that it should cast down the truth unto the ground,*
“ *and practise and prosper ?* Perhaps the Story in the *2, 3, & 4. Chap. of the second Book of Maccabees* will tell us.

To that which is commonly alledged, That such distinction and reverent regard of things Sacred, as we contend for, opens a way for *Idolatry*: I answer, No otherwise, then the eschewing of *Idolatry*, may also, through the perverseness of men, be made a bridge to prophaneness, that is, by accident, not from it own towardness, but our distemper. Otherwise this *Discrimination* or distinction, if we would understand or heed the ground thereof, prompts the

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

clean contrary; for we should reason thus: If the things which are Gods, *eo nomine*, in that name, and because they are *His*, are therefore to be held segregate in their use; then surely God himself, who is the Fountain of Holinesse, ought to have a prerogative of *segregation* in the most eminent and absolute manner; namely, such an one, as that the worship due unto him must not be communicated with any thing else besides him. And indeed, unless both be done, *Gods Name* is neither fully, nor rightly *sanctified*.

AND here I should now make an end, but that there is one thing yet behinde of principall consequence, which I have deferred hitherto, because I could not elsewhere bring it in conveniently without somewhat disturbing the coherence of my discourse. There is an eminent *species*, or kinde of *Sanctification* which I may seem all this while to have neglected, for as much as it seemeth not to be comprehended under this notion of *discretion* and *separation*, wherein I place the nature of *Holinesse*, and that is *Sanctification*, or *Holinesse of life*. To which I answer, That all notions of *Sanctity* and *Sanctification* in Scripture are derived from discretion and separation, and that this now mentioned is likewise derived thence. For it is to be reduced to the Sanctification of *Persons Sacred*, and set apart unto God. By which, though in the strict and proper sense, are intended onely *Priests*, and such as minister about Holy things, yet in a larger sense, and, as it were, by way of resemblance, the whole body of the People of God are a *Royall Priesthood*, and * *Holy Nation*, which

* ἁγία
καὶ ὁληκὴ
ἐκκλησία.
Symb. A-
post.

which the Almighty hath selected unto himself, out of the rest of the world, and set apart to serve him in a peculiar and different manner, from the rest of men: For you have heard it is a requisite of that which is Holy, to be used in a peculiar and singular manner, and not as things common. Hence it is, that the observation of that *peculiar and different form of life*, which God hath commanded those, whom he hath called, and set apart from the world unto himself, in Scripture carries the name of *Holinesse*, or *Sanctity*, (especially in the New Testament) that is, such as becommeth those that are *Holy* unto God; According to that, *Be ye Holy, as I am Holy.*

Mat. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 2.

And here, I might have a large discourse, to shew how the *Name of God is sanctified* by the lives of his Children, when they conform not themselves to the fashions of the world, but as the Apostle speaks, are *crucified* thereto, and keep themselves unspotted from the pollutions and vanities thereof. But this I leave, to be supplied by your meditations according to the generall intimation given thereof.



ACTS 17. 4.

There associated themselves to Paul and Silas of the worshipping Greeks a great multitude.



Paul and Silas preaching in the Jewish Synagogue at Thessalonica, & proving out of the Scriptures, that Messiah, or Christ, was to suffer, and to rise again from the dead, and that Jesus was that Christ, it is said, That some of them which heard, believed; and that there associated themselves to them a great multitude τὸ συνεισδυμένον ἐκκλησίαν *of the worshipping Greeks.* Of these *σεβόμενοι*, there is elsewhere mention in the Acts of the Apostles more then once; But what they were, our Commentators do not fully inform us; Nor can it be understood, without some delibation of Jewish Antiquity. The explication whereof will give some light not to this passage onely, but to the whole Story of the Primitive Conversion of the Gentiles to the Faith, recorded in that Book.

We must know therefore, that of those Gentiles, which imbraced the worship of the God of Israel, (commonly

(commonly term'd *Profelytes*) there were two sorts : *Acts 17. 4.*
 One of such as were circumcised, and took upon them the observation of the whole Law of *Moses*. These were accounted as Jews, (to wit, *facti, non nati*) bound to the like observances with them, conversed with, as freely, as if they had been so born; neither might the one eat, drink, or keep company with a Gentile, more then the other, lest they became unclean. They worshipped in the same Court of the Temple, where the Israelites did, whither others might not come. They were partakers with them in all things, both divine and humane; In a word, they differed nothing from Jews, but only that they were of Gentile race.

This kinde the Jewish Doctors call *גר צדק*, *Profelyti Justitie*, or *גר ברית*, *Profelyti fœderis*, namely, because they took upon them the signe thereof, *Circumcision*. In the New Testament they are called simply, *Profelytes*, without addition. Of which Order was *Vriah the Hittite*, *Achior*, in the Book of *Judith*, *Herod the Idumean*, *Onkelos the Chaldee* Paraphrast, and many others both before and in our Saviours time.

But besides these there was a second kinde of Gentiles, admitted likewise to the worship of the true God, the God of Israel, and the hope of the life to come; which were not circumcised, nor conformed themselves to the Mosaicall rites, and ordinances; but were onely tied to the observation of those precepts, which the Hebrew Doctors call the *precepts of the sons of Noah*; namely, such as all the sons of *Noah* were bound to observe.

These

A.G. 17.4.

* Gemara
Sanhedrin,
in Perak
ארכע
מחית
b Maier.
Hal. Me-
lachim.
c.9. vide
Shick. de
jure Regio
Hebræorū
p. 128, 129

These precepts are in number seven, recorded in the ^a *Talmud*, ^b *Maymonides* and others, under these following titles. First, the precept עבודה זרה, to renounce Idols, and all Idolatrous worship. Secondly, כרת השם, to worship the true God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. Thirdly, שפיכות הדמים, Bloodshed; to wit, to commit no murder. Fourthly, זנות ערוה, *detectio nuditatum*, not to be defiled with fornication, incest, or other unlawful conjunction. Fifthly, גנב, *Rapina*, against theft and robbery. Sixthly, דיני צדק, concerning administration of Justice: The seventh, איבר מן החי, *Membrum de vivis*, so they call the Precept, of not eating the flesh with the blood in it, given to *Noah*, when he came out of the Ark; as *Maymonides* expressly expounds it, and addes besides. *Quicunque hæc septem præcepta exequenda susceperit, ecce is est, בחיורי, אמת העולם, ex piis gentium mundi, habetque partem in seculo futuro.* Note that he saith [*ex piis Gentium*,] for this kinde were still esteemed *Gentiles*, and so called, because of their uncircumcision; in respect whereof (though no Idolaters) they were, according to the Law, unclean, and such as no Jew might converse with; wherefore they came not to worship into the Sacred Courts of the Temple, whether the Jews, and circumcised Profelytes came; but onely into the outmost Court, called *Atrium Gentium & immundorum*, which, in the second Temple, surrounded the second, or great Court, whereinto the Israelites came, being divided therefrom by a low wall of stone made battlement-wise, not above three Cubits high, called (saith *Josephus*,
from

A.G. 10.28.
11.3.

from whom I have it) in the Hebrew Dialect רֵעִים, in the Greek θείους. that is, *Lorica*, close by which stood certain little pillars, whereon was written in Latin and Greek Letters, Μὴ δύνῃς ἀμύβουλον εἰσελθεῖν τῷ Ἁγίῳ ναεῖον, *In atrium sanctum transire alienigenam non debere*; And this I make no question, is that which Saint Paul, *Ephes. 2.* alluded unto, when he saith, That Christ had broken down the μεσότοιχον τοῦ θεαγμῆ, *the partition wall*, (namely, that *Lorica*, which separated the Court of the Gentiles from that of the Circumcision) and so laying both Courts into one, hath made the Jews and Gentiles Intercommoners; whereby those that were sometime far off, were now made nigh, and as near as the other, unto the Throne of God. But in *Solomons Temple*; this Court of the Gentiles seems not to have been, but in the second Temple onely, the Gentiles formerly worshipping without at the door, and not coming within the Septs of the Temple at all. This second kinde of Profelytes, the Talmudists call כְּרִי שְׁטַר, *Profelyti porta*, or כְּרִי חֹשֶׁבֶן, *Profelyti inquilini*; because they were under the same condition, with those Gentile strangers which lived as *inquilini* in the land of Israel. For all Gentiles dwelling within the Gates of Israel, whether they were as servants, taken in war, or otherwise, were bound to renounce their false Gods, and to worship the God of Israel; but not to be circumcised, unless they would, nor farther bound to keep the Law of *Moses*, then was contained in those precepts of the sons of *Noah*. These are those mentioned (as often elsewhere in the Law, so) in the fourth Commandment by the name of the

Stranger

Acts 17. 4.

De Bello
Judaico
lib. 6. c. 6.
Græc. 12.

vid. Lev.
17.

Acts 17.4.

Stranger within thy gates; whereby it might seem probable, that the observation of the Sabbath day (so far as concerneth one day in seven) was included in some one or other of those precepts of the sons of Noah; namely, in that, of worshipping for their God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and no other; whereof this consecration of a *seventh day*, after six dayes labour, was a badge or livery; according to that, *The sabbath is a signe between me and you, that I Jehovah am your God; because in six dayes the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: vide Exod. 31. 16, 17. Ezek. 20. 20.* From the example of these *inquilini*, all other Gentiles, wheresoever living, admitted to the worship of the God of Israel upon the same terms, were called גרי טער, or תושבי חוצות, *Profelyti Porta, or Profelyti inquilini*; of which sort there were many in all Cities and places of the Gentiles, where the Jews had Synagogues; and used to frequent the Synagogues with them, (though in a distinct place) to hear the Law and the Prophets read and expounded.

But in the New Testament they are found called by another name, to wit of Σεβουοι, or *Worshippers*, so often mentioned (though not observed) in the Acts of the Apostles. For first, these are those meant in that of the Acts 17.4. alleadged at my entrance into this discourse, where it is said that ἦ Σεβουοιων Ελληων πολυ αἰδου, *a great number of the worshipping Greeks beleaved, and adhered to Paul and Silas*; which the *Vulgar* rightly translateth, *de colentibus Gentilibus multitudo magna*, taking the name of *Greeks*, here,

as

Acts 17.4.

as elsewhere in the New Testament, to be put for *Gentiles in generall*. And this place will admit of no evasion: For that they were *Gentiles*, the name of *Exclusion* betokeneth expressly, being given them by way of distinction from the Jews, then and there present also. That they were worshippers of the true God, the God of Israel, their coming into the Synagogue, their name *Σεβόμενοι*, their capableness of S. Pauls discourse, (which was to prove out of the Scriptures, *that Messiah was to suffer death, and that Jesus was he*) argues sufficiently; yea, abundantly. For who could have profited by such a Sermon as this, but those who already had knowledge of the true God, and beleaved the reward of the life to come? This place therefore, may serve as a key to all the rest of the places in this Book, where these *Σεβόμενοι* are mentioned.

To that in the same Chapter, ver. 17. where it is said, that Saint Paul in the Synagogue at Athens, *διελέγετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς Σεβομένοις*, *disputed with the Jews and the worshippers*.

To that Acts 16. 14. where Saint Paul preaching the Gospel in the Jews *Proseucha*, or Oratory at *Philippi*, a woman named *Lydia*, a seller of purple, of the City *Thyatira*, *Σεβομένη ᾧ Θεῷ*, A *profelyte worshipper*, was converted unto the faith, and baptized with all her household.

In the like manner, to Acts 18.4. when S. Paul is said at Corinth, to have reason'd in the Synagogues every Sabbath, and to have perswaded the Jews and the *Greeks*: For these *Greeks* were *Σεβόμενοι*, what did they in the Synagogues else so regularly every Sabbath

Acts 17. 4.

Sabbath day : True, the name of Σεβομενοι is here wanting ; But it presently follows, when the Jews opposed *Paul*, (there testifying Jesus to be Christ) and blasphemed ; *that he shook his rayment, and said, Your blood be on your own heads: From henceforth I will go to the Gentiles. And he departed thence, saith the text, and entred into the house of one Justus, Σεβομενυ ἡ Θεον, a Gentile-worshipper, whose house joyned hard to the Synagogue.*

But above all, that narration Acts 13. deserves our consideration and attention : There ver. 43. it is said, that Saint *Paul* having preached the Gospel in the Jews Synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia, there followed him πολλοὶ ἡ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τῶν Σεβομένων Προσηλύτων, many of the Jews and *worshipping* Profelytes ; and ver. 42. That when the Jews were gone out of the Synagogue, the Gentiles, that is, the Σεβομενοι, besought the Apostles, that the same things might be preached unto them the next Sabbath ; which being accordingly done, and many of the other Gentiles (who were not Σεβομενοι) upon the fame of such a new Doctrine, unwontedly assembling with them, it is said, that *the Jews when they saw the multitude, were filled with envy, contradicted and blasphemed.* That then *Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said ; It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken unto you, but seeing you put it from you, and judge your selves unworthy of eternall life ; Lo, we turn to the Gentiles ; as the Lord saith, I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, &c.* 48. That when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of God, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν ὅτι ἡ ὁμή τεταγμένη εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον that

that is, the *Σεβόμενοι*, who were already *in procinctu*, and in the posture to eternal life. The Jews blasphemed; the rest of the Gentiles were incapable; onely the *Σεβόμενοι*, (who were already *Candidati vite eterne*, having been instructed in the worship of the true God, and hoping for the reward to come) they believed: Yet perhaps not all of them neither, (the words require not * so much) but that none but such: And it follows, that the Jews found out some *Σεβόμενος γυναῖκας καὶ εὐσεβήσαντας*, *worshipping women*, such as were of fashion (who yet perhaps had not been at the Apostles Sermon) by whose means they stirred up the chief men in the City, and raised persecution against *Paul* and *Barnabas*. This I take to be the true and genuine meaning of this passage, upon which no charge of Pelagianism can be fastened; nor needeth it any spinous Criticisms for its explication. The use of the word *τίτλις*, *de acie & collocatione Militum, de ascriptione in ordinem vel classē*, (in which signification the passive is most frequent) is well enough known: *ἐμαυτὸν τίτλις εἰς τοὺς βελομένους*, *Xenophon: In cam classē me ascribo. Plutarch. in Solone; αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τεινύτῳ μετὰ τῶν πτωχῶν, In pauperum ordinem se redigit, inter pauperes se numerat: πλεονεξεῖ εἰς μάχην, dicuntur milites, unde & τεταγμένοι appellantur: τίτλις εἰς ἀνδρας, est in numerum virorum ascribi.* Compare the *1 Cor. 16. 15. εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔταξαν αὐτούς.* According to which sense and notion, the words might be rendred, *Crediderunt, quotquot nomina sua dederant vite eterne*, or, [per Ellipsin Participii] *Qui de agmine & classe fuerant sperantium, vel contendendum ad vitam eternam*: otherwise, *Qui in procinctu stabant*

Alia 174.

* For *ἵνα* is often put for *ei*, and the sense then but indefinite.

Acts 17.4.

bant ad vitam eternam : or most fitly, (*sensu modò militari*) Quotquot ordinati fuerant ad vitam eternam. De re tota iudicent viri docti, & à studio partium alieni.

Besides, it will not be impertinent, as a *Mantissa* to these quotations for Σεβόμενοι, to note that the same persons are otherwise (namely, twice) characterised by the title of φοβέμενοι τὸ Θεόν. As first of *Cornelius*, concerning whom there is no question but he was a *Gentile-worshipper*: The Text saith, *There was a man in Casarea, called Cornelius, a Centurion of the Italian Band*, Εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβέμενος τὸ Θεόν, (i.) Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ. Again in that 13. of the Acts (whereon we have dwelt so long) *S. Paul* speaking at first to that mixt multitude assembled in the Synagogue, consisting partly of Jews, and partly ἐκ τῶν Σεβόμενων περὶ ἑαυτῶν, he compellates them, *verse 16.* both distinctly in these words, Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, καὶ οἱ φοβέμενοι τὸ Θεόν, αἰκούσιν. By the former, meaning the Jews; by the latter, the Σεβόμενοι, or *Gentile-worshippers*.

Of this kinde of *Converts* (as I have in part already intimated) were in our Saviour and his Apostles time, very many in every Nation and City, where the Jews lived and had their Synagogues; yea, far more in number, then of that other sort of *Proselytes* which were circumcised. The reason being, because it was the more easie condition, and not so prejudiciall to their outward liberty, as the other; in as much, as they might notwithstanding still live, and converse with their friends, kindred, and Countrymen, bear office and enjoy honours among them, (as *Naaman* the Syrian did, who was of this kinde) which the other might not do.

These

These impediments being out of the way, the hope of the Resurrection from the dead, and the reward of the life to come, were powerfull inducements to draw many to the worship of that God, who onely among the Gods * at that time, promised this reward to such as worshipped and served him, and no other, which was the bait wherewith the Jews allured them, and that to their own no small emolument; this kinde, as it were to recompence their want of Circumcision, seeming to be very bountifull towards their Nation, as may be gathered both from *Cornelius*, who is said *to have given much alms to the people*, (namely of the Jews;) And the Story of that Centurion, *Luke 7.* whom the Jews besought our Saviour so instantly for, alledging that *he loved their Nation, and had built them a Synagogue*, and therefore deserved that favour they sued for, on his behalf.

Now, out of this discourse (besides the clearing of the passages afore-mentioned,) we may learn two things: One, how so many of the *Gentiles*, by the preaching of the Apostles, could so soon and so readily be converted to the faith of Christ. It was because they had already embraced the principles which led thereunto. For we are to take notice, that the foundation of the Church among the Gentiles, was laid of these *Σεβόμενοι*, who had already embraced the worship of the true God, had knowledge of his promises, beleaved and hoped for the life to come. For was not *S. Peter* (to whom the instructions for this Embassage were first given) sent first to *Cornelius* a Centurion, a Gentile, the first of this order? where-

F

fore?

Acts 17. 4.

* For since then, the Devil hath been Gods Ape.

Acts 17.4.

fore ? but that this might be for a pattern for them, with what kinde of men they were first to deal in this great work ; namely, with such as were *idonei Auditores Evangelii* ; those which were *puri puti Gentiles*, being not so ; as who knew nothing of the principles requisite thereto. This will appear, if we consider well the tenor of the Apostles Sermons, to such Gentiles as they converted ; which we shall observe to presuppose that they already knew the true God, and the promise of eternall life, to such as worshiped him, and so had no more to learn, but the way and means now revealed by God, for attainment thereof, which was by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The other thing we may learn, is, what was the true state of the Question, which the Apostles met to decide in the Councell at Jerusalem ; whether the Gentiles which beleaved in Christ, were to be circumcised or not, and so bound to keep the whole Law : It was this, to resolve (that, whereas all such as embraced the worship of the God of Israel, conformed to one of these two kinds of *Profelytes*) to whether of them the Gentiles, which had or should receive the Gospel of Christ, were to conform themselves, whether to the *Profelytes of the Covenant*, or to the *Σεβούτοις*, and *Profelytes of the Gate*. Saint Peter standing up in the Councell, demonstrates it to be the will of God, that they should conform to the latter, and not to the first ; and that upon this ground ; because that *Cornelius*, the first Christened Gentile, unto whom himself was sent by Divine Commission, was no *circumcised Profelyte*, but a *Profelyte of the Gate*, or a *Σεβούτις* onely ; yet received
he

he no Commission to circumcise him: Yea, the holy Ghost, as he was Preaching, fell upon him and his household, being uncircumcised, as it did upon those of the Circumcision: whereby it appeared, that God would have the rest of the Gentiles, which embraced the faith, to be after the pattern of *Cornelius*; and to have no more imposed upon them, then He had. And accordingly the Council defines, *That no other burden should be laid upon them, but only to abstain from pollution of Idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication*: and as some copies * have, ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνάγκη, ἐπέσεσσι μὴ ποιῆν. To do as they would be done to; that is, they should as σεβόμενοι, observe the *praecepta Filiorum Noe*, which here [by a ἅμα ἐνδείας] are briefly reckoned up.

Acts 17. 4.

* Together with Irenaeus twice, Lib. 3. cap. 12. Cyprian. 4 Lib. 3. Tistimon, in fine.

Μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

F 2

2 PETER

2 P E T E R 2. 4.

For if God spared not the Angels which sinned, [*ἀλλὰ
οὐκ ἐξέτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσας παρὰ νόμον εἰς χεῖρας τιμωρίας*] but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darknesse to be reserved unto Judgement, &c. so we translate it :

To which of S. Peter, answers that of S. Jude, (as almost that whole Epistle doth to this) verse 6. *And the Angels which kept not their first estate, [or principality] but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darknesse unto the Judgement of the great Day.*



Hese two places are brought to prove, that the Devils or evil spirits, are now in Hell, before the day of Judgement: Which I cannot see how it can possibly stand with the rest of the Scripture, which testifies every where that they have their mansion in the Air, and here about the earth, where they tempt, seduce, and do all the mischief they can to mankinde; hence their Chieftain Satan is styled, The Prince of the power of the Air, that is, of the airie Dominion or Princedom. Therefore hither they were with their Prince exiled from Heaven, and no further, nor shall be untill the Day of Judgement. And of this I shall speak at this time: First, to clear these

these Texts which seem to make for the contrary ; Secondly, to enquire what was the opinion of the Ancients about this point.

As for this place of S. Peter, and that imitation thereof in the Epistle of Jude, I can beleeve the translation of neither: *Piscator* (not conceiving how that of S. Jude (especially because of the word [αἰώνιος] eternall) could be reconciled with other Scripture, and experience, which shews us that the Evill spirits are not yet bound with eternall chains, having so much liberty of gadding about) supplies in the Text *vinciendos*, as if there were an Ellipsis, reading it thus, *Judicio magni illius Dei vinculis æternis (vinciendo) reservasse.*

In that of S. Peter, if I understand him, he takes *σικεῖς ζόφου*, not for *Dativus instrumenti*, with chains of darknesse, but as *Dativus acquisitionis*, for chains of darknesse; and construes it with *παρέδωκεν*, as if it were, *He delivered them for chains of darknesse*; namely, supposing a trajection of the words.

But for my part I take both *σικεῖς ζόφου* in S. Peter, and *δεσμῶς αἰώνιος* in S. Jude, to be neither of them *Dativus instrumenti*, but both *Acquisitionis*, or *Finis*, and governed the one of *παρημένην*, and the other of *παρέδωκεν* that is, *σικεῖς* to be put for *eis σικεῖς*, and *δεσμῶς* for *eis δεσμός* — As in the Hebrew, the preposition ל, serves for the proposition eis, and for the Dative Case, whose propriety the style of the Greek Testament every where imitates, and why not in this; *σικεῖς* therefore and *δεσμῶς*, are here לַסִּימִיּוֹת, not לַסִּימִיּוֹת: Nay, among the Greek Grammarians we finde observed, that the Dative Case is some-

Acts 17.4.

times put for the Accusative with the proposition *εις*. As in this example, ὁμοῖα διὰ τὸ εἶναι τῇ πόλει, that is, *εις πόλιν* much more in the sacred Greek; which so frequently imitates the Hebrew Construction.

Next for the word *ταρταρώσας* in S. Peter, it is *ἀπαῖ* *ἀεζούων*, and so not bound by any use or example to the signification we here give it, to wit, *throwing down to hell*. I would therefore render it, *ad pœnas tartareas damnavit*, to wit, thus, *Angelos qui peccaverunt, cum ad tartari supplicium damnavisset, catenis caliginis servandos tradidit ad Diem Judicii*. For *χρῖσ* here is *ὑπερ* *χρῖσ*, as S. Jude hath it: So also Mat. 12.24. *The Queen of the South shall rise in judgement with this Generation*, (that is) in, or at the Day of Judgement: Or I would render it, not *casting down to hell*, but *casting down to hell-ward*: So the meaning in both places will be, That the wicked Angels were cast down from heaven, to this lower orb, there to be reserved for chains of darknesse at the Day of Judgement: which sense the ninth verse in this Chapter of Peter, plainly intimates by way of reddition; *Novit Dominus pios in tentatione eripere*, as he did Noah and Lot, *Injustos verò in diem Judicii cruciandos servare*, as he doth the wicked Angels. Moreover verse 17. where the same hellish darknesse is spoken of, it is said, *to be reserved for the wicked*, *δις ὁ χρόνος τῷ σκότεις εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηθ*, *to whom that hideous darknesse is reserved for ever*; whence it is probable, that S. Peter in the foregoing passage of Angels, referred also those chains of darknesse, to *reserving*, and not to *delivering*; that is, not that the

evill

evill Angels were now already delivered to chains of darknesse, but reserved for them at the day of Judgement.

Acts 17.4.

And thus much for clearing of the words of these two parallel Texts; now what hath been anciently the current opinion of this point? And first, for the Jews, it is apparent to have been a tradition of theirs, that all the space between the earth and the firmament, is full of troops of Evill spirits, and their Chieftains, having their residence in the air; which, I make no doubt *S. Paul* had respect to, when he calls Satan *the Prince of the power of the air*. *Drusius* quotes two Authors, one the Book called מדרש דורש, *Munus novum*; another, one of the Commentators upon *Pirke Aboth*, who speak in this manner, *Debet homo scire & intelligere, à terra usque ad firmamentum omnia plena esse turmis, & prefectis, & infra plurimas esse Creaturas ladentes & accusantes, omnesque stare & volare in aere, neque à terra usque ad firmamentum locum esse vacuum: sed omnia plena esse praepositis, quorum alii ad pacem, alii ad bellum, alii ad bonum, alii ad malum, ad vitam & ad mortem incitant.* By *praepositi*, I suppose, he means such among the Spirits as are set as Wardens over severall charges, for the managing of the affairs of mankind subject to their powers. This was the opinion of the Jews; which they seem to have learned by tradition from their ancient Prophets: For in the Old Testament we finde no such thing written, and yet we see *S. Paul* seems to approve it.

Now for the Doctors of the Christian Church, *S. Hierome* upon the sixth of the *Ephesians*, tels us,

2 Pet. 2.4.

that their opinion was the same; *Tis the opinion of all the Doctors*, (saith he) *that Devils have their mansion and residence in the space between the heaven and the earth.* And that the Fathers of the first 300 or 400 years, nor did, nor could, hold the evill Angels to have been cast into Hell upon their sin, is evident by a singular Tenet of theirs. For *Iustin Martyr*, one of the most ancient, hath this saying; that *Satan before the coming of Christ never durst blaspheme God, and that* (saith he) *because till then he knew not he should be damned.* The same is approved by *Irenaeus* in his fifth Book and twenty-sixth Chapter; *Præclare* (saith he) *dixit Iustinus, quod ante Domini adventum Satanas nunquam ausus est blasphemare Deum, quippe nondum sciens suam damnationem; Post adventum autem Domini, ex sermonibus Christi & Apostolorum ejus, discens manifestè quoniam ignis aternus ei preparatus sit, — per hujusmodi homines* (he means those Heretiques who blasphemed the God of the Law) *blasphemat eum Deum, qui judicium importat.* *Eusebius* 4: *Hist. Cap. 17.* cites the same out of both, with approbation: So doth *Occumenius* upon the last Chap. of the first of *S. Peter*. *Epiphanius* against Heresie 39. gives the same as his own assertion, almost in the same words with *Iustin* and *Irenaeus*; though not naming them; *Ante Christi adventum* (saith he) *nunquam ausus est Diabolus in Dominum suum blasphemum aliquod verbum loqui, aut contra elationem cogitare: expectavit enim Christi adventum — putavitque se misericordiam aliquam assecuturum esse.* I will not enquire how true this Tenet of theirs is; but onely gather this, that they could not think the De-

vils

vils were cast into Hell, before the coming of Christ. For then how could they but have known they should be damned, if the execution had already been done upon them?

Saint *Augustine*, as may seem, intending to reconcile these places of *Peter* and *Jude* with the rest of Scripture, is alledged to affirm, that the Devils suffering some hell-like torment in their airy Mansion; the Air may in that respect in an improper sense be called *Hell*. But that the Devils were locally or actually in Hell, or should be before the day of Judgment, it is plain he held not; and that will appear by these two passages in his Book *de Civitate Dei*. First, where he saith, *Damones in hoc quidem aere habitant, quia de Caeli superioris sublimitate dejecti merito irregressibilis transgressionis in hoc sibi congruo velut carcere, prædammati sunt. Lib. 8. Cap. 22.* The other where he expounds that of the Devils * *Mat. 8. Art thou come to torment us before the time*, (that is, saith he) *ante tempus Judicii, quo æternâ damnatione puniendi sunt, cum omnibus etiam hominibus qui eorum societate detinentur. Lib. eodem Cap. 23. in fine.*

The Divines of later times, the Schoolmen and others, to reconcile the supposed Contrariety in Scripture, divide the matter; holding some Devils to be in the Air, (as Saint *Paul* and the History of Scripture tells us,) some to be already in Hell, (as they thought, Saint *Peter* and S. *Jude* affirm'd :) which opinion seems to be occasioned by a Quære of Saint *Hieroms*, upon the sixth of the *Ephesians*; though he speaks but obscurely, and defines nothing. But what

2 Pet. 2.4

* Videatur etiam Origen, in Numer. c. 22. Non vult Deus Demonum genus ante tempus damnare; Sciunt enim & ipsi Demones, quia tempus eorum præfatus hoc seculum continet: Propterea & Dominum rogabant, ut non torqueret eos ante tempus, &c. Et ob hoc neque Diabolus removit à principatu hujus seculi, &c.

72 *What the Ancients thought of the place of the fallen Angels.*

Acts 17.4.

what ground of Scripture, or reason can be given, why all the Devils, which sinned, should not be in the same condition? especially *Satan*, the worst and chief of them, should not be in the worst estate, but enjoy the greatest liberty? It follows therefore that these places of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Jude*, are to be construed according to the sense I have given of them; namely, that the evill Spirits, which sinned, being adjudged to hellish torments, were cast out of Heaven into this lower Region, there to be reserved, as in a prison, for chains of darknesse at the Day of Judgement.

1 COR.



I COR. 4. 1.

Let a man so account of us, as of the Ministers
[ὑπηρέται] of Christ, and Stewards of the Myste-
ries of God.



Man would think at first sight, that this Scripture did exceedingly warrant our use of the word *Minister*, in stead of that of *Priest*, and leave no plea for them who had rather speak otherwise. Howsoever I intend, at this time, to shew the contrary, (and even out of this text) that we have very much swarved herein from the Apostles language, and abuse that word to such a sense, as they never intended; nor is any where found in Scripture; I favour neither superstition, nor superstitious men; yet truth is truth, and needfull to be known; especially when ignorance thereof breedeth errour and uncharitableness. My discourse therefore shall be of the use of the words *Priest* and *Minister*, wherein shall appear how truly we are all *Ministers* in the Apostles sense, and yet how abusively and improperly so-called in the ordinary prevailing use of that word: I will begin thus.

All

1 C. 11. 4. 1.

All Ecclesiasticall persons or Clergy men may be considered in a threefold relation. First, To God. Secondly, To the People. Thirdly, One toward another. In respect of God, all are *Ministers* of what degree soever they be; because they do what they do by commission from him, either more or lesse immediate: for a *Minister* is he, *qui operam suam alicui, ut superiori, aut domino prabet.* In respect of the People, all are *Bishops*, that is, *Inspectores*, or Overseers; as having charge to look unto them: But lastly, compared one to another, he whom we usually call *Bishop* is onely Overseer of the rest; *Inspector totius Cleri.* *Deacons* are onely *Ministers* to the rest; *Ministri Presbyterorum & Episcoporum*, and in that respect have their name *Διακονοι*: *Bishops* are a degree of *Presbyters* of divine ordinance, to be as Heads, Chiefs, and Presidents of their Brethren: All other Ecclesiasticall *Ministers*, whether in *Ecclesia*, or *Foro Ecclesiastico* (I mean whether they attend divine Duties in the Church, or Jurisdiction in Ecclesiasticall Courts) are all a kinde of *Deacons*, being to the *Presbyters*, either single or Episcopall, as the *Levites* were to the *Sacerdotes* in the Old Testament, namely, to minister unto, or for them.

These grounds being forelaid and understood, I affirm, first, that *Presbyters* are by us unnaturally and improperly called *Ministers*, either of the Church, or of such or such a Parish: we should call them, as my text doth, *Ministers of God*, or *Ministers of Christ*, not Ministers of men.

First; Because they are onely Gods *Ministers* who sends them, but the Peoples *Magistri* to teach, instruct

struct, and oversee them: Were it not absurd to call the Shepheard, the sheeps *Minister*? If he be their Minister, they surely are his Masters. And so indeed the People by occasion of this misappellation, think they are ours, and use us accordingly. Indeed we are called *Ministers*, but never *their Ministers*, but as you see here, *Gods Ministers*, *Christs Ministers*, who employeth us to dispense his Mysteries unto his Church.

There are three words in the New Testament translated *Minister*, Διάκονος, Υπηρέτης, Λειτουργός: the first is most frequent; but not one of them is given to the Apostles, in the whole Scripture, with relation to the *Church* or *People*; you shall never finde them called Διάκονοι, or Υπηρέται & Εκκλησίας, which is so frequent with us, but *Ministers of God*; 2 Cor. 6. 4. 1 Thess. 3. 2. *Ministers of Christ*, as in my text, and 2 Cor. 11. 23. Col. 1. 7. *Ministers of Jesus Christ*. 1 Tim. 4. 6. or *Ministers of that which they minister*, as *Ministers of the New Testament*, 2 Cor. 3. 6 *Ministers of the Gospel*, Eph. 3. 7. Col. 1. 23. but not *Ministers of them to whose behoof they minister*: Yet might this speech, *Minister of the Church*, if rightly construed, be admitted; namely, if it be spoken by an Ellipsis, for Minister of God, for, and over the Church; so the Apostle Coloss. 1. 17. *A faithfull Minister of Christ for you*: that is, Christs Minister, not theirs; yet not for Christ, but for them; But those who use this speech commonly mean otherwise.

Secondly, Angels are called *ministering spirits*, but not our Ministers, but Gods Ministers to us-ward, or
for

1 Cor. 4. 1.

for our behalf: So *Ministers of the Gospel*, not the Peoples, or Congregations Ministers, but Gods Ministers for their behoof.

Thirdly, this speech [*Minister of the Church*, or, of *this or that Church*] is so much the more incommodious, because it hath begotten (as incommodious and unapt speeches do) an erroneous conceit, not onely among the vulgar, but some of better understanding; namely, that a Minister is not lawfully called, unlesse he be chosen by the People, because he is *their Minister*, and so to be deputed by them: And indeed if he be their *Minister*, in proper relation, they are his *Masters*, and so it is good reason they should appoint him, as Masters do those who are to serve them: But if in proper relation they are Gods Ministers, and not theirs, (though for them) then God is to appoint them, or such as he hath put in place to do it. It is an erroneous opinion, that some maintain, That the *power of Sacred Order*, and of the *Keyes*, is given by God immediately to the body of the Congregation; and that they depute him who is their Minister, to execute the power which is originally in them; That power is conferred by God immediately to those, who are *Bishops* and *Pastors*, and, by and through them, belongs to the whole body, and no otherwise: *Sed tantum potuit incommodi sermonis usus.*

Some perhaps object against my whole assertion, that of *S. Paul*, 2 Cor. 4. 5. *We preach not our selves, but Christ Jesus the Lord*, (to wit, *esse Dominum*) and *our selves your servants for Jesus sake*: If the Apostles were the Churches *servants*, why not their *Ministers*

nisters: I answer, the Apostle sayes not, they were the *Corinthians* servants, but that he had made himself so, in his Preaching to them: So he sayes expressly 1 *Cor.* 9. 19. *For though I be free from all men, yet I have made myself a servant to all, that I might gain the more:* Yet he confesses the *Corinthians* began to vilifie him for this condescend, 2 *Cor.* 11. 7. *Have I committed an offence in abasing myself, that you might be exalted, because I have preached unto you the Gospel of God freely?* This was that wherein he carried himself toward the *Corinthians* as a *Servant*, but to other Churches he did not so: It would be a strange assertion, to say the Apostle were the *Corinthians* *Servant*, in a proper relation; we know he sayes, *Gal.* 1. 10. *If I pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ;* And *Rom.* 6. 16. *Know ye not, that to whom you yeeld your selves servants to obey, his servants you are to whom you obey?*

I come now to a second assertion, which is, that howsoever any Ecclesiasticall person may be rightly called a *Minister*, (so it be in a proper relation to God-ward) yet the word *Minister* is again most unfitly used by us, for a name of distinction of one Ecclesiasticall Order from another: As when we call those which are *Presbyters*, *Ministers*, by way of distinction from *Deacons*; for so we speak *Ministers* and *Deacons*, in stead of *Priests* and *Deacons*,

The reason we thus speak, is to avoid the name *Priest*, which we conceive to signifie *Sacerdos*, that is, one that sacrificeth, such as were those in the Law. But our Curates of holy things in the Gospel, are not to offer Sacrifice, and therefore ought not to be called

cor. 4. 1.

led *Sacerdotes*, and consequently, not *Priests*. This is the reason; but if it be well examined, *Priest* is the English of *Presbyter*, and not of *Sacerdos*; there being in our Tongue no word in use for *Sacerdos*: *Priest*, which we use for both, being improperly used for a *Sacrificer*, but naturally expressing a *Presbyter*; the name whereby the Apostles call both themselves, and those which succeed them in their charge. For who can deny that our word *Priest* is corrupted of *Presbyter*? Our Ancestors the Saxons first used *Preoster*, which by a farther contraction came *Preste*, and *Priest*. The high and low Dutch have *Priester*, the French *Presbre*, Italian *Prete*, but the Spaniard onely speaks full *Presbytero*. But, to come more near the point, our men in using the word *Minister*, for a distinctive name in stead of *Priest*, incurre four Solecisms: I mean when we use the word *Minister* not at large, but for a distinction from the Order of *Deacons*, saying *Ministers* and *Deacons*.

First, we run into that we sought to avoid: For we would avoid to call the *Presbyters* of the Gospel, by the name of the *Sacrificers* of the Law; and yet run into it in such sort, that we style those of the Gospel by the legall name, and those of the Law by the Euangelicall name; the Hebrew calls them of the Law, *Cohanim*, of כהן, which properly signifies to *minister*; and thence comes the Greek word *κοινω*, and *διακοινω* but we call those of the Gospel, *Cohanim*, when we style them *Ministers*. On the contrary, the Apostles style those of the Gospel, *Presbyteri*; but we transferre that name to those of the Law, when we call them *Priests*: This is counterchange;

Incidit

Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

Secondly, It is a confusion or tautology, to say *Ministers* and *Deacons*, that is, *Ministers* and *Ministers*: For *Διδάκων* is in Greek, what *Minister* is in Latin; both signifying a Minister; as if one should say, *Homo* and *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, or *Diluvium* and *Cataclysmus*, and think so to distinguish things of severall natures or conditions.

Thirdly, We impose upon that Order, a name of a direct contrary notion to what the Apostles gave them: The Apostles gave them a name of *Eldership*, and *Superiority* in calling them *Presbyteri*, we of *inferiority*, & *subordination* in calling them *Ministri*: The Jews had no name more honourable then that of Elders, *ἡγεμόνες*, for so they called their Magistrates: so we read of *Elders of the people*, and *Elders of the Priests and Levites*, meaning the chief in both sorts; This honourable name the Apostles gave, as a name of distinction to the Euangelicall Pastors, whereby they dignified them above those of the Law; whose name in the Hebrew (as I said before) is but a denomination of ministry: And we have rejected the name of Dignity, of Fathership, and Eldership, and assumed in stead thereof, a name of under-service, of subjection, of ministry, to distinguish our order by; I say to distinguish our order; For in a generall sense, and with reference to God, we are all his *Ministers*, and it is an honour unto us so to be, more then to be other mens *Masters*, as our Apostle in my text intimates.

Fourthly, in the Churches beyond the Seas, there is a worse Solecism by reason of this misapplied speech. They have a kinde of Officers, who are the

G

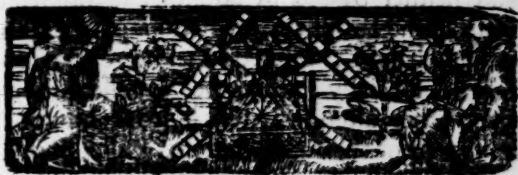
Pastors

1 Cor. 4. 1.

Pastors assistants in Discipline, much like to our Churchwardens, these they call *Elders*, we style them *Lay-Elders*; These are but a kinde of *Deacons* at the most, and of a new erection too; And yet these are dignified by the name of *Elders* and *Presbyters*, who are indeed but *Deacons* or *Ministers*; and the *Pastor* himself is called a *Minister*, who in the Apostles style is the onely *Presbyter* or *Elder*. For so they speak, *The Minister and his Presbyters, or Elders.*

To conclude, it had been to be wished, that those whom the term of *Priest* displeased, as that which gave occasion by the long abuse thereof, to fancy a *Sacrifice*, had rather restored the Apostolicall name of *Presbyter* in the full sound, which would have been as soon, and as easily learned and understood, as *Minister*; and was no way subject to that supposed inconvenience. But the mis-application of the word *Presbyter* in some Churches, to an Order the Apostles called not by that name, deprived those thereof, to whom it was properly due. Howsoever when they call us *Ministers*, let them account of us as *the Ministers of Christ*, and not of men: Not as deputed by the Congregation to execute a power originally in them, but as *Stewards of the mysteries of God.*

S. JOHN



Vid: Whitbys General Preface pag. 20

S. JOHN 10. 20.

He hath a Devill, and is mad.

IT is a matter of greater moment, then perhaps every man thinks of, under what notions things are conceived, and from what property or Character the names we call them by, are derived. For hereby, not seldom, it comes to passe, That the same things, presented to us under different notions, and names derived therefrom, are not taken to be the same they are. Even as he, that meets a man well known unto him, in an extick disguise, or antick habit, takes him to be some other, though he knew him never so well before. For example; a man would wonder that a *Comet*, (as we call it) being so remarkable and principall a work of the Divine power, and which draws the eyes of all men with admiration towards it, should no where be found mentioned in the Old Testament: Neither there, where the works of God are so often recounted to magnifie him, (when as *Hail, Snow, Rain,* and *Ice*, works of far lesse admiration are not preter-

Job, 10. 20.

mitted) neither by way of allusion and figured expression, in the Prophets predictions of great calamities and changes, whereof they were taken to be presages; especially, when we see them borrow so many other allusions, both from heaven and earth, to paint their descriptions with. Should a man therefore think, there never appeared any of them in those times, or to those Countreys? It is incredible: Or that the Jews were so dull and heedlesse as not to observe them? That is not like neither: What should we say then? Surely, they conceived of them under some other notions then we do, and accordingly expressed them some other way: As what if by a *Pillar of fire*, such a one perhaps as went before the Israelites in the Wildernesse; or by a *Pillar of fire and smoke*: as in that of *Joel*, *I will shew wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, Blood, and Fire, and pillars of Smoke*: Or by the name of an *Angel of the Lord*, (whereby no doubt they are guided) according as is said of that Pillar of Fire which went before the Israelites, That *the Angel of the Lord*, when they were to passe the Red-sea, came and stood between them and the Ægyptians, when that Pillar did so. And who knows, whether that in the 104 *Psalms*, may not have some meaning this way? *He maketh his Angels Spirits*, (or windes) *and his Ministers a Flame of fire*, to wit, because they are wont to appear in both. It comes in, in the *Psalms*, among other works of God, in a fit place for such a sense; both in regard of what goes before, and follows after. These, I say, or some of these may be descriptions of those we call *Comets*; which

which because they are disguised under another notion, and not denominated from *Stella*, or *Coma*, hence we know them not.

Now, to come toward my Text; a like instance to this, I take to be that of the *Dæmoniack*, so often mentioned in the Gospel: For I make no question, but that now and then the same befalls other men; whereof I have experience my self, to wit, To marvel how these Dæmoniacks should so abound in, and about that Nation, which was the people of God; whereas in other Nations, and their writings, we hear of no such; And that too, as it should seem, about the time of our Saviours being on earth only; because in the time before, we finde no mention of them in Scripture. The wonder is yet the greater, because it seems notwithstanding all this, by the Story of the Gospel, not to have been accounted then by the people of the Jews, any strange or extraordinary thing, but as a matter usuall; nor besides is taken notice of by any forrain Story.

To meet with all these difficulties, (which I see not how otherwise can be easily satisfied) I am persuaded (till I shall hear better reason to the contrary,) that these *Dæmoniacks* were no other then such as we call *mad-men*; and *Lunaticks*; at least, that we comprehend them under those names, and that therefore they both still are, and in all times and places have been, much more frequent then we imagine. The cause of which our mistake, is that disguise of another name, and notion, then we conceive them by; which makes us take them to be diverse, which are the same.

Iob. 10. 20.

That you may rightly understand this my Assertion, (before I acquaint you with the reasons which induce me thereunto) you must know, that the Masters of Physick tell us of two kindes of *Deliration*, or alienation of the understanding; One, *ex vi morbi*, that, namely, which is with or from a Fever, called *Delirium*, or *Phrenitis* (the latter being a higher degree then the former;) Another kinde *sine Febre*, when a man, having no other disease, is crazed and disturbed in his wits.

And this, they say, is either simple dotage, proceeding from some weaknesse of the brain, or intellectual faculty; or *Melancholia* and *Mania*, which they describe and distinguish thus: Both of them to be when the understanding is so disturbed, that men imagine, speak, and do things, which are most absurd, and contrary to all reason, sense, and use of men. But their difference to be in this; that *melancholia* is attended with fear, sadness, silence, retirednesse and the like symptoms: *Mania* with rage, raving, and fury, and actions sutable; which is most properly styled *madnesse*. Now then, I say, that those *Dæmoniacks* in the Gospel were such as we call *mad-men*: understand me to mean, not of Deliration *ex vi morbi*, or of simple dotage, but of these two last kindes, *Melancholici* and *Maniaci*; whereunto adde *morbis Comitialis*, or the falling sicknesse, and whatsoever is properly called *Lunacy*.

Such as these, I say, the Jews beleev'd (and so may we) to be troubled and acted with evill Spirits: as it is said of *Sauls* Melancholy, *That an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him*; and therefore, passing by

by all other causes and Symptoms, they thought fit to give them their Name from this, calling them בְּעָלֵי שְׁדִים, or Δαίμονες. An occasion of the more frequent use of which expression, in our Saviours time, and the ages immediately before him, then formerly, had been, or may seem to have been given by the sect of the Sadduces, which, after the time of *Hyrceanus*, had much prevailed, and affirmed (as *S. Luke* tells us) *that there was no resurrection, neither Angel, nor Spirit*. To affront, and cry down whose error, it is like enough the Pharisees, and the rest of the right-beleeving Jews who followed them, affected, to draw their expressions (wheresoever they could) from *Angels* and *Spirits*: as presently they did, in the *Acts*, when *Saint Paul* awakened their faction in the Councell, saying, *I am a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee, &c. We finde no evill, say they, in this man, but if a Spirit or an Angel hath spoken unto him, let us not fight against God.*

Having thus sufficiently stated, and explicated my assertion, now you shall hear what grounds I have for the same: First therefore, I prove it out of the Gospel it self, and that in the first place from this Scripture, which I have chosen for my text, Δαίμονιον ἔχει καὶ μωρὸς, *he hath a Devil and is mad*. Where I suppose the latter words to be an explication of the former.

Secondly, I prove it out of *Mat. 17. 15.* where it is said, *There came to our Saviour a certain man kneeling down to him, and saying; Lord have mercy on my son, ἐν σπλάχνῳ, because he is Lunatick, and sore vexed: For oft times he falleth into the Fire, and oft in-*

Iob. 10. 20.

to the water. That this Lunatick was a *Demoniack*, it is evident both out of the 15. ver. of this Chapter, where it is said; Our Saviour rebuked the Devill, and he departed out of him, and the childe was cured from that very hour: As also out of the 9. of the Gospel of Saint Luke, where it is said of the self-same person, Lo, a spirit taketh him, and he cryeth out, and it teareth him, that he foameth again, and bruising him, hardly departeth from him. By comparing of these places, you may gather what kinde of men they were, which the Scripture calls *δαίμονιζόμενοι*.

Now I come to other Testimonies: And first, take notice, that the Gentiles also had the like apprehension of their *mad-men*; whence they called them *Larvati*, and *Cerriti*, where *Larvati* is as much as *Larvis*, id est, *Demonibus acti*: so *Festus*, *Larvati*, saith he, *furiosi & mente moti, quasi Larvis exterriti*. And for *Cerriti*, they were so called, *quasi Cereriti, hoc est, à Cerere percussi*. And therefore you may remēber, that when *Menechmus* in *Plautus* fains himself mad, and talks accordingly, the Physitian, who was sent for to cure him, asks the old man who came to fetch him, whether he were *Larvatus* or *Cerritus*. If the Gentiles thought thus of their mad-men, should we think it strange the Jews should? I could tell you here, that the Turks conceit of their madmen, is not unlike this; but that they suppose the spirit that works in them, to be a good, rather than an evill one. But I let this passe.

My next testimony shall be out of *Iustin Martyr*, who in his second Apology *ad Antoninum*, to prove (at least to a Gentile) that the souls of men have existence and sense after death, brings for an argument their

their *Necromantia*, and their *Evocationes Mortuorum*, together with other the like: & in the last place this of *Dæmoniacks*; where by his descriptiō of them, we may easily gather what kinde of people they were, which were so taken to be. *Item illi* (saith he) *qui à mortuorum manibus corripuntur* (for such were these *Dæmonia* taken to be) atq; *humī abjiciuntur homines* ἐς δαιμονολήπτες καὶ μαινομένοις καλεῖσι πάντες which all call *Dæmoniack* and *mad-men*: δαιμονόληπτοι therefore and μαινώδεις were all one, as men then conceived. Note here that these *Δαιμόνια* were taken to be the souls of men deceased, and that not among the Gentiles onely, but (as may seem) among the Jews also. For *Josephus* in his seventh Book *De Bello Judaico*, Cap. 25. mentioning these δαιμονιζόμενοι upon occasion of a certain herb, supposed to be good for them, saith expressly by way of Parenthesis, ταῦτα δὲ (ἰ. ε. Δαιμόνια) πονηρῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων πνέματα τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐισδύοντα, *Spiritus sunt pessimorum hominum vivis immerſi*. I tell not this meaning to avouch it for true; but only that you might understand, how *Iustin Martyr*s argument proceeds, to prove that souls have existence after Death, from *Dæmoniacki*.

My last proof is taken from those *Energumeni*, (which are all one with δαιμονιζόμενοι) so often mentioned in the Church Liturgies, in the ancient Canons, and in other Ecclesiasticall writings, many ages after our Saviours being on earth; and that, not as any rare and unaccustomed thing, but as ordinary and usuall. They were wont to send them out of the Church, when the Liturgie began; as they did the *Pœnitentes*, *Auditores*, and *Catechumeni*, which might not be partakers of the holy Mysteries. If those

Iob. 10. 20.

those were not such, as we now adayes conceive of no otherwise then as *mad-men*, surely the world must be supposed to be very well rid of Devils, over it hath been; which for my part I beleieve not. Nay, that these *Ενεργεῖς* or *Δαιμονίζοντες*, were such as I speak of, *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* both in their *Scholia* upon the Canons of the Church, will, I think, inform us: For to reconcile two Canons, concerning these *Energumeni*, which seem contradictory, one (called of the Apostles) in these words; *Si quis Dæmonem habet, ne fiat Clericus, sed neque cum fidelibus precetur*: Another of *Timotheus*, *quondam* Patriarch of Alexandria, speaking thus, *Si qui fidelis δαιμονίζων, debet esse sanctorum mysteriorum particeps*. To reconcile these, I say, they affirm, the former (which admits them not) to be meant *ὅτι πῦρ διηνεκὲς* or *δι' ὅλου μαυνομένου*, of him that is continually and alwayes mad; *ne forte quid mali aut inhonesti agat, aut Dæmoniacas voces emittat, ita ut populum Dei conturbet, atque divinum officium impediatur*. But that of *Timotheus* which admits them, to be understood *ὅτι πῦρ ἐκ διαλείματος μαυνομένου*, of him that is mad but by fits, and hath his *Lucida intervalla*. And thus I have acquainted you with what I have observed, to confirm me in this opinion, and make no doubt, but there are more passages yet to be found, this way, then I have met with.

Vide
Chryso-
stomi c-
pistol.
*περὶ Στά-
γμειον*

δαιμονιῶντα. Item de precibus in ecclesia pro Energumenis; Hom. 4, & 5. de incomprehensibili Dei natura, verius finem inter Serm. ad Pop. Aniocha.

PROV.



PROVERBS 21.16.

The Man, that wandreth out of the way of understanding, shall remain in the Congregation of the Dead. בקהל רפאים, in coetu Gigantum.

IT is a question sometimes moved amongst Divines, and worth resolving; How, and by what name the place and condition of the damned (which in the Gospel is called *Gehenna*) was termed, or expressed in the Old Testament before the Captivity of *Babylon*, and whilst the first Temple stood: For presently after the Return, the afore-mentioned name *Gehenna* began to be frequented; as appears both by the second of *Esdra*s, the Chaldee Paraphrast, and other Jewish writings, where that name is often found; as also by the Gospel, where our Saviour useth it, as then vulgarly known amongst the Jews. But it is as certain, that before the Captivity or second Temple (for so the Jews call the time of their state after their return) this name was not in use, both because it is no where to be

Pro. 21. 16.

be found in the Canonick Scriptures of the old Testament, which were all written within that time; and especially, because the ground and occasion thereof was not till about that time in being; which was the pollution of the valley of the sons of *Hinnom*, or *Tophet* by King *Josiah*, and the dreadfull execution of divine vengeance in that Place: Hence it became to posterity to be a name of execration, and applyed to signifie the place of eternall punishment.

For this valley of *Hinnom* (*Gehinnom*, or, as afterward they pronounced it, *Gehenna*) was a valley neer Jerusalem, in a place whereof, called *Tophet*, the children of Israel committed that abominable Idolatry, in making their children to passe through the fire to *Moloch*, that is, burnt them to the Devil. For an eternall detestation whereof, King *Josiah* polluted it, and made it a place execrable, ordaining it to be the place, whither dead Carcasses, Garbage, and other unclean things should be cast out: For consuming whereof, to prevent annoyance, a continuall fire was there burning. Yea, not man onely, but the Lord himself, as it were consecrated this place, to be a place of execration, by making it the field of his vengeance; both before and after. For first, this was the place where the Angel of the Lord destroyed the host of *Senacherib*, King of *Assyria*, where one hundred and eighty thousand of their Carcasses were burnt, according to that, *Esay* 30. *Through the voyce of the Lord shall the Assyrian be beaten down. For Tophet* (this was a place, I told you, in the valley of *Hinnom*) *is ordained of old; yea for the King it is prepared, he hath made it deep and large, the pile thereof is*
fire

fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it. This was also the place, where the Idolatrous Jews were slain, and massacred by the Babylonian armies; when their City was taken, and their Carcasses left, for want of room for buriall, for meat to the fowles of heaven, and beasts of the field; according to the word of the Lord, by the Prophet *Jeremy* in his seventh and nineteenth Chapters, *The children of Judah have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart. Therefore behold, the dayes come, saith the Lord, that it shall be no more called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of slaughter. For they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place. And the carcasses of this people shall be meat for the fowls of heaven, and the beasts of the field, and none shall fray them away.*

Hence, as I said, this place being so many wayes execrable for what had been done therein, especially, having been as it were the gate to eternall destruction, by so remarkable judgements, and vengeance of God there executed for sin; it came to be translated to signifye the *place of the damned*, as the most accursed, execrable, and abominable place of all places; the *invisible valley of Hinnom*. For such was the property of the Jewish Language, to give Denominations unto things unseen, from such analogicall, and borrowed expressions of things visible. By all which it is apparent, that this notion of that name took its beginning after the Captivity, and was not in use before.

Still

Psa. 11. 16.

Still therefore we are left to seek, by what other name, and under what notion this *place of the damned* was expressed, before the word *Gehenna*, or *Gehinnom* came to be used. I answer, out of my Text, it seems to have been called *Domus*, or *Cælus Gigantum*. *Vir qui erraverit à viâ intelligentiæ, in Cætu Gigantum commorabitur*. In the Hebrew, in *Cætu Rephaim*, which word properly signifies *Giants*, and to that sense is always rendred by the Seventy, *גִּבּוֹרִים, γίγαντες, πῆλεις, or ἀνθρώποι*, though we, and the latter Interpreters, both in this, and some other places, take it for *manes*, or *mortui*; but the ancient, I think, deserve the more credit, especially it being confessed, that the word elsewhere so signifies. In *Cætu Gigantum* therefore, that is, of those *Giants*, and *Rebels* against God, of whom we read *Gen. 6*. Those mighty men, and men of renown of the old World, whose wickedness was so great in the earth, that it repented, and grieved God he had made man; and to take vengeance upon whom, he brought the generall Deluge upon the earth, and destroyed man and beast from the face thereof. *Vir qui erraverit à viâ Doctrinæ*, The man that wandreth out of the way of understanding, shall go and keep them company; that is, go to that accursed place, and condition which they are in.

That this construction of *Cætu Rephaim* is not improbable, may appear, first, by the glosse of *Rabbi Solomon* upon this Text, in *Cætu Rephaim*, that is, saith he, *בְּעִיר גִּבּוֹרִים*, in *Cætu Gehenna*; This notion therefore is not altogether new.

Secondly, it is strengthened by comparing with
it

it other places of Scripture, where the like expression is used; as twice more in this Book of *Proverbs*; First, *Chap. 2. 18.* where we read according to the Vulgar, *Domus mulieris aliena inclinata est ad mortem, & ad inferos semita ejus*; Here for *ad inferos*, the Hebrew hath רמס אל, *ad Gigantes*; And the Seventy render it with an *exegetis*: ἡδeto παρὰ τὴν ἄσλν, ὡς ἦ γνη-
 vōn τὸς ἀζοναὶ αὐτῆς, She hath put, or set her paths in *Hades*, or *Hell*, with the *Giants*. Again, *Chap. 9. 18.* *Aqua furtiva dulciores sunt, & panis absconditus suavior. Et ignoravit*, (namely, he that goes in to a strange woman) *quod ibi sint Gigantes, & in profundis Inferni conviva ejus*. Here in some Editions of the Vulgar are added these words: *Qui enim applicabitur illi, descendet ad inferos, & qui abscesserit ab illa salvabitur*: an Argument how this place hath been understood; For the meaning of both these places seems to be no other, but, That the strange woman will bring them who frequent her, to *hell*, to keep the Apostate *Giants* company.

There is another place in the *Hagiographa*, where these *Rephaim* are mentioned, to wit, *Job 26. 5.* which though of a more ambiguous sense, and scope, yet as it is translated by the vulgar Latin, and well enough to agree with the Hebrew, seems to be no other, but a description of *Hell* with the former; *Gigantes*, saith he, *gemunt sub aquis, & qui habitant cum iis. Nudus est infernus coram illo (id est, Deo) & nulum est operimentum perditioni*. The meaning hereof seems to be this. The place where the old *Giants* mourn, or wail under the waters, and their fellow-inhabitants, the rest of the damned with them, even
Infernus,

Pro. 21. 16.

Infernus, and the place of Perdition it self, is naked and open to the eyes of God, from whom nothing is hid; which is agreeable to that, *Pro. 15. 11. Hell and destruction are before the Lord, how much more then the hearts of the children of men?* In this place the Jews take the word *Abaddon*, which we render destruction, for *Gehenna*; that is, elliptically, for *Beth Abaddon*, the House of destruction. And why then should not the same word be so taken in that place of *Job*? and *Nul-lum est operimentum perditionis*, be as much as, *Nul-lum est operimentum Loco perditionis*, or *Gehenna*?

Compare with these places in the *Hagiographa*, two in the Prophets; One in the 14. of *Esay*; where by way of a Poeticall or Propheticall *hypotyposis* of the destruction or fall of Babylon, the King thereof is brought in coming to the *Rephaims*, or *Giants* in the other world. *Hell* (saith the Text) *from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the Rephaims for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth: And they shall say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?*

The other is the 32 of *Ezekiel*, concerning the fall of Egypt, where their slain are bestowed in like manner, in the nethermost parts of the earth, with the *Gibborim*; which signifies not onely mighty men, but *Giants*, and so is rendred in this place by the *Seventy*: And thus much from comparison of places of Scripture.

A third Argument to make this notion probable, which I have represented, is this; Because all the expressions almost in Scripture, whereby this place of eternall punishment is represented, relate and allude

to

to some places or Stories remarkable for Gods exemplary vengeance executed upon sinners. As that of *Gehenna* to the notorious Judgements of God in the valley of *Hinnom*, for Idolatry, and Blasphemy. That of the *Lake of fire and brimstone*, so often mentioned in the *Apocalypse*, to the *Lake Asphaltites*, the lasting monument of those showers of fire and brimstone from heaven, wherewith *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* with the rest of the Cities of the plain perished for their abominable lusts. Our Saviours expression in his sentence of condemnation, (*Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels*) seems to relate to the punishment of the *Apostate Angels*, who for their rebellion were delivered unto chains of darknesse against that great Day.

And was not the destruction of the old world, by the generall *Deluge of water*, as famous as any of these? Yea, not to be paralleld by any, but that second *Deluge of fire*, at the last Judgement? How improbable is it then, that this should not lend a denomination to the place or state of eternall punishment, as well as the rest?

Nay, which is more, *S. Peter* in his second Epistle, and second Chapter recites these last three together, as if they had been intended, as patterns of the eternall Judgement and punishment of sinfull men. *For* (saith he) *if God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them down to Hell, and delivered them to chains of darknesse, to be reserved unto judgement.* 5. *And spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eight person, a Preacher of righteousness, bringing in the Flood upon the world of the ungodly, (that is, of the Rephaim,*

H

for

Pro. xi. 16:

for so the Seventy sometimes turn it.) 6. *And turning the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample, or pattern* (mark it well, *μελλόντων ἀποθεῖν*, (i.) ἡ πολεσάντων ἡ μελλόντων ἀποθεῖν, of the punishment) *of such, as should after live ungodly*: (Hence, as I told you, was the Lake *Asphaltites*, or the Lake of fire and brimstone, borrowed by Saint *John*, for a denomination of hell.) 7. *And he delivered just Lot, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked*; (If God did this) 9. *He knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of Indgement, to be punished*. Ye see the application, or reddition; and accordingly, how prone the destruction of the world, of the *Rephaim* or ungodly by the Deluge, is, to give denomination to the punishment of Hell, as well as the other two.

And now, I suppose, you look for my Application, and putting the whole Text together, which I shall do: *He that goeth astray from the way of understanding*, (that is, he that wandereth from the Law and Discipline of God; For that indeed is the true wisdom. *Timor Domini principium sapientie*, The fear of God is the prime wisdom; that is the meaning; or to speak after our Academicall notion, the chief Philosophy; whence, through all this Book of the *Proverbs*, the wicked man who hath no skill in this Divine Philosophy, or Discipline of God, goeth for a *Fool*, and so is called) *must one day go even to his Fellow-giants*; who, as *Baruch* sayes in his third Chapter, were destroyed, because they had

had no wisdom, and perished through their own foolishness. *Vir qui erraverit à viâ Doctrina, in Cœtu Gigantum commemorabitur.* They who thus go astray, shall go to those *Rephaims* of the old World, whose true sons they are; that is, unto the place of everlasting punishment; From which God deliver us.

Pro. 1. 16

H 2

GEN.



GEN. 49. 10.

The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, untill SHILOH come, and unto him shall the gathering of the People be.



Tis a Prophecy of the coming of Christ, and the time thereof; namely, when the *Scepter shall depart from Judah*; then should the coming, reign, and Scepter of *Messiah* begin, and not till then. The end of the one, should be the beginning of the other: Whence ariseth our demonstration against the Jew; If the *Scepter* be already departed from *Judah*, as we know it is, many hundred years since; then must Christ needs be come. For the *Scepter* was not to depart from *Judah*, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, untill *Shiloh* came.

For, that *Shiloh* here, is the name of *Messiah*, appears by the subjunction annexed, *That the People or Nations* (for it is $\square \square$, in the plurall number,) *should be gathered*, or obedient, *unto him*: Ergo, he is to be a King of the Nations; and who should this be but Christ? That

That the ancient Jews ſo underſtood it, appears by all the three Targums, or Chaldee Paraphraſts. The Targum, called of Jeruſalem, renders expreſſly: Untill the time when מלך משיח, *King Mefſiah* ſhall come: *Jonathan*; *parvulus filiorum ejus*, that is, of *Judahs* ſons, which one of the late Rabbies (ſaith *Buxtorf*.) expounds, *Rex Mefſiah, qui venit ex David, qui fuit minimus inter filios Iſai Patris ſui*: *Onkelos*; Untill *Mefſiah* come, whoſe is the Kingdom. Like- wiſe in their Thalmud, *Shiloh* is reckoned among the names of *Mefſiah*.

Thus we and the Ancient Jews agree, about the aim and purport of this Scripture. But we Chriſtians beleeve further, that it is long ſince fulfilled: Howſoever for the very point of time, when this Scepter departed from *Judah*, we vary in our opinions. Some will have it to have been, when *Pompey* firſt brought the Jewish State under the Roman ſubjection. Others a little after: when *Hered*, an Idu- mean ſtranger, yet formerly incorporated into the Jewish State and blood, was by the Romans inveſted to be their King, and the *Haſmonæan*, or *Mac- cabæan* race (which till then had born the chief rule) by him extinguished. Others, not till the deſtruction and final diſſolution of the Jewish State by *Titus*.

Theſe are principall moments of time, to be pitched upon: But againſt the firſt, the ſubjecting of the Jewish State to the Romans, is objected; Firſt, that it anticipates the time of Chriſts birth too much, being ſixty years before it. Secondly, that it might as well be affirmed, that the Scepter departed from *Ju- dah*,

Gen. 49.
10.

dah, when *Nebuchadnezzar* carried them captive to *Babylon*; or when they were subject to the Persian or Greek Monarchies, as when they were made subject to the Romans.

Against the second, of *Herod*, lies the same exception that did against the former; that it was too early, being thirty years and more, before the birth of Christ; and more then twice as much, before his passion and ascension, at what time he began his Kingdom. Secondly, that under the reign of *Herod*, the Scepter of *Judah* might seem rather to be advanced then departed; for as much as they had then a King of their own, reigning over them; and though not of Jewish originall, yet a Profelyte, and so one of their ownbody. And, if the Scepter were departed from *Judah*, because one not of their own Tribe had the soveraign rule over them; why was it not departed all the time, the Hasmonæan or Maccabæan families, who were Levites, reigned? No man would say, that the Scepter were departed from Poland, though the Polanders should chuse a Swede, a German, or a Frenchman, for their King. So neither from *Judah*, though a Levite, or Idumæan Profelyte were their Prince.

Against the last point of time, the dissolution of the Jewish State by *Titus*, is excepted, that it is as much too long after, either the Nativity or the Passion of Christ, as the other two were before it; to wit, seventy years after the one, and near forty after the other.

I mean not to enlarge my self any further, in acquainting you with each particular passage, agitated
con-

concerning theſe differing opinions, or alledged in the diſputing of them: I have ſelected onely ſo much, as I thought requiſite for the underſtanding of what I aim at, which is to ſhew you ſuch a conſtruction of theſe words, with but a little alteration of the common tranſlating; as being admitted, will leave no more place for thoſe difficulties, wherewith this queſtion is entangled.

For the handling whereof, I will divide the remainder of my diſcourſe into theſe two parts: Firſt, I will unfold the words of my Text, which ſeem to have any difficulty or obſcurity in them: Secondly, I will apply them to the time, wherein they were fulfilled.

For the firſt; I begin with the word *Scepter*, which is not to be reſtrained to *Kingly Dominion* onely, but ſignifies any *power*, or *Majeſty of Government*, under what form or name ſoever; whereof a *rod*, or *ſtaffe*, was anciently the enſigne, whence every Tribe is called שבט, (by the word here uſed) as being united together under one *ſtaffe*, or power of Government: The meaning therefore is not, that *Judah* ſhould never ceaſe from having a *King*, or being a *Kingdom*; but that it ſhould not ceaſe from being a *State*, a body Politick, or Common-wealth, having a *power of Government*, and Jurisdiction within it ſelf, untill *Meſſiah* came: wherefore the Septuagint here for *Sceptrum*, or שבט, tranſlate Αρχων, not βασιλεὺς ἐκ ἐκκλησίας, ſay they, Αρχὼν ἐξ Ἰούδα. For it is certain, that *Judah* was ſo far from being a continued *Kingdom*, untill *Meſſiah* ſhould come, that there was no *Kingly Royalty* in that Tribe, for more then two

Gen. 49.
10.

third parts of that time, namely, not till *David*, nor after *Zedekiah*, ſaving that of the Maccabees, (who were Levites) and of *Herod*, (by originall an Edomite) which both put together, will not make fourſcore years, yet were they never without ſome *Ruler*, or *Rulers* of their own, at that time.

The next word I conſider, is *Law giver*, which will not be hard to underſtand, if we mark well, what is implied by *Scepter*; for מִדְּבָרָא, the word here tranſlated *Law-giver*, ſignifies not onely a maker of Laws, but *qui jus dicit*, he that exerciſeth Jurisdiction; and ſo differs not much from the former, if they be not altogether Synonyma.

As for the phraſe, *from between his feet*, it means nothing elſe, but *of his poſterity*; For ſo the Scripture modeſtly expreſſeth the place of generation; as it doth alſo by the word יָרֵךְ, *Femur*, or *Crus*. For where we reade in the 26. of this Book of *Genesis*, and again in the firſt of *Exodus*; *All the ſouls that came out of the loins of Iacob, were ſeventy ſouls*: in the Hebrew it is, all the ſouls that came out of his *thigh*: whence, by the way, you may obſerve the occaſion of that Fable, that *Bacchus* or *Dionyſius* was born *ex femore Iovis*; which according to the Orientall expreſſion, (whence that whole ſtory of *Bacchus* came) implied no more, then that he was *Iupiters* ſon; but the Greeks, not underſtanding the meaning, converted it unto that Fable, which you all know.

Now for the word *Shiloh*, if we derive it, as I think we ſhould, it will ſignifie a *Peace-maker*, or *ſaviour*, of the verb שָׁלוֹם, which ſignifies *Tranquillus*,
Pacificus,

Pacificus, or *Salvus fuit*. And if the Masorites had so pleas'd, they might have pointed it שלח, which was the name of the eldest son of *Judah* that survived; and in the Hebrew Etymology, can signifie nothing else, but *Peaceable*, or *Peace-maker*. And whether the Patriarch *Jacob*, or the Holy Ghost directing him, might not chuse this name, before any other, to designe *Messiah* in this Prophecy, in respect of the allusion it had to one of *Judah's* sons, I will not affirm; but leave to your better consideration. Others, following the Jewish Rabbies, go farther about, to bring the word *Shiloh*, to signifie *Filius ejus*, that is, *Judah's*; construing the Prophecy thus: *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, till his son (namely, Messiah) come*: For ה they will have put for the affix *Vau*, as sometimes it is elsewhere וי, to be for שלח, *Secundina*; (that wherein the infant is wrapped in the womb) and so by a Metonymie to signifie here, the Child it self. In a word, they will have שלח, to be for שלחתי, *Secundina ejus*; and that to mean *Filius ejus*. But this, me thinks, is somewhat too ambagious, and therefore lesse probable; but let every one follow his own judgement.

And now I am come to the Application, to shew at what point of time this prediction was fulfilled: To make the way plain whereunto, I must first alter a little the construction of the remaining words; namely, *And unto him shall the gathering of the People, or the Nations, be*. For here the word, *shall be*, or *shall*, is not in the Hebrew, but added in translating, and so may be left out; the words in the original being onely, *Et ei aggregatio, or obedientia populo-*

rum:

Gen. 49.
10.

Gen. 49.
10.

וְנִחַם : I conſtrue therefore the word *וְנִחַם*, or *Untill*, *אֲדָמָה כְּשִׁילֹה*, as common to this with the former ſentence; namely, thus: *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah, &c. untill Shiloh come, and the gathering of the people be to him:* (that is) *Untill Meſſiah come, and the People or Nations be gathered unto him, the Scepter ſhall not depart:* Where note, that two things are ſpecified to come to paſſe, before the Scepter departs from *Judah*, or *Judah* ceases from being a Common-wealth: Firſt, the coming of Chriſt, or *Shiloh* into the world: Secondly, the gathering of the Nations, or Gentiles unto him. For I conſtrue the word *Untill*, as I told you, as common to both ſentences, *Untill Shiloh come, and untill the Nations be gathered unto him.*

And now, me thinks, your thoughts might almoſt prevent me, in deſigning the time when this prediction was fulfilled: namely, neither when the Jews came firſt under the *Roman* ſubjection, for then *Shiloh* was not yet come: nor under *Herod*, or as ſome will ſeven years after him, when his ſon *Archelaus* being baniſhed, *Judæa* was reduced into a Province: For though Chriſt was then born, to wit, in the end of *Herods* reign, yet were not the Nations or Gentiles yet gathered unto him: But at the deſtruction of the *Jewiſh State* by *Titus*, when both theſe things were come to paſſe, Chriſt being come, and the Gentiles converted unto his obedience, then did the *Scepter* depart from *Judah*, and they ceaſe from being any more a Common-wealth.

That this is the true application of this prediction, beſides the evidence of the event, appears by our Saviours

Saviours Propheſie of this deſtruction of the Jewiſh State, in the Goſpel of S. Mat; where, after he had named ſome other things to precede it, he addes this for the laſt ſigne; *And this Goſpel of the Kingdom, ſaith he, ſhall be preached in all the world for a witneſſe unto all Nations, and then ſhall the end come*: that is, the end of the Jewiſh State; when the Gentiles, by the preaching of the Apoſtles, ſhould be gathered unto Chriſt, then ſhould the Jewiſh Church and Common-wealth be utterly diſſolved; which till then had continued united under ſome Polity, and form of Government from its firſt beginning; For ſo it pleaſed the wiſdom of Almighty God, when he would reject the *Jews*, not to diſſolve their State, till he had erected him a new among the *Gentiles*.

Gen. 49.
10.

PSALM



PSALM 8. 2.

Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou hast ordained strength, because of thine enemies; that thou mightest quell the Enemy, and the Avenger.



Hese words are alledged by our blessed Saviour, *Matth. 21. 16.* and three more of the verses following this by *S. Paul*, to prove, that Christ must raign till he had subdued all his enemies under his feet: As *Heb. 2. 4.* What is man, that thou art mindefull of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? 5. For thou hast made him little lower then the Angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. 6. Thou hast made him to have dominion over the works of thine hands; thou hast put all things under his feet. Again, *1 Cor. 15. 23.* Christ, (saith he) shall deliver up the Kingdom to God the Father, when he shall have put down all rule, authority and power. 25 For he must raign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. 26. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. 27. For he hath put all things under his feet. This is the quotation; for it follows

follows presently; *When he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him.*

How principall a part of the Argument of this Psalm, what is in these two places cited by S. Paul, contains, every man may see, that reades and compares them. But how it should be consonant to the meaning of the Psalm, seems somewhat difficult to apprehend. For he that reades the whole Psalm, would think it were nothing else, but a description of *mans* excellency, whom God had made next to the Angels in dignity, & given him dominion over all things he hath made. For so after those words, *Thou hast put all things under his feet*, it follows immediately, *All sheep and Oxen, yea and beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the Sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the Sea.* But what is the dominion over these, to subduing of enemies, which the Apostle cites it for? or how is that, which is a description of *man-kinde* in generall, a Prophecy of *Christ* in speciall?

Some therefore, as in other citations of the Old Testament, so here also, betake themselves to the covert of an Allusion; namely, that the Apostle onely borrows the words of the Psalmist, to expresse his own, and not the Psalmists meaning. But, howsoever this may have place in some other allegations of the Old Testament, which are for Illustration or Exornation onely; yet when the testimony is brought for proof and demonstration, as this is, it can in no wise be admitted. For how can that testimony be of force to conclude any thing, where not the Authors meaning is brought, but his words

Psal. 8. 2.

words onely made use of? Others therefore say, that whatsoever is spoken of the Dignity and Excellency of *Man* in generall, is to be understood by way of eminency of *Christ*, the chief of the sons of men. This indeed is something, but not enough. For what is the dignity of man, in regard of his Dominion and Lordship over the creature, to conquering and subduing of enemies? which is that the Apostle seeks to demonstrate thence.

Well, to hold you no longer in suspence, the key of the interpretation of this Psalm, and the ground of *S. Pauls* accommodation of that passage (*Thou hast put all things under his feet*) to *Christs* victory, is to be sought in the words I have now chosen; *Out of the mouth of Babes and Sucklings, &c.* which being first alledged by our Saviour in the Gospel, in defence of that acclamation given unto him by his followers, *Hosanna*, (that is, *Save now*) *to the son of David*; (which the Pharisees thought too high an attribute, to be deferred to flesh and blood) this application thereof by *Christ* to himself, gave the Apostle good warrant, to interpret the Psalm as he did, and to ground a Demonstration thereon.

I shall therefore divide my discourse into two parts; First, I will shew the meaning of the words as they stand in the Psalm: And secondly, make it appear, that our Saviour in the Gospel cites them according to that meaning.

The whole drift therefore of the Psalm, is to praise and glorifie God for the dignity wherewith he hath invetted *Man*: *What is man* (saith he) *that thou art mindefull of him, or the son of man that thou visitest*

sitest him? For thou hast made him little lower then the Angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. This glory and honour is exemplified in two particulars: First, that God hath ordained man, even that weak and feeble creature, Man, to subdue and conquer his enemies; which is that my Text expresseth in the words before named, Out of the mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou hast ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest quell the Enemy, and the Avenger. Secondly, that he hath made man the Lord of all his Creatures: Thou hast made him, (saith he) to have dominion over the works of thine hands: then follows, as it were the summing up of both in a word: Thou hast put all things under his feet. For having ordained him, both the Champion to conquer thine enemies, and made him at his Creation the Lord and Ruler of the works of thine hands, Quid reliquum est? what honour couldst thou have given him, which thou hast not? Lord! (therefore) what is man, that thou art mindefull of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him? Where is to be observed, that the Corollarie, Thou hast put all things under his feet, comes in before his time, namely, before the description of this exemplification of mans dominion over the creature, was fully ended: as if the Prophet, out of admiration, could hold no longer from telling us the summe of that Dignity, wherewith man was invested. Thou hast made him (saith he) to have Dominion over the works of thine hands, and so one way or other, Thou hast put all things under his feet. Then follows the other part of the Description, All Sheep and Oxen,

over

Pfal. 8. 2.

over these thou hast made him have Dominion, *The Beasts of the field, the Fowles of the air, and the Fish of the Sea*: whereas in direct order it should have stood thus; *Thou hast made him have Dominion over the works of thine hands, over all Sheep and Oxen, the Beasts of the Field, and Fowles of the Air, and Fish of the Sea*; And so in the upshot; *Thou hast put all things under his feet.*

For this last particular of mans dignity, to have Dominion over the Creatures, is so plainly and evidently intended in the Psalm, that I shall need speak no more of it: I return therefore to the former, to make it clear also. That God ordained man, not onely to exercise Dominion over the visible creatures, but to be the Champion to conquer and subdue his Enemies; which is the drift of the words I have chosen for my text.

Out of the mouth of Babes and Sucklings (saith he) that is, of mankind, who springs from so weak and poor a beginning, as of Babes and sucklings; namely, out of the mouth of babes, not in *sensu composito*, but *diviso*: Of such whose condition is to be babes and sucklings; not that they should exercise this strength he speaks of, *To quell the enemy and the Avenger*, while they were babes; but that this power should be given to those, whose condition was to be such. And this is marvellous enough, that God should advance so weak a creature, and of so despicable a beginning, to such a power, as to grapple with the Enemy, and overcome him. But behold, there is yet something more admirable, namely, that this should not be done by the strength
of

of his Arm, but by the breath & power of his Mouth. Out of the mouth of Babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength because of thine enemies, &c. What Enemies? Thine, saith the Psalmist, and such too, as are ultores, avengers, the enemies both of God and mankinde: And who are those, but Satan, and his Angels: those Principalities and Powers of the Air, those *νομομαχόι*, and Rulers of the Darknesse of this world, as Saint Paul speaks: For when mankinde is the one party, what can the other be but some Power that is not of mankinde? Besides, who are the Enemies both of God and mankinde but these? And of mankinde especially; I put enmity, saith God to the serpent, *between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed*: Hence he is called Satan, the adversary, or Fiend, and the enemy *ἁγῶν*. Behold, I give you power (saith our Saviour to the seventy Disciples, *Luke 10. 19.*) to tread on serpents, and scorpions, and over all the Power of the Enemy; Your Adversary the Devill (saith S. Peter) And this is he as I conceive who is here called the *אויב ומצוק*, the Enemy & the Avenger; mans tormentor; which words being found again in the 44. Psalm, may, for ought I know, by warrant of this place, be taken for the same Enemy, and the usuall distinction altered, and the place read thus. *By reason of the Enemy and the Avenger, all this* (to wit, the Calamity and confusion he spake of before) *is come upon us*; that is, by the malice of Satan. Now that such Enemies as these, should be subdued by an arm; yea, by a mouth of flesh, is a thing which might justly make the Prophet cry out; *Lord what is man, &c.*

I

Now

Psal. 8. 2.

Now that this, which I have given, is the true meaning of this place, may be gathered from S. Pauls inculcating the word *Enemy*; when 1 Cor. 15. he demonstrates out of this Psalm, that Christ, before the end, shall abolish *πάντας ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ δυνάμεις*; For He must reign, saith he, till he hath put all enemies under his feet: The last Enemy which shall be destroyed is Death: and then he alledges for his proof, that Corollary in this Psalm, For he hath put all things under his feet: But, in all this Psalm, there is no mention of Enemies, or subduing them, but onely in the verse I have in hand; which unlesse it be thus expounded, S. Pauls allegation from hence will be too narrow, to prove what he intendeth.

Having thus cleared the words I chose for my Theme, I shall not spend much time to shew you, how directly and literally, the purport of them was fulfilled in our blessed Saviours incarnation: You have, in part, heard such Scriptures already, as do evince it. The summe is this: The Devill, by sin, brought mankind under thralldom, and became the prince of this world; himself, with his Angels; being worshipped and served every where, as Gods; and the service and honour due to the great God, the Creator of heaven and earth, cast off, and abandoned; and all this to receive at last, for reward, eternall wo and everlasting death. To vanquish and exterminate this enemy, and redeem the world from this miserable thralldom, the Son of God took upon him, not the nature of Angels, (which might have been the enemies matches) but the nature of weak and despicable man, that growes from a babe and suckling:

suckling: *Who* (saith *Esay*, in that famous Prophecy of *Melchiah*) *hath beleev'd our report; and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed:* (namely, that works such powerfull things by weak means:) *for he shall grow* [כַּיֹּבֵק] *as a tender plant, or sucker;* (it is the very word here used in my Text, for a sucking childe, and translated by the Seventy *ὡς μισθον*) *and as a root out of a dry ground;* that is, a small and little one.

This is that whereof *S. Paul* discourses so divinely, in the Epistle to the Hebrews: *To which of the Angels said he at any time, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? For unto the Angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak: but unto him, of whom it is said, What is man that thou art mindefull of him, or, &c.* Again, *We see Iesus, who was made little lower then the Angels,* (that is, was made man; that's the meaning) *for the suffering of death, crowned with Glory and Honour:* what can be so plain as this? It is the Son of man, by whom in part we are, and more fully shall be, delivered out of the hands of our enemies, that we might serve the true God without fear; as *Zachary* sayes in his *Benedictus*. It is the Son of man that delivered us from the power of darknesse, *Col. 1. 13.* The Son of man, that spoiled *Principalities and Powers,* and made a shew of them openly, *Col. 2. 15.* It was no Angel, that did all this; but the Son of man; even as was prophesied from the beginning, when the Devil first got his Dominion; *That the Seed of the woman should break the Serpents head.*

Nor is this all; for this Son of man enables also other sons of men his Disciples and Ministers to do

Psal. 8. 2.

the like in his name: The seventy Disciples, in the Gospel, return with joy, saying, *Lord, even the Devils are subject to us through thy name*: Yea, not these onely, but as many as fight under his Banner against these enemies, have promise they shall at length quell and utterly subdue them: Yea, at that great Day shall sit with their Lord and Master, to judge and condemn them. *Do ye not know, saith S. Paul, that the Saints shall judge the world? know ye not that we shall judge Angels?*

Lastly, this victory, as for the event, so for the manner of atchieving it, is agreeable to our Prophecie. For as much as Christ our Generall; nor fights, nor conquers by force of Arms, but by the power of his Word and Spirit; which is the power of his *mouth*, according to my Text; *Out of the mouth of Babes, &c.* Hence, in the Apocalypse, Christ appears with a sword going out of his mouth: In the 2 Thess. 2. it is said, *He shall consume Antichrist with the Spirit of his mouth*; *Esay* prophesies, Chap. 11. 4. *That the Branch of Iesse should smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips should slay the wicked*: That is, he does all *nunc & verbo*, as God made the world: *By the word of the Lord were the Heavens made, and all the Hosts of them by the breath of his mouth*, *Psal. 33. 6*. So doth Christ vanquish his enemies, and enable his Ministers to vanquish them, *Verbo & Spiritu*, according to that *Hos. 6. 5. I have bowed them by my Prophets, and slain them by the words of my mouth*.

I come now to the second thing I propounded; namely, to shew, that our Saviour in the Gospel, when

when he cited this place, alledged it for, and according to this, and no other meaning. The Euangelist relates it thus; When the chief Priests and Scribes saw the wonderfull things that Jesus did, and those in the Temple crying, and saying, *Hosanna to the son of David*, they were sore displeased; and said unto him, *Hearst thou what these say?* how they ascribe the power of salvation, (which is Gods peculiar) to thee, who art a son of man? Is that solemn acclamation of *Save now*, wherewith we are wont to glorifie God, fit to be given to thee? Our Saviour answers, *Yes; for have ye not read*, (saith he) *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, thou hast ordained strength?* Consider what that means. You will wonder perhaps, that a thing so plain, could be taken in a differing meaning. For, it is commonly supposed to be alledged, onely to prove that children should glorifie Christ, whilst the great ones of the world despised him: And there are two things which have occasioned this mistake, and drawn the sense awry; The first is, because the Septuagint, (according to which the Euangelist reads this place) in stead of strength, translate here αἶνον, praise; *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, thou hast ordained praise*. Secondly, because those who made this acclamation, are said to have been μαῖδες, *When they saw the things which Iesus did*, καὶ τὰς μαῖδας καὶ τὸν ἱερεῖν. To the first, I answer, Our Saviour alledged not the words of the Psalm in Greek, but in Hebrew; where it is מְצָחָה, strength, which is the constant signification thereof, through the whole Bible, and never *Praise*: Nor do the Seventy them-

Psal. 8. 2.

selves ever translate it otherwise, save, as it seems, in this place. But whatsoever the use of the word *αἰνέω*, be otherwise, it must be here regulated by the Hebrew verity; according to which our Saviour alledged it, and must signifie not simply, *praise*, but *Robur pradicandum*, or *Robur laude dignum*, *Robur celebrandum*, or the like. To the second, that they are called *μαθηταί*, who made this acclamation of *Hosanna*, to our Saviour; I answer, Be it so: yet I am sure, they were no *babes and sucklings*, but of reasonable years; How then would our Saviours quotation have, in such a sense, been pertinent? Besides, young children are not properly called *μαθηταί*, but *μαθηταί*. Again, the Pharisees found no fault with the speakers, but with the thing spoken; which they thought too much for a man; and therefore our Saviour, when he alledged this Scripture, answered to that, and intended not to Apologise for the speakers. Fourthly, in all reason, those who cried here *Hosanna* in the Temple, were the same company, that brought him crying *Hosanna* all the way thither. But these (saith Saint Mark) were of the *multitude* which followed him; and S. Luke of the *multitude of the Disciples*, who also tels us, that the Pharisees, who were offended thereat, bad him rebuke his Disciples. *μαθηταί* therefore here signifies, either Christs Disciples, or the retinue which followed him, and brought him up thither, as a King. Take which ye will, you shall not fasten upon the word, any notion other then usuall: I shall not need to tell you the Disciples of the Prophets are called, sons of the

the Prophets, that is, *οἱ προφῆται* *mīdēs* or that Herods Courtiers, *Matth. 14.* are termed his *mīdēs*. He said *τοῦς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ*, This is John the Baptist, &c. Christ calls his Disciples *μαθηταί*, *John 21. 5.*

Psal. 8. 2.

I 4

ZACH.



ZACH. 4. 10.

These seven are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.



It is hard to keep a mean; which, as appears in many things else, so, in the Doctrine and speculation of Angels, whereunto men were heretofore so much addicted, as they pursued it, not onely to vain and ungrounded Theories, but even to Idolatry and superstition. There were in the Apostles times, who intruded into things they had not seen: there were then, who beguiled men with a voluntary humility in worshipping of Angels, Col. 2. what after times brought forth, I shall not need speak. That ancient, and high soaring (though counterfeited) *Dionysius*, describes the Hierarchy of Angels, as exactly as if he had dwelt amongst them, delivering unto us nine Orders of them, out of nine words, found partly in the Old, partly in the New Testament; *Seraphims, Cherubims, and Thrones, Powers, Hosts, and Dominions; Principalities, Arch angels, and Angels*; and tels us the severall natures, distinctions, and properties of them all: Where-

Whereas it cannot be shewn out of Scripture, either that some of these names concur not, (as Angels, not to be a common name to all the rest, especially to comprehend Arch-angels) or that these are denominations of the natures of Angels, and not of their offices and charges onely; yet have these nine Orders passed for currant through so many ages of the Church.

But we, who (together with divers superstitions) have justly rejected also these vain and ungrounded curiosities, are fallen into the other extreame, having buried the Doctrine of Angels in silence, making little or no enquiry at all, what God in his Word hath revealed concerning them: which yet would make not a little for the understanding of Scripture, wherein are so many passages having reference to them, and therefore questionlesse something revealed concerning them.

I shall not therefore do amisse, if I choose for my discourse at this time, a particular of that kinde, which *Dionysius* in all his speculations hath not a word of; and yet seems to have strong footing in Scripture: It is this:

The Jews have an ancient tradition, that there are seven principall Angels, which minister before the Throne of God, and therefore called Arch-angels; Some of whose names we have in Scripture, as *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael*, and in the second Book of *Esdra*s, mention is made of *Serechmiel* the Arch-Angel. This Tradition we shall finde recorded in the Book of *Tobit* (whose antiquity is before the birth of our Saviour:) For there the Angel, who in the

Zach. 4. 10.

Vide Cyp.
adv. Iud.
li. 1. 20.
Hlar. in
Psal. 129.
vel. 130.

the shape of *Azariah* had accompanied his son into *Media*, when he discovers himself, speaks in this manner; *I am Raphael, one of the seven Angels, which stand and minister before the glory of the holy One.* The Greek hath, *which present the Prayers of the Saints, and go in and out, before the holy One.* But neither Saint *Hierome*, who translated it out of the Chaldee, nor the ancient Hebrew Copie set forth by *Paulus Fagius*, (and in likelihood translated out of the same Chaldee Originall) hath any such matter; but reads as I first quoted. And therefore it seemes to be an addition, or liberty of the Greek Translator, who thought their Ministry to consist in presenting the Prayers of the Saints, and so translated accordingly.

This tradition is farther testified by *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, the Chaldee Paraphrast, *Gen. 11. 7.* where the Lords words, spoken in the plurall number, *Venite, descendamus, & confundamus linguam eorum*, are paraphrased in this manner. *Dixit Dominus septem Angelis, qui stant coram eo. Venite nunc, &c.* Whether rightly or fitly in this place, it matters not: The testimony is sufficient for the Jewish tradition of seven Arch-angels, that stand before the Throne of God.

This tradition *Junius* saith is magicall; and not a little triumphs therein, as an undoubted Argument to evince the Book of *Tobit* not to be Canonically: But whatsoever the Book of *Tobit* be, I hope to shew this tradition to have firm ground, and footing in Scripture, and not so rashly to be rejected.

The

The chief and most clear place is that I have now read; which gives us to understand, that these *seven Angels* were represented by that Candlestick of Seven Lamps, which continually burned in the Temple, before the vail, over against the Mercy-seat; which was the Throne of God. For in the beginning of the Chapter, the Prophet being shewed this Seven-lamped Candlestick in a Vision; and two Olive-branches on each side, ministring oyle to the Lamps thereof: The Angel asketh him, if he knew what these meant: The Prophet answers; *No, my Lord*; Then the Angel, discoursing a little by way of Preface, tels him what they were: *These seven*, saith he, (that is, the seven Lamps) *are the seven eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth*: that is, those Seven *Vigiles*, or prime Ministers of his Providence, the seven Arch-angels, As for the two Olive-trees on each side; *These are*, saith he, *two anointed ones, which stand before the Lord of the whole earth*; that is, *Zorobabel*, and *Iesua*; the Prince and Priest, at that time; which should be Gods two instruments on earth, whereby his Church (signified by the Candlestick) should be re-established, and his Temple builded; and that *not by force, or strength*, as he saith in his Preface, *but by the Spirit of God*, working with them; as the olive trees here conveyed oyle to the Candlestick, not after a naturall and usuall, but a supernaturall and secret manner. This interpretation of the latter, hath the suffrage of the best Expositors, both Jews and Christians; and so I shall need say no more of it: but betake my self to make good the first, concerning

Angeli
dicuntur
ἄγγελοι
ἁγιοὶ
ἄγγελοι
magni Re-
gis. Philo.
Lib. de
Somniis.

Zach. 4. 10.

cerning the words I chose for my Text, That those seven eyes of God, signified by the seven Lamps, are seven Angels.

That this is so, I prove out of two places in the Apocalypse, derived from hence, where as well the Seven Lamps before the Throne, as the Lambs Seven eyes are said to be the Seven Spirits of God: *I saw* (saith Saint John, cap. 4. 5.) *Seven Lamps before the Throne, which are the Seven Spirits of God.* And again, cap. 5. 6. *I saw in the midst of the Throne, and of the four Beasts, (as we translate it) and of the four and twenty Elders, a Lamb, as if he had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth.* Here first, we have Zacharies very words, *Seven eyes sent forth into all the earth*: Secondly, That these seven eyes are the seven Spirits of God: Thirdly, that these seven Spirits were represented by the seven Lamps burning before the Throne. If this be not sufficient to make my interpretation of Zacharie good, I know not what can be. For who can now but think, that the Jews derived their tradition of these seven Angels, from this place of Zachary, and the Apocalypse from them both?

And that indeed the Jews supposed some such thing meant by the seven Lamps in the Temple, appears by the report of *Iosephus*, though depraved and fashioned unto the capacity of the Gentiles: For he tells us (both in his *Antiquities*, Lib. 3. cap. 7. and in his *De Bello Iudaico* Lib. 6. cap. 14.) that the seven Lamps signified the seven Planets, and the most holy place within the vail, (*ibid.* cap. 5.) the heaven of God,

God, or heaven of Glory; and that therefore the Lamps stood slopewise, as it were to expresse the obliquity of the Zodiack: Now it is true, that the Jewish Astrologians, favouring of Gentilism, make these seven Angels the prefects of the seven Planets, which they seem to have learned in part from the Greek Philosophy; which conceit, howsoever it be vain and groundlesse, yet may be as a key to understand the meaning of this of *Iosephus*. And one thing more; If the visible things of God may be learned, as Saint *Paul* sayes, from the Creation of the world; why may not the invisible and intelligible world be learned from the Fabrick of the visible: the one (it may be) being the pattern of the other. But to let this passe, and return again to the Apocalypse.

Where concerning the places alledged, there may be two things objected: First, That the *seven spirits* there mentioned, are and may be expounded of the Holy Ghost, thus represented in respect of those seven-fold, (that is, manifold) Graces he communicates unto the Church: I answer, that many indeed have so taken it; but, besides the uncouthnesse of expressing one spirit by seven, there is a reason in the Text why they cannot be so taken; namely, because not onely the seven Lamps are said to be those seven Spirits of God; but the seven Eyes, and seven Horns of the Lamb also, to be the same: Now it will be very hard and harsh to make the Holy Ghost, the Horns and Eyes of Christ, as he is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; that is, as he is a Man: Above Angels indeed the Man *Iesus* is exalted, and that too for the suffering
of

Zach. 4. 10.

of death, that is, as the Lamb: but not above the Holy Ghost. This made not onely *Drusius*, but even *Beza* himself, in his Notes upon this place, to affirm, it could not be meant of the Holy Ghost, but of seven created Spirits.

A second scruple is, how (if they be created spirits) *Iohn* could pray for Grace, and Peace from them? *Grace be unto you*, (saith he) *and peace, from him which is, which was, and is to come, and from the seven spirits, which are before his Throne, and from Iesus Christ the faithful witnessse, &c.* would he pray for Grace, and peace from Angels? I answer, Why not? For first, he prayes not to them, but unto God, unto whom such votes are tendered: Secondly, he prayes for Grace and Peace from them, not as Authors, but as the Instruments of God, in the dispensation thereof: *Are they not λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, sent forth to minister for them, who are heirs of salvation?* And if it be no Idolatry to pray unto God, to give Grace and Peace from the outward Ministry of his word; no more is it to pray unto him for it, from the invisible Ministry. For certainly, it is lawfull to pray unto God for a blessing from an instrument, which he is wont to give us by an instrument. Secondly, it may be said, that the words, *Grace* and *Peace*, need not to be taken in that speciall and strict sense; but in the large and generall, wherein Grace sounds favour at large, and Peace all manner of prosperity. In which sense; no man will deny, but the blessed Angels have an interest in the dispensation of the favours and blessings of God to his Church: and so God may be prayed to, to give them,

them, as he is wont, by their ministry. Grace and Peace from him which is, which was, and is to come, as the Author and Giver; and from the seven Spirits, as the Instruments; and from Jesus Christ, as the Mediator. There is yet one place more in the *Apocalypse*, to confirm this tradition, chap. 8. 2. I saw, saith Saint John, τὰς ἑπτὰ Ἀγγέλους οὓς ἑστῶτες πρὸς τὸ θεῶν ἐστῶτες, The seven Angels which stood before God. Is not this as plain as *Tobit*? Why should then the one be accounted Magicall, and not the other?

I adde moreover, that these Angels are those שָׂרִים וְרִשְׁוֹנִים, *Principes primarii*, or chief Princes, mentioned in the 10. of *Daniel*, Michael one of the Princes (saith the Angel there) came to help me: Now, Michael, we know, is one of the Archangels: And why therefore may not these chief Princes be those Ἀγγελοι ἑκλεκτοι, whereof Saint Paul speaks in his adjuration to *Timothy*? I charge thee (saith he) before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Elect Angels; not the good Angels at large, but those *Angeli eximii*, the seven Archangels, which stand before the Throne of God.

And it may, not without reason, be conjectured, that those seven chief Princes fained in the Persian Monarchie, took their beginning from hence; And that *Daniel* (who in respect of his account for wisdom, and of his power under *Darius* the Mede, had a main stroke in the moulding and framing the government of that State) caused the Persian Court to resemble that of heaven; ordaining seven chief Princes, to stand before the King. Of which we finde twice mention in Scripture, as in the book of

Esther,

Zach. 4. 10.

Esther, where they are recorded by name, and styled, *The seven Princes of Media and Persia, who saw the Kings face, and sat first in the kingdom*: And in the Commission granted to *Ezra* by *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7. 14. they are called, *The Kings seven Counsellors: Forasmuch as thou art sent by the King, and his seven Counsellors, &c.* And it may be, the Church of Jerusalem, when they chose seven Deacons to minister unto their Bishop, had an eye the same way.

Hitherto of the number of these Archangels; now a word or two of their office: And that is; first, to be the universall Inspectors of the whole world, and the Rulers and Princes of the whole Angelical host: which appears in that they are called *Principes primarii*, הַמְּנִיחִים, and Ἀρχάγγελοι (i.) ἄρχοντες ἢ Ἀγγέλων: their universall jurisdiction is meant by the words, *sent forth into the whole earth*, whereas the rest are limited to certain places. Secondly, to have the peculiar Charge and Guardianship of the Church, and affairs thereof, whilst the rest of the world, with their Politicks, Kingdoms and Governments is com-

mitted to the care of * subordinate Angels, who, according to their severall charges, may seem to carry those names of a Thrones, Principalities, Powers, and Dominions. That the charge of the Church, *quasi talis*, belongs thus peculiarly and immediately to the seven Archangels, may appear by Saint

* Clemens Alex. Strom. Lib. 7. οὗτός ἐστιν (sc. *Filius Dei*); διδὸς καὶ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διὰ τῶν ἁποστόλων Ἀγγέλων, οἱ δὲ συνδιακονοῦντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου. *Vide* Clementem Romanum Epistolam ad Corinthios, ubi citat Deut. 30. 8, 9. secundam versionem 20 LXX. ἔστιν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου. *quasi non* בְּנוֹי וְשִׁמְשֵׁי *sed* בְּנוֹי וְשִׁמְשֵׁי *legisse videntur.*

* Origen seems to acknowledge but four Orders, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Εξουσίας, Ἀγγελίας. Cont. Cels. l. 4.

S. *Iohns* saluting the Churches with a Benediction of Grace and Peace from their ministry; and the typing of them by the seven Eyes and Horns of the Lamb; as Powers, which the Father, since he exalted Him to be Head of his Church, hath annexed to his Jurisdiction: Hence it comes to passe, that we finde these Angels peculiarly, both before, and in the Gospel, to have been employed about the Church affairs: In the Old Testament, the Angel *Gabriel* (one of the seven) revealed to *Daniel* the time of the restauration of the Jewish State, and comming of *Messiah*: And the Angel *Michael* (one of the chief Princes) was his assistant, when he strengthened *Darius* the Mede; who founded the Monarchy which should restore them, and is in speciall termed (*Dan.* 12.) the Prince that stood for *Daniels* people. In the Gospel, we finde the same Angel *Gabriel* imployed both to *Zachary*, and the *Blessed Virgin*, with the Euangelicall Tidings; and that *Zachary* might take notice that he was one of the seven, he sayes unto him, *I am Gabriel that stand in the presence of God*. Likewise in the Churches combate with the Dragon, *Apoc.* 12. *Michael* and his Angels are said to be her Champions, and in her quarrel, to have cast the Dragon and his Angels down to the Earth: And in this Prophecie of *Zachary*, it is said, that these seven eyes of the Lord took care of one stone, which *Zorobabel* laid for the foundation of the Temple, and therefore the work could not be disappointed, but should certainly at length be finished. So as, by this time, we may guesse the meaning of that which *Hanani* the Seer told King *Asa*

K

(2Chro.

Zach 4. 10.

Zach. 4. 10.

(2 Chron. 16. 9.) *The Eyes of the Lord* (that is, these seven Eyes) *run to and fro through the whole Earth, to shew themselves strong in the behalf of those, whose hearts are perfect towards him.*

S. MARK

S. MARK 11. 17.

Is it not written, *My House shall be called a House of Prayer*, [to all the Nations?



Hey are the words of our *Blessed Saviour*, when he cast the Buyers and Sellers and Money-changers out of the Temple, and forbad to carry any vessels thorow it: Concerning which story, it is worth observation, that our *Saviour*, whilest he was upon earth, never exercised any Kingly, or coactive Jurisdiction, but in vindicating his Fathers house from prophanation; and this he did two severall times; once at the first Passeeover after he began his Prophecie, whereof you may read *Iohn 2*. And now again at his last Passeeover, when he came to give his soul a sacrifice for sin. This is that, which Saint *Mark* relates in this place, as do also two other of the *Euangelists*, Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke*. The vindication of Gods House from Prophanation (how little account soever we are wont to make thereof) was with our blessed Saviour the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the first and last of his care; *Vbi incipit, ibi desinit*. The consideration of which,

Mark xi.
17.

how momentous it is, I leave to your selves to judge :
Thus much by way of Preface.

Now for understanding of the words I have chosen, I will divide my discourse into a Question, and an Observation. The Question is; In what part of the Temple this Market was kept? A thing not commonly enquired after by Expositors, much lesse defined. The Observation, That this fact of our Saviour more particularly concerns us of the Gentiles, then we take notice of. For the first, (in what part of the Temple this was done) The Jews Religion, and scrupulosity, to keep their Temple from profanation, was such, as might seem to make this story incredible. Those who were so chary, that no uncircumcised or unclean person should come therein; who trod the pavement thereof with so much religious observance and curiosity, who would not suffer (as *Iosephus* relates) any other building, no not the Palace of *Agrippa* their King, to have any prospect into it, lest it should be polluted with a prophane look; how unlikely is it, they should endure it to be made a place of buying, selling, and bartering; yea, a Market for sheep, and Oxen, as *Iohn* 2. it is expressly said to have been: Neither will it serve the turn, to excuse it, by saying, it was to furnish such as came thither with offerings: For the sheep, and oxen, whilst they were yet to be bought to that purpose, were not sacred, but prophane, and so not to come within the sacred limits: You see the difficulty. But I answer, that this market was kept in the third, or *Gentiles Court*, which was the outmost of the Temple: For the Temple, in our Saviours time, had

had three Courts, each surrounding one another. First, the inmost or *Priests Court*, wherein stood the Temple, and the Altar of burnt offering: Into this none but the Priests, and Levites came. Secondly, the middle or *great Court*, which surrounded that of the Priests: whereinto the Jews of all sorts, and circumcised Profelytes came to worship. Without this was a third Court for the Gentiles, which surrounded the Israelites Court, as that did the Court of the Priests: The two first they accounted sacred; calling them τὸ Ἅγιον; into which therefore none might enter, but such as were circumcised and clean, according to the Law. The third was without the sacred limits, and so accounted prophane and common; which may be learned out of *Iosephus*, who tells us of certain little pillars, or columns, placed by the *Lorica*, or *Septum*, which severed this Court from the rest, whereon was inscribed in Greek (and Latin) μηδὲν ἀλλόφυλον εἰσεῖν τὸ Ἅγιον περιέχον. That no stranger passe within the sacred limits; τὸ δὲ δὲ τὸ κοινόν, saith he, Ἅγιον ἐμαρτυρεῖται. The second part of the Temple was called Holy, as implying that the outmost was not so. Into this Court therefore, which had no legall sanctity, and was without the sacred limits, the Gentiles were admitted, and had their station, together with such of the Jews, as were in their uncleannesse; further they might not go. By Gentiles here I mean such, which though uncircumcised, yet worshipped the God of Israel, and were called Σεβόμενοι.

In this Court therefore the Jews made no scruple of doing prophane and secular acts, being in their

Mat. 23.
17.

opinion no better then a common place. Nay, it is very probable, that to shew their despicency of the poor Gentiles (according to that in the Apocalypse, *καὶ οἱ κύνες*, *without are Dogs*) and to pride themselves in their prerogative and discretion from them, they affected to have such acts there done. And hence it came to passe, that they permitted a Market of Oxen and Sheep, Doves and other bartery, to be kept there, for the use of the Temple, and those who came thither to worship. And thus the poor Gentiles, or *σκιμαριοὶ*, were stabled amongst Oxen, Sheep, and stals of Money-changers, and in that tumultuous place fain to offer up their devotions and prayers unto the most high God, whom they had chosen.

But our blessed Saviour, who came to redeem, not the Jews onely, but the Gentiles also, and to make them a principall part of his fold, would not suffer them to be thus neglected, but in this act of his gave them a *prædium* of his further favour intended toward them; and he that was to vindicate their souls from death, and take away the partition-wall between them and the Jews, first vindicates their Oratory from profanation; alledging for his warrant this place of the Prophet *Isay*, *My House shall be called a House of Prayer*, *οἶκος τῆς προσευχῆς*. He did not say, *My Fathers House is holy*: For the Jews would soon have replied, That the Gentiles Court was without the sacred limits; But, *It is written*, saith he, *My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all the Nations*; *Ἔγω*, the place of prayer for all Nations is a part of my Fathers House. If my Fathers House, *οἶκος τοῦ πατρὸς* then

then holy, and not to be thus prophaned. For whatsoever is his, is holy; Relative Holinesse being nothing else but the peculiarity a thing hath to God-ward.

Though therefore the Gentiles Court had no sanctity of legall distinction, yet had it the sanctity of such peculiarity, and therefore not to be used as a common place. The illation proceeds by way of conversion; *My House shall be called the House of Prayer to all Nations*; or People; Ergo, The House of Prayer for all Nations is my Fathers House. And the emphasís lies in the words, *hān rōis ḏbror*, which our Translators were not so well advised of; when following Beza too close, they render the words thus; *My House shall be called of all Nations the House of Prayer*, as if the Dative Case here [*rōis ḏbror*] were not acquisitive, but (as it is sometimes with passive verbs) in stead of the Ablative of the agent for *neg. ḏ ḏbrōr*. Which sense is clear from the scope and purpose of the place, whence it is taken, as he that compares them will easily see, and I shall make fully to appear in the next part of my discourse, which I tending by the name of an Observation.

Which was, that this fact of our Saviour more particularly concerns us of the Gentiles; then we take notice of. Namely, we are taught thereby, what reverent esteem we ought to have of our Gentile Oratories and Churchies, howsoever not endued with such legall sanctity, in every respect, as was the Temple of the Jews; yet Houses of prayer as well as theirs. This observation will be made good by a threefold Consideration: First, of the story;

Mat. 11.
17.

1 Kings 8.
41. 42.

Mark 11.
17.

as I have related it. Secondly, from the Text here alledged, for warrant thereof. And thirdly, from the circumstance of time. For the story, I have shewed it was acted in the Gentiles Court, and not in those of the Jews: It cannot therefore be alledged, that this was a place of *legall sanctity*: For according to legall sanctity, it was held by the Jews as common: onely it was the place for the Gentiles to worship the God of Israel in, and seems to have been proper to the second Temple; the Gentiles in the first worshipping without at the Temple door in the holy Mountain onely. Secondly, the place alledged to avow the fact speaks expressly of Gentile worshippers, not in the words *not Jews* onely, but in the whole body of the context: Hear the Prophet speak, *Isa. cap. 56. vers. 7, 8.* and then judge; *The sons of the stranger, that joyn themselves to the Lord to serve him, and to love the Name of the Lord to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my Covenant, (namely, that I alone shall be his God) even them will I bring to my holy Mountain, and make them joyfull in my House of Prayer; their burnt offerings and sacrifices accepted upon mine Altar.* Then follow the words of Text; *For my House shall be called (shall be; it is an Hebraism) a House of Prayer, for all People.*

What is this but a Description of the *Sacqueson*, or Gentile worshippers? And this place alone makes good all that I have said before; That this vindication was of the Gentiles Court: Otherwise the allegation of this Scripture had been impertinent; for the Gentiles of whom the Prophet speaks, worshipped

ped in no place but this. Hence also appears to what purpose our Euangelist expressed the words, *and this shewed*, namely, as that which shewed, wherein the force of the accommodation to this occasion lay, which the rest of the Euangelists omitted, as referring to the place of the Prophet, whence it was taken; those who heard it being not ignorant of whom the Prophet spake. Thirdly, the circumstance of time argues the same thing; if we consider, that this was done but a few dayes before our Saviour suffered; to wit, when he came to his last Pasſeover: How unseasonable had it been to vindicate the violation of legall and typicall sanctity, which within so few dayes after he was utterly to abolish by his Crosse, unlesse he had meant thereby, to leave his Church a lasting lesson, what reverence and respect he would have accounted due to such places, as this was which he vindicated?

Mat. 23. 35.
17.

JOHN

JOHN 4. 23.

But the hour commeth, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth; For the Father seeketh such to worship him.



Hey are the words of our *Blessed Saviour* to the woman of *Samaria*, who perceiving him by his discourse to be a Prophet, desired to be resolved by him of the great controverted point between the Jews and Samaritans; whether Mount *Garizim* by *Sichem*, (where the Samaritans sacrificed) or *Ierusalem* were the true place of worship. Our Saviour tels her, that this question was not now of much moment: For that the houre or time was near at hand, when they should neither worship the Father in Mount *Garizim*, nor at *Ierusalem*. But that there was a greater difference between the Jews and them, then this of place; namely, even about that which was worshipped: *For ye (saith he) worship that ye know not: But we (Jews) worship that we know.* Then follow the words premised: *But the houre*

com-

Jud. 9. 7.
The Euan-
gelist here
calls it Si-
char. v. r. 5.
alias She-
chem.

commeth; and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and Truth.

John 4.23.

It is an abused Text, being commonly alledged to prove, that God now in the Gospel, either requires not, or regards not *externall* worship, but that *of the Spirit* onely: And this to be a characteristick difference between the worship of the Old Testament and the New. If at any time we talk of externall decency in rites and bodily expressions, as fit to be used in the service of God; this is the usuall Buckler to repell whatsoever may be said in that kinde: It is true indeed, that the worship of the Gospel is much more spirituall, then that of the Law: But that the worship of the Gospel should be onely spirituall, and no externall worship required therein (as the Text according to some mens sense and allegation thereof would imply) is repugnant, not onely to the practice and experience of the Christian Religion in all ages, but also to the expresse Ordinances of the Gospel it self. For what are the Sacraments of the New Testament? are they not rites, wherein and wherewith God is served and worshipped? The consideration of the holy Eucharist alone, will confute this Glosse. For is not the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christs death upon the Crosse, unto his Father, in the Symbols of Bread and Wine, an externall worship? And yet with this rite hath the Church, in all ages, used to make her solemne addressse of Prayer, and Supplication, unto the Divine Majesty; as the Jews in the Old Testament did by Sacrifice: when I say, in all Ages, I include that of the Apostles. For so much Saint

Luke

John 4.23

Luke testifieth of that first Christian society, *Acts 2.*

Ἦσαν δὲ συνεκαρτερούμεναι τῇ λαλῶν τῷ ᾄδει, καὶ ταῖς ψαλμοῖς

They continued in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers.

As for bodily expressions by gestures and postures, as standing, kneeling, bowing, and the like; our blessed Saviour himself, lift up his sacred eyes to heaven, when he prayed for *Lazarus*; fell on his face when he prayed in his agony: Saint *Paul* (as himself saith) *bowed his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*: He and Saint *Peter*, and the rest of the beleivers, do the like more then once, in the *Acts of the Apostles*: What was imposition of hands, but an externall gesture, in an act of invocation for conferring a blessing? and that perhaps sometimes without any vocall expression joyned therewith. Besides I cannot conceive any reason, why in this point of Euangelicall worship, *Gesture* should be more scrupled at, then *Voyce*. Is not confessing, praising, praying, and glorifying God by voyce, an externall and bodily worship, as well as that of *Gesture*? why should then the one derogate from the worship of the Father, *in Spirit and Truth*, and not the other? To conclude, there was never any society of men in the world, that worshipped the Father in such a manner, as this interpretation would imply: And therefore cannot this be our Saviours meaning, but some other. Let us see if we can finde out what it is.

There may be two senses given of these words; both of them agreeable to reason, and the analogy of Scripture; let us take our choice. The one is, That to worship God *in Spirit and Truth*, is to worship him not with types and shadows of things to come,

come, as in the Old Testament; but according to the verity of the things exhibited in Christ, according to that; *The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Iesus Christ.* Whence the mystery of the Gospel, is elsewhere by our Saviour in this Euangelist, termed *Truth*, as *Cap. 17. ver. 17.* and the Doctrine thereof by Saint Paul, *The word of truth.* See *Ephef. Cap. 1. ver. 13. Rom. 15. ver. 8.* The time therefore is now at hand, said our Saviour, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father, no longer with bloody sacrifices, and the Rites and Ordinances depending thereon; but in, and according to the verity of that which these Ordinances figured. For all these were types of Christ, in whom being now exhibited, the true worshippers shall henceforth worship the Father.

This sense hath good warrant from the state of the Question between the Jews and Samaritans, to which our Saviour here makes answer: which was not about worship in generall; but about the kinde of worship in speciall, which was confessed by both sides, to be tied to one certain place onely; that is, of worship by *Sacrifice*, and the appendages; In a word, of the typicall worship proper to the first Covenant, of which see a description *Heb. 9.* This *Iosephus* expressly testifies, *Lib. 12. Antiq. cap. 1.* speaking of the Jews and Samaritans, which dwelt together at Alexandria: *They lived*, saith he, *in perpetuall discord one with the other; whilest each laboured to maintain their Country, customes; those of Ierusalem affirming their Temple to be the sacred place, whither sacrifices were to be sent; the Samaritans, on the other side, contending they*

they

Iohn 4. 23.

they ought to be sent to Mount Garizim. For otherwise, who knows not that both Jews and Samaritans had other places of worship, besides either of these: namely, their *Proseuchas*, and *Synagogues*, wherein they worshipped God, not with internall onely, but externall worship; though not with sacrifice, which might be offered but in one place onely. And this also may seem to have been a type of Christ, as well as the rest, namely, that he was to be that *one*, and onely Mediator of the Church, in the Temple of whose sacred body, we have access unto the Father, and in whom he accepts our devotions and services: according to that, *Destroy this Temple, and I will rear it up again in three daies: He spake, saith the Text, of the Temple of his Body.* This sense divers of the Ancients hit upon, *Eusebius Demon. Euang. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.* 'Ουδὲ διὰ συμβόλων καὶ τύπων ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ οἱ σωτὴρ, ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. *Not by Symbols and Types, but, as our Saviour saith, in Spirit and Truth.* Not that in the New Testament men should worship God, without all externall services; (for the New Testament was to have externall and visible services, as well as the Old.) But with such as should imply the verity of the promises already exhibited, not by types and shadows of them yet to come: we know the Holy Ghost is wont to call the figured Face of the Law, the *Letter*, and the Verity thereby signified, the *Spirit*. As for ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, both together, they are ἀπὸ λεγόμενων, but once found in holy Writ; to wit, onely in this place. And so, no light can be borrowed by comparing of the like expression any where else, to expound them: Besides, nothing

nothing hinders, but they may be taken one for the exposition of the other; that to worship the Father *ἐν πνεύματι*, is the same with to worship him *ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*.

But howsoever this Exposition be fair and plausible, yet, me thinks, the reason which our Saviour gives in the words following, should argue another meaning: God (saith he) is a Spirit, therefore they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and Truth: But, God was a Spirit from the beginning: If therefore, for this reason he must be worshipped in Spirit and Truth, he was so to be worshipped in the Old Testament, as well as in the New.

Let us therefore seek another meaning: For the finding whereof, let us take notice, that the *Samaritans* at whom our Saviour here aimeth, were the off-spring of those Nations which the King of *Assyria* placed in the Cities of Samaria, when he had carried away the ten Tribes captive. These, as we may read in the second Book of the Kings, at their first coming thither, worshipped not the God of Israel, but the gods of the Nations from whence they came. Wherefore he sent Lyons amongst them, which slew them; which they apprehending, either from the information of some Israelite, or otherwise, to be because they knew not the worship of the God of the Countrey, they informed the King of *Assyria* thereof, desiring that some of the captiv'd Priests might be sent unto them, to teach them the manner and rites of his worship; which being accordingly done, they thenceforth (as the Text tells us) worshipped the Lord, yet feared their own gods too; and so did *ἀμικτα μίγνυν*, as Saint *Chrysostome* speaks, mingle things not to be mingled. In

John 4. 23.

In this medly they continued about two hundred years, till toward the end of the Persian Monarchy. At what time it chanced, that *Manasse*, brother to *Iaddo*, the High Priest of the returned Jews, married the daughter of *Sanballat*, then Governour of Samaria; For which, being expelled from Jerusalem by *Nehemiah*, he fled to *Sanballat* his Father in Law, and, after his example, many other of the Jews of the best rank, having married strange wives likewise, and loth to forgo them, betook themselves thither also: *Sanballat* willingly entertains them, and makes his son in Law *Manasse* their Priest. For whose greater reputation and state, when *Alexander* the Great subdued the Persian Monarchy, he obtained leave of him, to build a Temple upon Mount *Garizim*, where his son in Law exercised the office of High Priest. This was exceedingly prejudicious to the Jews, and the occasion of a continuall Schism, whilst those that were discontented, or excommunicated at *Jerusalem*, were wont to betake themselves thither: Yet, by this means the Samaritans (having now one of the sons of *Aaron* to be their Chief Priest, and so many other of the Jews, both Priests and others, mingled amongst them) were brought, at length, to cast off all their false gods, and to worship the Lord the God of Israel onely. Yet so, that howsoever they seemed to themselves, to be true worshippers, and altogether free from Idolatry; neverthelesse, they retained a smack thereof, in as much as they worshipped the true God, under a visible representation; to wit, of a *Dove*, and circumcised their Children in the name thereof,

as the Jewish Tradition tells us: who therefore always branded their worship with עבודה זרה, or spiritual Fornication: Just as their predecessors, the ten Tribes, worshipped the same God of Israel, under the similitude of a Calf.

This was the condition of the Samaritan Religion in our Saviours time: and if we weigh the matter well, we shall finde his words here, to the woman, very pliable to be construed with reference thereunto: You ask, saith he, of the true place of worship, whether Mount *Garizim*, or *Ierusalem*, which is not so greatly materiall, for as much as the time is at hand, when men shall worship the Father at neither: But there is a greater difference between you and us, then of place; though you take no notice of it; namely, about the object of worship it self; *For ye worship what ye know not, but we (Jews) worship what we know.* How is that? Thus, Ye worship indeed the Father, the God of Israel, as we doe; but you worship him under a corporeall representation; wherein you shew, you know him not: *but the houre commeth, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and Truth: In spirit*, that is, conceiving of him no otherwise then in spirit; And *in truth*, that is, not under any corporeall or visible shape: *For God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in Spirit and Truth*; that is, ἀσώματος ὡς ἀληθῆς, not fancying him, as a body, but as indeed he is a Spirit. For those who worship him under a corporeall similitude, doe bely him; according as the Apostle speaks, *Rom. i.* of such as *change the glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible man, Birds or*

L

Beasts;

Iohn 4. 23.

*Uia est,
Cultus ex-
ternus; sic
Idolatriā
appellant.
Heinsii
Aristarch.
p 881.*

Jer. 3. 10.

John 4. 23.

Beasts: They changed, saith he, the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature, καὶ τὸ κτίον ἵνα ἵσταται ἵνα ἵσταται juxta Creatorem, as, or with the Creator who is blessed for ever. Hence Idols in Scripture are termed *Lies*; as *Amos 2. 4. Their Lies have caused them to erre, after which their Fathers walked: The Vulgar hath, Seduxerunt eos Idola ipsorum. And Isa. 28. 15. We have made Lies our refuge. And Jer. 16. 19. Venient gentes à finibus terræ, & dicent, Verè mendacium possederunt (the Chaldee hath, coluerunt) Patres nostri, vanitatem, in qua non est utilitas. Nunquid faciet sibi homo Deos, & ipsi non sunt Dii?*

This therefore I take to be the genuine meaning of this place, and not that which is commonly supposed against externall worship; which I think this demonstration will evince; *To worship what they know*, (as the Jews are said to doe) and *to worship in spirit and truth*, are here taken by our Saviour for equivalents; else the whole sense will be inconsequent: But the Jews worshipped not God without Rites and Ceremonies (who yet are supposed to worship him in spirit and truth;) *Ergo*, to worship God without Rites and Ceremonies, is not to worship him *in spirit and truth*, according to the meaning here intended.

See the Homily against the perill of Idolatry. p. 3. where this Text is peculiarly applied against worshiping of God in an Image.

S. L. A. 11

S. LUKE 24. 45.

Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures. 46. And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day.



Ur Blessed Saviour, after he was risen from the dead, told his Disciples, not onely that his suffering of death, and rising again the third day, was foretold in the Scriptures; but also pointed out those Scriptures unto them, and opened their understanding that they might understand them; that is, he expounded, or explained them unto them: Certain it is therefore, that somewhere in the Old Testament these things were foretold should befall the Messiah. Yea S. Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 3. 4. will further assure us that they are; I delivered unto you, saith he, first of all, that which I received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures. 4. And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures. Both of them therefore, are somewhere foretold in the Scriptures, and it becomes not us to be so ignorant, as commonly we are, which those Scriptures be which foretell

Luke 24.
45.

them. It is a main point of our Faith, and that which the Jews most stumble at, because their Doctors had not observed any such thing of Messiah. The more they were ignorant thereof, the more it concerns us to be confirmed therein. I thought good therefore, to make this the Argument of my Discourse at this time, to inform both you and my self, where these things are foretold, and if I can, to point out those very Scriptures, which our Saviour here expounded to his Disciples.

Which that I may the better do, I will make the words fore-going my Text, to be as the Pole-star in this my search; *These are the things*, (saith our Saviour) *which I spake unto you, while I was with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me.* Then follow the words I read, *Then opened he their understanding, &c.* These two events therefore of Messiahs death and rising again the third day, were foretold in these three parts of Scripture, in the *Law of Moses*, or *Pentateuch*, in the *Neb im*, or *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms*; and in these three we must search for them. And first for the first, that Messiah should suffer death.

This was fore-signified in the *Law*, or *Pentateuch*, first in the Story of *Abraham*, where he was commanded to offer his son *Isaac*, the son wherein his seed should be called, and to whom the promise was entailed, *That in it should all the Nations of the world be blessed.* What was here acted else, but the mystery of Christ's Passion; to wit, that the promised seed should make all the Nations of the world blessed, by be-
comming

Luke 24.
45.

comming a sacrifice for sin: which that it might be the more evident, the place is also designed, the region of Mount *Moriah*; there *Abraham* was bid to offer his son *Isaac*, even where *Messiah*, who was then in the loins of *Isaac*, was one day to be offered upon the Crosse.

The second prediction in the *Law*, of *Messiahs* suffering death, was by the slaying of Beasts, for the atonement of sin in their sacrifices; which were nothing else but shadows and representations of that offering upon the Crosse, which *Messiah* was one day to make of himself for the sins of the world. Which mystery of the end of those legall sacrifices, was shewed in the former story of *Abrahams* offering *Isaac*: For when he had now brought his son to the place appointed, and had built an Altar, and was now ready to slay him, as he was commanded; the Angel of the Lord stayed his hand, and shewed him a Ram caught in a thicket by the horns, which Ram *Abraham* took, and offered for a burnt offering instead of his son, to signifie, that the offering of the blessed seed was yet to be suspended, and that God in the mean while would accept the offerings of Bulls and Rams, as a pledge of that expiation, which the blessed seed of *Abraham* in the loyns of *Isaac*, should one day make.

And thus much for the *Law*; now I come to the *Prophecs*, wherein I finde three evident Prophecies that *Messiah* should suffer death. The first is that famous one in the 53. of *Isay*, the whole Chapter through; I will not repeat it all, but some two or three passages thereof: ver. 5. *He was wounded*, saith the

Luke 24.
45.

Prophet, for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed : And ver. 7. He was oppressed, he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he was brought as a Lamb to the slaughter, and as a Sheep before his Shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. Ver. 8. He was cut off out of the Land of the living; for the transgression of my people was he smitten. Now that this Prophecy was one of those, by which the Apostles used to prove this verity, appears by the story of the conversion of the Eunuch, Acts 8. unto whom Philip comming whilst he was in his Chariot, reading this place of Scripture, and he thereupon asking Philip, of whom the Prophet spake these words, the Text tells us, that Philip began at the same Scripture, and preached unto him Iesus.

The second place, which foretels that Christ should suffer, is that in the ninth of Daniel, who pointing out the time of Messiah's coming by seventy weeks, limits his account, not at his birth, but at his suffering; as the most principall moment of his story. From the going out of the commandment, saith he, to restore, and build Ierusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and sixty two weeks; — and after sixty two weeks, shall Messiah be cut off: what can be more plain then this?

A third place in the Prophets, is to be found Zachary 12. 10. where, at the time when the Jews shall be converted, Christ is brought in speaking in this manner; I will poure out, saith he, upon the House of David, and upon the inhabitants of Ierusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication, and they shall look upon me, whom

whom they have pierced. Hence it follows, that the Jews should have pierced Messiah before they received him to be their Redeemer. And that this place also was one of those applied by the Apostles to this purpose, appears by S. Iohns twice alledging it. Once in his Gospel, when a Souldier with a Spear pierced our Saviours side; Then, saith he, was fulfilled that Scripture, which saith, They shall look upon him whom they have pierced. Again, in the beginning of his Revelation, Behold (saith he) he cometh in the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him.

Luke 24.
45.

Ioh. 19. 37

Apoc. 1. 7.

Now for the third division of Scripture, the Psalms, the principall place there which I dare warrant, is that of the 16. Psalm, quoted both by S. Peter, and S. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles; My flesh shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my soule in the grave, neither suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. For David, as S. Peter and S. Paul say, was buried, and his body saw corruption, therefore it cannot be spoken of him; but of Messiah in the person of David, as a type in whose loyns Messiah was. Now then if Messiahs body were to be laid in the grave, it follows he was to die, and to be in the state of the dead.

Acts 2. 26,
27. 13. 35.

And thus I have done the first part of my task, and proved that Messiah was to suffer death, according to the Scriptures; namely, foretold in that threefold division of Scripture, mentioned here by our Saviour: The Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. Now I come to prove the other part, that it behoved him also, to rise again the third day, according to the Scriptures.

And this was first foreshewn in the same story of

L 4

Isaac,

Luke 24.
45.

Isaac, wherein his sacrifice or suffering was acted. For, from the time that God commanded *Isaac* to be offered for a burnt offering, *Isaac* was a dead man, but the *third day* he was released from death. This the Text tells us expressly, that it was the *third day*, when *Abraham* came to Mount *Moriah*, and had his son, as it were, restored to him again; which circumstance, there was no need nor use at all to have noted, had it not been for some mystery: For had there been nothing intended, but the naked story, what did it concern us to know, whether it were the *third*, or the *fifth day*, that *Abraham* came to *Moriah*, where he received his son from death? Now, that I have not misapplied this figure, *S. Paul* is my witness, who expressly makes this release of *Isaac* from slaughter, a figure of the Resurrection: For thus he speaks of this whole story, *Hebrews 11. By faith, Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he that received the promises, offered up his only begotten Sonne. Of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called. Accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead: from whence also he received him in a figure.*

The same was foreshewn by the Law of sacrifices, which were to be eaten before the *third day*; some sacrifices were to be eaten the same day they were offered, but those which were deferred longest, as the *Peace-offerings*, were to be eaten before the *third day*. The *third day* no sacrifice might be eaten, but was to be burnt: If it were eaten, it was not accepted for an atonement, but counted an abomination: To shew, that the sacrifice of *Messiah*, which these sacrifices re-

pre-

presented, was to be finished the *third day* by his rising from the dead; and therefore, the type thereof determined within that time, beyond which time it was not accepted for atonement of sin, because then it was no longer a type of him.

Thus far the *Law*; as for the *Prophets*, I finde no expresse prediction in them, for the time of Christs rising (for that of the Prophet *Jonah*, I take to be rather an allusion, then a Prophecie :) onely in generall it is implied, that Christ should rise again; both in that famous Prophecie of *Esay*, the 53; and that of *Zachary* 12. In the former it is said, that after he had made his soul a sacrifice for sin, *He should see his seed, and prolong his dayes, and the pleasure of the Lord should prosper in his hand.* And again, that the Lord should divide him a portion with the great; and that he should divide the spoile with the strong, because he had poured out his soul unto death: which argues that he should not onely live again, but be victorious after he had died. In that of *Zachary* it is said, the Jews should look upon, or see him whom they had formerly pierced; and, that in that day he would powre upon them the spirit of grace and supplication: therefore he was to live again after they had pierced him.

I come to the *Psalms*, where not onely his rising again is prophesied of, but the time thereof determined; though at first sight it appears not so: namely, in that fore-alleged passage of the sixteenth Psalm, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hell, nor suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.* All men shall rise again, but their bodies must first return to dust, and see cor-

ruption:

Luke 24.
45.

Luke 24.
45.

*vi. Meur-
si Glof.
far. Græ-
co. barba-
rum, in
τεῖτεννᾶ-
ται] τῇ
τείτῃ ἡ-
μέρᾳ ὁ ἄν-
θρωπος
ἀλλοίωται
τὸ ὄψιν.
citat. ev
Triodio.

ruption: But Messiah was to rise again before he saw corruption: if before, then the *third day* at farthest; for then the body naturally* begins to see corruption: this may be gathered by the story of *Lazarus* in the Gospel, where Iesus commanding the stone to be rolled from his Grave, *Martha* his sister answered, *Lord, by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four daies.* Also by that rule, given by the Masters of Physick, that those who die of the Apoplexie, suffocation of the Mother, or like sudden deaths, should not be buried till seventy two hours were past, Because within that time, they might revive; and examples are given of those who have done so. They give also a reason of it in nature; because, say they, in that time the humours of the body make their revolution; the flegme in one day, or twenty four hours; the choler in two dayes, or forty eight hours; the melancholy in three dayes, which is seventy two hours: and this to be the reason why an Ague, founded in an inflammation of flegme, returns every day; an Ague, which comes from choler, every other day; from melancholy, every third day: Now if a body may be kept so long unburied, it is supposed it may be kept so long uncorrupted; (namely, where a corruption is not begun before death, as in some diseases) but longer it will not continue. When therefore it is so often inculcated in the New Testament, that our Saviour should *rise again the third day*; the Holy Ghost, in so speaking, respects not so much the number of dayes, as the fulfilling of Scripture, that Messiahs body should not see corruption, but should rise before the time, wherein
dead

dead bodies begin to corrupt : and indeed our Saviour
rose again within forty hours , after he gave up the
Ghost , and was not two full dayes in the grave.
Therefore, if there be any other Scripture, which im-
plies Messiah should rise before his body should see
corruption, that Scripture, whatsoever it be, shews
he should rise again within three daies.

Luke 24.

45.

EXOD.



EXODUS 4. 25.

Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and cut off the fore-skin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said
 כִּי חֲתָן רַמְסִים אֶתָּה לִי, — Sponsus sanguinum tu
 mihi es.



THEN; that is, when she saw the Angel of the Lord ready to kill Moses her husband in the Inne, because his son was not circumcised; she took a sharp stone, (צֶדֶן) that is, she took a knife, which, according to the custom then, was made of stone sharpened. This we may learn out of Ioshuah 5. 2. where the Lord sayes to Ioshuah, Make thee חֲרִיבוֹת צִיּוֹרִים, (sharp knives, say we) ad verbum, cultros petrarum, and circumcise again the children of Israel: The Chaldee Paraphrast hath, Make thee novaculas acutas: the Septuagint, μαχαίρας

Thus far all is clear; but for the rest, we are to seek: First, on whom the fault lay, and what was the reason of this omission of circumcision: Then, who, and what is meant, when it is said, she cast, or made the fore-

foreskin to touch his feet; and above all, what is meant by *sponsus sanguinum*.

Exod. 4. 25.

Zipporah is commonly reputed to have been a perverse and froward woman; and *Moses*, the meekest man on earth, to have had that mishap in his choice, which many a good man hath. The reason, because she not onely hindred her childe from being circumcised, out of some nicety and averfation thereof, as a cruell ceremony; but also, when she saw there was no remedy, but she must do it, to save her husbands life, yet she did it with an upbraiding indignation, telling him, that he was a *bloody husband*, who must have such a thing done unto his poor childe. But I see no ground either for the one, or the other.

For, that the circumcision of the childe was not deferred out of any averfation of hers of that ceremony, may be gathered; First, because she was a Midianitess, and so a daughter of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*, and therefore well enough acquainted, and inured to that Rite, which not onely her Nation, the Midianites, but all the Nations descended of *Abraham* observed, as may be seen in the Ismaelites, or Saracens, who learned not this ceremony first from *Mahomet*, but retained it as an ancient custome of their Nation. Secondly, she had suffered already her elder son *Gershom* to be circumcised; wherefore then should we think she was averse from the circumcision of this? For that this childe, for whom *Moses* was now in danger, was *theezer* his youngest son, it cannot be denied; for as much as it is evident, that *Moses* at this time was the Father of two sons, which, by reason, as may seem, of this disturbance, he sent back

Exod. 4. 25.

back with his wife, unto her Father *Iethro*, as we may reade in the eighteenth Chapter of this Book: By which it may be gathered, that the cause of this omission of circumcision, was not any averſeneſſe in *Zipporah* from that rite, but rather, becauſe they were in their journey, when the childe was born; and ſo having no convenient time or place to reſt in, till the wound might be healed, and thinking it might endanger the infants life, to be toſſed up and down, whiſt the wound was green, in ſo long and tedious a voyage, they reſolved to deferre the circumcision. And that *Zipporah* was delivered of this childe, when they had begun this journey, for Egypt, may be gathered by this; becauſe *Mofes*, before Gods ſending him, hath but one childe mentioned, namely, *Gerſhom*: For what reaſon can be given, why, if *Eleezer* had been then born, he ſhould not have been mentioned alſo? But howſoever this caſe of travell afterward excuſed the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe, for deſerring the circumcision of their children then, yet could it not excuſe *Mofes* here; in regard it was *neceſſitas accerſita*, he being not forced to take his wife and children with him, (eſpecially his wife being in that caſe) but might have ſent her and them, back preſently to her Father; as upon this admonition he did. Nor was it indeed fit, when God ſent him upon ſuch a buſineſſe to carry ſuch an incumbrance with him.

Thus have we freed *Zipporah* from the firſt charge of being the cauſe of this omiſſion out of any averſeneſſe to the Divine Ordinance: Now I come to ſhew likewiſe, that the words ſhe ſpake at the time

. of

of circumcision, *Sponsus sanguinum tu mihi es*, were no words of upbraiding indignation to her husband (as is supposed) but have a far other meaning. Exod. 4. 25.

For I beleeve not, she spake these words to *Moses*, but to her *Childe*, whom she circumcised, as the *Formula* then used in circumcision; namely, that as the fore-skin fell down at her childes feet (not *Moses*, or the Angels feet) she pronounced the *Verbu solennia*, *Tu mihi sponsus sanguinum*.

My reasons are; First, because a Husband is not wont to be called *sponsus*, after the wedding solemnity is past; nor can there any such example be shewn in Scripture; *Ergo*, it is not like that *Zipporah*, after she was the mother of two children, should say to her Husband, *Sponsus sanguinum tu mihi es*.

Secondly, because כֹּהֵן, the word here translated *Sponsus*, properly signifies *Gener*, a son in Law, and *Sponsus* onely by way of equivalence or coincidence, (because to be made son in Law to the Parents, is by being the daughters *Sponsus*) My meaning is that כֹּהֵן, the word used, signifies not the relation of the Bridegroom to his Bride; but his relation to his Brides Parents, by taking their daughter to wife. And therefore in the whole Scripture, we shall never finde it relatively used, or with an affix, but onely in respect to the wifes Father or Mother: And of the same condition is the word כַּלָּה, which we often by equivalence translate a *Bride*, but properly signifies *Nurus*; wherefore we shall never finde the Bridegroom call the Bride his כַּלָּה nor the Bride the Bridegroom her כֹּהֵן, or that they are called so by others. But onely the Husband his Father and Mother in Laws

Exod. 4. 25.

Lawes כֶּתֶן, and the wife her Father and Mother in Lawes כְּלָה: In a word, there is no word in the Hebrew Tongue, which signifies a *Bridegroom* and *Bride*, as they stand in relation each to other, but as to each others Parents onely: whence it is remarkable that in the *Canticles*, when this relation comes to be expressed on the Brides behalf, it is alwayes done by addition of the word אֲחוֹתִי, that is, *Soror mea*, as אֲחוֹתִי כְלָה, the *Callah*, or *Nurus* my sister, which we translate *equivallenter*, *Soror mea sponsa*. Now if this be true, I see not how *Zipporah* could call *Moses* here her כֶּתֶן, by saying to him כֶּתֶן *sanguinem tu mihi es*; For she should have called him her son in law, and not her Husband: *Ergo*, she spake the words to the childe, and not to him.

Thirdly, for a farther probability hereof, the Jewish Rabbins tell us, that it was the custome of women to call their children when they were circumcised, כֶּתֶן; the word here turned *sponsus*. *Aben Ezra* upon this place, *Mos mulierum*, (saith he) *vocare filium cum circumcisisus est* כֶּתֶן. *Rabbi Levi*, כֶּתֶן *in principio connubii vocatur, qui alicui promissus est. Inde translatum ad initium rerum aliarum, ut cum infans recens circumcisisus à mulieribus sponsus vocatur. Nam tunc primum incipit Deo servire.* The like hath *Rabbi David Kimchi*, in his *Lexicon*, who conjectures withall, that כֶּתֶן should have some signification of causing new joy, and thence to be used both at the day of marriage, and day of circumcision.

Fourthly, from this custome to call a childe at his circumcision כֶּתֶן; with the Arabians (who are
of

of Abrahams posterity, and still use, and anciently used this Rite) *Chatan* is to circumcise, *Chiten* circumcision, כּחַתֵּן, circumcised, as is ordinarily seen in their Translation of the New Testament: whence comes this? but from the manner of calling a childe כּחַתֵּן, when hee was circumcised; Even as we, because a childe in *Baptisme* is made a *Christian*, use the word *Christen* for to Baptize, and *Christened* for Baptized: And *Zipporah* was an Arabisse, and the Arabian tongue of near affinity with the Hebrew.

Exod. 4. 25.

Fifthly, this exposition is agreeable to the following words, וַיֹּדֶף בְּסֵטֶן אֶת אֲחֵרָה כִּתְּךָ דָּמִים לְמִלּוּחַ, and he let him goe, when he had said, *Sponsus sanguinum, hoc est, circumcisionis*; that is, the Angell let *Moses* goe, as soon as those *solemnia verba, Sponsus sanguinum*, were out of *Zipporahs* mouth: so the Vulgar rightly translates it: *Et dimisit eum, postquam dixerat, Sponsus sanguinū tu mihi es ob circumcisionem*. For אֶת, is here, as elsewhere, for כֵּן, *ex tunc, ab eo tempore, postquam*, not simply *tunc*, as we translate it: Namely, as the destroying Angel, *Exodus 12*. when he saw the blood of the Paschall Lamb upon the lintels and side-posts of the Israelites doores, passed by them, and destroyed them not; so the Angell here, when he saw the blood of the circumcision upon *Moses* child, let *Moses* goe, and slew him not: In these words, if you mark it, the Holy Ghost expounds what *Zipporah* meant by those words, *Sponsus sanguinum*, that is, *Sponsus circumcisionis*. *Et dimisit eum postquam dixit למלוח דמים כֵּן, — Sponsus sanguinum, id est, circumcisionis*; then are not these words spoken

M

of,

Exod. 4. 25.

of, or to *Moses*, but unto the childe.

Having thus proved what I took in hand; that these words were not spoke by *Zipporah* to *Moses*, but as *solemnia verba*, in that case to her childe, whom she circumcised; it remains, I should now tell you how they are so construed. I say therefore, *Tu mihi sponsus sanguinum*, in *Zipporahs* meaning, is as much as *Sis mihi initiatus circumcissione*: It is well known, how tropically those words of relation of kindred, *Father*, *Mother*, *Sister*, *Sonne*, are used in the Hebrew Tongue; and *Sonne*, beside other notions, to be often the circumlocution of our *vox concreta*, as *Filius percussio- nis*, is he that is stricken; *Filius fæderis*, he that is *fæderatus*; *Filius mortis*, he that is condemned to die, or worthy of death; and the like. And why may not then כרן וימים, *Gener sanguinum*, that is, as the Holy Ghost expounds it, *circumcisionis*, be as much as *circumciscus*, and *Gener sanguinum tu mihi es* (for so I told you כרן signifies) be as much as, *I pronounce thee circumcised*? As if the circumcised person, by being married to circumcision, were made the circumcisers son in Law, and circumcisions Bridegroom; as *Es*, or *sis*, *mihi in generum desponsatus circumcissioni*.

Or if blood, or circumcision, note the Instrument, the *Formula* may be thus explicated, that the person circumcised becomes Gods son in Law, as being wedded and joyned to his Church, by the blood of circumcision, as with a ring; and then the pronoun *mihi*, must not be taken relatively to *Zipporah*, as before, but *efficienter* onely in this sense, *Per me factus es gener Deo, per sanguinem circumcissionis*:

sionis : or *Feci te generum Deo* : or (if you like better the notion of *sponsus*) I have espoused thee to the Church of God, by this rite of circumcision; or Thou art, or be thou espoused, &c. Thus, as you see, may the *Formula* be either way explicated, to one and the same sense. But the first I like the best, because of *mibi* the relative to *Zipporah*, *Tu mibi in generum es desponsatus circumcissioni*.

Now lastly, to free my interpretation from novelty, the sense I have given of these words, is that, which both the Septuagint, and the Chaldee Paraphrast directly aim at; the Paraphrast expounding it thus; *In sanguine circumcissionis istius, datus est sponsus, or gener mibi*; The Septuagint, as we now read, thus, *ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τῆς πατρίδος σου, Stetit sanguis circumcissionis filii mei*: where the Text is corrupted, and I beleieve the Septuagint translated not ἐστὶν, but ἐστί. — *sit hic sanguis circumcissionis Filii mei*; a Periphrasticall, but evident sense, with the change of one letter onely.

From the sense of this place thus proved, I will point out two observations, and so conclude.

The first is, that it is lawfull to use some fitting forme of words in the exhibition of a Sacrament, though not expressly ordained by God at the institution thereof; as appears by this form, that *Zipporah* used, no doubt *ex more* then, whatsoever the form were after that time.

The second is, that the neglect of the circumcision of a childe then, and so consequently of baptizing it now, makes not so much the child, as the Parents li-

Exod. 4. 25.

able to the wrath of God; as here the Angel sought not to kill the child, who was uncircumcised; but *Moses* the Father, who should have circumcised it. Both which observations I mean to amplify no farther, but to leave to your exacter meditations; and so I conclude.

E Z E K.

EZEKIEL 20. 20.

Hallow my Sabbaths, and they shall be a signe between me and you, to acknowledge that I Iehovah am your God.



This Commandement, with the end thereof, the Lord bids *Ezekiel* tell the Elders of Israel, that he gave to their Fathers in the Wildernesse. And it is recorded in the Law; so that I might have taken it thence: but I rather chose to make these words in *Ezekiel* my Text, as expressed more plainly, and so a Comment to those in the Law: the place is *Exod. 31.* where this, which my Text containeth, is expressed thus, *Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep, for it is a signe between me and you throughout your generations, to acknowledge that I Iehovah am your sanctifier, that is, your God;* as the expression in *Ezekiel* tels us. For to be the Sanctifier of a People, and to be their God, is all one, whence also the Lord is so often called in Scripture, the *Holy One* of Israel; that is, their Sanctifier, and their God.

That which I intend at this time to observe from these words, is the end why God commanded this observation of the Sabbath to the Israelites; to wit, that thereby, as by a *Symbolum*, they might testifie

Ezek. 20.
20.

and professe what God they worshipped : Secondly, out of this ground, to shew how far, and in what manner the like observation binds us Christians, who are worshippers of the same God, whom the Jews worshipped, though not under the same relation altogether, wherein they worshipped him.

All Nations had something in their ceremonies, whereby they signified the God they worshipped ; so in those of the celestiall Gods, (as they termed them) and those which were Deified souls of men, were differing rites, whereby the one was known from the other. Those gods which were made of men, having funerall rites in their services, (as cognisances that they were souls deceased) and each of them some imitation of some remarkable passage of the Legend of their lives, either of some action done by them, or some accident which befell them ; as in the ceremonies of *Osiris* and *Bacchus* is obvious to any that reads them : And indeed it is a naturall *Decorum* for servants and vassals, by some mark or cognisance to testifie who is their Lord and Master : In the *Revelation*, the worshippers of the Beast receive his mark, and the worshippers of the Lamb carry his mark and his Fathers in their Fore-heads. Hence came the first use of the *croffe* in *Baptisme*, as the mark of Christ, the Deity to whom we are initiated ; and the same afterwards used in all Benedictions, Prayers, and Thanksgivings, in token they were done in the name, and merits of Christ crucified : so that in the Primitive Church this rite was no more, but that wherewith we conclude all our Prayers, and Thanksgivings, when we say, *Through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour ;*
though

though afterward it came to be abused, as almost all other rites of Christianity, to abominable superstition.

Ezek. 20.
20.

To return therefore unto my Text : Agreeably to this principle, and this custome of all Religions, of all Nations, of all vassals, the Lord *Jehovah*, Creator of heaven and earth, ordained to his people this observation of the *Sabbath day*, for a sign and cognisance, that he should be their God, and no other. *It is for a sign*, saith he, *between me and you, that I Jehovah am your God*. In the place I quoted before, in the 31. of *Exod.* are these words; *The Children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetuall Covenant; it is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever, for in six dayes the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested* : As if he had said, it is a sign that the Creator of heaven and earth is your God.

But for the distinct understanding of this signification, we must know that the *Sabbath* includes two respects of time : First, the *quotum*, one day of seven, or the seventh day after six days labour : Secondly, the *designation*, or pitching that seventh day, upon the day we call *Saturday*. In both, the Sabbaticall observation was a *sign*, and profession that *Jehovah* and no other was the God of Israel : the first, according to his attribute of *Creator* ; the second of *Deliverer of Israel* out of Egypt. For by sanctifying the seventh day, after they had laboured six, they professed themselves vassals and worshippers of that only God, who created the heaven and the earth, and having spent six days in that great work, rested the seventh day ; and

M 4

there-

Ezek. 20.
20.

therefore comananded them to observe this futable distribution of their time, as a badge and livery that their religious service was appropriate to him alone. And this is that which the fourth Commandement in the reason given from the Creation intendeth, and no more but this.

But seeing they might professe this acknowledgement, as well by any other six days working, and a seventh resting, as by those they pitched upon; there being still (what six days soever they had laboured, and what seventh soever they had rested) the same conformity with their Creator; let us see the reason why they pitched upon those six days wherein they laboured, for labouring days rather than any other six; and why they chose that seventh day, namely *Saturday*, to hallow and rest in, rather than any other.

And this was, that they might professe themselves servants of *Jehovah* their God, in a relation and respect peculiar and proper to themselves; to wit, that they were the servants of that God, which redeemed Israel out of the Land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage; and upon the morning watch of *that very day* which they kept for their Sabbath, he overwhelmed *Pharaoh*, and all his Host in the Red Sea, and saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians. This I gather from the repetition of the Decalogue, *Deut. 5.* where that reason from the worlds Creation (in the Decalogue given at Horeb) being left out, *Moses* inserts this other of the Redemption of Israel out of Egypt in stead thereof; namely, as the reason, why those six days rather than any other
fix

fix for work, and that seventh day rather than any other seventh for rest, were pitched upon, as Israel observed them. *Remember*, saith he, *thou wert a servant in the Land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God, brought thee out thence through a mighty hand, and a stretched out arm : therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath Day* : Not for the *quatum* of one day of seven, (for of that another reason was given, the example of God in the Creation) but for the *designation* of the day.

But whether this day were in order the seventh from the Creation or not, the Scripture is silent ; for where it is called in the Commandement the *seventh* day, that is in respect of the six days of labour, and not otherwise : and therefore, *whensoever* it is so called, those six days of labour are mentioned with it. The seventh day therefore is the seventh after six days of labour, nor can any more be inferred from it : The example of the Creation is brought for the *quatum*, one day of seven, as I have shewed, and not for the *designation* of any certain day for that seventh. Nevertheless, it might fall out so, by disposition of Divine Providence, that the Jews designed seventh day was, both the seventh in order from the Creation, and also the day of their deliverance out of Egypt. But the Scripture no where tels us it was so, (howsoever most men take it for granted) and therefore it may as well be not so : Certain I am, the Jews kept not that day for a Sabbath till the raining of Manna : For that which should have been their *Sabbath* the week before, had they then kept the day, which afterward they kept, was the fifteenth day of the second month;

on

Ezek. 20.
20.

Ezek. 20.
20.

on which day we read in the 16. of *Exodus*, that they marched a wearisome march, and came at night into the wilderness of Sin; where they murmured for their poor entertainment, and wished they had died in Egypt: that night the Lord sent them Quails, the next morning it rained Manna, which was the sixteenth day, and so six days together; the seventh, which was the two and twentieth, it rained none, and that day they were commanded to keep for their *Sabbath*: now if the two and twentieth day of the month were the Sabbath, the fifteenth should have been, if that day had been kept before; but the Text tells us expressly, they marched that day; and, which is strange, the day of the month is never named, unless it be once, for any station but this, where the Sabbath was ordained; otherwise it could not have been known, that that day was ordained for a day of rest, which before was none. And why might not their day of holy rest be altered, as well as the beginning of the year was, for a memoriall of their coming out of Egypt? I can see no reason, why it might not, nor finde any testimony to assure me it was not.

And thus much of the Jews Sabbath, how and wherein it was a sign, whereby they professed themselves the servants of *Jehovah*, and no other God.

Now I come to the second thing I propounded, to shew how far, and in what manner the like observati-
on binds us Christians.

I say therefore, that the *Christian* as well as the *Jew*, after six days spent in his own works, is to sanctifie the *seventh*, that he may professe himself there-
by a servant of God, the Creatour of Heaven and
Earth,

Earth; as well as the Jew. For the *quotum* therefore, the Jew and Christian agree; but in *designation* of the day they differ. For the Christian chooseth for his Holy day; that which with the Jews was the first day of the week, and calls it *Dominicum*, that he might thereby professe himself a servant of that God, who on the morning of that day, vanquished *Satan*, the *Spirituall Pharaoh*, and redeemed us from our Spirituall thralldome, by raising *Iesus Christ* our Lord from the dead, begetting us in stead of an earthly *Canaan*, to an inheritance incorruptible in the Heavens: In a word, the Christian, by the day he hallows, professes himself a Christian; that is, as *S. Paul* speaks, *To beleieve on him that raised up Iesus from the dead*; so that the Jew and Christian both, though they fall not upon the same day, yet make their *designation* of their day upon the like ground; the Jews, the memoriall day of their deliverance from the *temporall Egypt*, and *temporall Pharaoh*: the Christians, the memoriall of their deliverance from the *spirituall Egypt*, and *spirituall Pharaoh*.

But might not (will you say) the Christian, as well have observed the Jewish for his seventh day, as the day he doth? I answer, No; he might not: For, in so doing, he should seem not to acknowledge his Redemption to be already performed; but still expected. For the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt by the Ministry of *Moses*, was intended for a type and pledge of the spirituall deliverance, which was to come by *Christ*: their *Canaan* also to which they marched, being a type of that heavenly inheritance, which the redeemed by *Christ* do look for: Since therefore the
sha-

Exh. 20.
20.

15
16
17
18
19
20
21

Ezek. 20.
20.

shadow is now made void by the comming of the substance, the relation is changed, and God is no longer to be worshipped, and beleaved in, as a God foreshewing and assuring by types; but as a God who hath performed the substance of what he promised. And this is that which S. Paul means, *Colossians 2. 16, 17.* where he saith, *Let no man judge you (henceforth) in respect of a Feast day, New Moon, or Sabbath days, which were a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.*

I COR.

1 COR. 11. 5.

Every woman praying or prophecying with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head.

Have chosen this of the *woman*, rather then that of the *man* going before it, for the Theme of my Discourse; First, because I conceive the fault, at the reformation whereof the Apostle here aimeth, in the Church of Corinth, was the *womens* only, not the *mens*. That which the Apostle speaks of a *man praying or prophecying*, being by way of supposition, and for illustration of the unseemlineffe of that guise which the *women* used. Secondly, because the condition of the sex in the words read, makes something for the better understanding of that which is spoken of both; as we shall see presently.

What I intend to speak upon this Text, shall consist of these two parts; First, of an enquiry, what is here meant by *prophecying*, a thing attributed to *women*, and therefore undoubtedly some such thing as they were capable of. Secondly, what was this fault for matter and manner, of the *women of the Church of Corinth*, which the Apostle here reproveth.

To begin with the first, and which I am like to dwell longest upon; Some take *prophecying* here, in the

1 Cor. 11. 9.

the stricter sense, to be foretelling of things to come; as that which in those Primitive times, both *men* and *women* did, by the powring out of the Holy Ghost upon them; according to that of the Prophet *Joel*, applied by *S. Peter* to the sending of the Holy Ghost at the first promulgation of the Gospel: *I will powre out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophecy, and your young men shall see visions.* And that such *Propheteresses* as these, were those four Daughters of *Philip* the Euangelist, whereof we read *Acts* 21. 9.

Others take *prophecy* here in a more large notion, for the gift of interpreting and opening Divine mysteries contained in holy Scripture, for the instruction and edification of the hearers; especially, as it was then inspired and suggested in extraordinary manner by the Holy Spirit, as *Prophecy* was given of old; according to that of *S. Peter*, *Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* So because many, in the beginning of the Gospel, were guided by a like instinct in the interpretation and application of Scripture, they were said to *Prophecy*. Thus the Apostle useth it in the fourteenth Chapter of this Epistle, where he discourseth of spirituall Gifts, and before all prefers this of *Prophecy*; because *he that prophesieth*, (saith he) *speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.*

But neither of these kinds of *Prophecy* fute with the person in my Text, which is a *woman*: For it is certain the Apostle speaks here of *prophecy* in the Church, or Congregation; but in the Church a woman

man might not speak, no not so much as ask a question for her better instruction, much lesse teach and instruct others. This the Apostle teacheth us in this very Epistle, Chapter the fourteenth; even there where he discourseth so largely of those kinds of *Prophecy*: *Let your women* (saith he) *keep silence in the Churches: For it is not permitted unto them to speak, and notwithstanding but to be subject: And if they will learn, let them ask their husbands at home.* Again in the first of *Timothy*, the second and the eleventh, *Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. 12. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.* Note here, that to speak in a Church Assembly, by way of teaching or instructing others, is an act of *superiority*, which therefore a woman might not do, because her sex was to be in *subjection*, and so to appear before God in that Garb and Posture, which consisted therewith; that is, they might not speak to instruct men in the Church, but to God she might.

To avoid this difficulty, some would have the word *προφητεύουσα* in my Text, to be taken *passively*, namely, to hear, or be present at *Prophecy*, which is an acception without example, either in Scripture, or any where else. It is true, the Congregation is said to *pray* when the Priest only speaks; but that they should be said to *preach*, who are present only at the hearing of a Sermon, is a Trope without example. For the reason is not alike: In *prayer* the Priest is the mouth of the Congregation, and does what he does in their names, and they assent to it by saying, Amen. But he that *preaches* or *prophecies* is not the mouth of the Church,

1 Cor. 11. 5.

Church, to speak ought in their names, that so they might be said to speak too; but he is the mouth of God speaking to them. It is not likely therefore, that those who only hear another speaking or *prophecying* to them, should be said ~~προφητεύειν~~, no more, as I said, then that all they should be said to preach, who were at the hearing of a Sermon.

What shall we do then? Is there any other acception of the word *prophecying* left us, which may fit our turn? Yes, there is a fourth acception, which if it can be made good, will sute our Text better (I think) then any of the former; to wit, that *prophecying* here should be taken for *praising God in Hymnes and Psalms*. For so it is fitly coupled with *praying*: *Praying* and *praising*, being the parts of the Christian Liturgy. Besides, our Apostle also in the fourteenth Chapter of this Epistle, joyns them both together; *I will pray*, saith he, *with the spirit, and will pray with understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing*, that is, *prophecy, with understanding also*. For, because *Prophets* of old did three things: First, foretell things to come: Secondly, notifie the will of God unto the people: And thirdly, uttered themselves in musickall wise, and, as I may so speak, in a poetickall strain and compofure: Hence it comes to passe, that to *prophecy* in Scripture, signifies the doing of any of these three things, and amongst the rest, to *praise* God in verse or musickall compofure.

This to be so, as I say, I shall prove unto you out of two places of Scripture; and first out of the first of *Chronicles*, ch. 25. where the word *Prophecy* is three severall times thus used: I will alledge the words of the

the Text at large, because I cannot well abbreviate them; These they are; v. 1. Moreover David and the Captains of the Host, separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Ieduthun, who should prophecy with Harps, with Psalteries, and with Cymbals: and the number of the men of Office according to their service was, 2. Of the sons of Asaph, Zaccur, and Joseph, and Nathaniah, and Asarelah, the sons of Asaph under the hands of Asaph, which prophesied according to the order of the King. 3. Of Ieduthun, the sons of Ieduthun, Gedaliah, and Zeri, and Ieshaiah, Haphabiah, and Mattithiah (and Schimei) six, under the hands of their Father Ieduthun, who prophesied with a Harp to give thanks, and to praise the Lord. Lo here, to prophecy and to give thanks, (or confesse) and to praise the Lord with spirituall songs, made all one. Nor needs such a notion seem strange, when as even among the Latins, the word *vates* signifieth both him that foretels things to come, and a Poet: for that the Gentile Oracles were given likewise in verse: And S. Paul to Titus, calls the Cretian Poet, Epimenides, a Prophet; as one, saith he, of their own Prophets said, Κρητὸς αἰὶν Ἰωάννης, καὶ Σίμων, καὶ Ἰούδας ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν. And the Arabians (whose language comes the nearest both in words and notions to the Hebrew) call a chief Poet of theirs (Princeps omnium Poetarum (saith Erpenius) quos unquam vidit mundus) Muttewabbi, that is, Prophetizans, or Prophetas καὶ ἐξοχόν. Now then if Asaph, Ieduthun, and Heman prophesied when they praised God in such Psalms, as are entituled unto their severall Quires; as we find them in the Psalm-Book, (for know that all the Psalms entituled to the sons of Korah, belonged to

Vide etiam
2 Chr. 29.
30. & 35.
15.

N

the

1 Cor. 11. 5.

the Quire of *Heman*, who descended from *Korah*,) why may not we, when we sing the same Psalms be said to *prophecy* likewise? namely, as he that useth a prayer composed by another, prayeth; and that according to the spirit of him that composed it; So he that praiseth God with these spirituall and propheti-call composures, may be said to *prophecy* according to that spirit, which speaketh in them.

2 Chron.
20. 21.

And that Almighty God is well pleased with such service as this, may appear by that one story of King *Iehoshaphat*, in the second of *Chronicles*, who when he marched forth against that great confederate Army of the children of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Mount Seir*, the Text there tels us, that having consulted with his people, *He appointed singers unto the Lord, that should praise the Beauty of holinesse, as they went out before the Army, and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever*, (that is, they should sing the one hundred and sixth Psalm, or one hundred thirty sixth, which begin in this manner, and were both of them not unfit for such an occasion;) *And when they began to sing and praise*, (saith the Text) *the Lord set ambushments against the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, which were come against Judah, and they were smitten.*

Verse 22.

1 Sam. 10.
5 10.

A second place where such kinde of *Prophets* and *prophecying*, as we speak of, is mentioned, is that in the first of *Samuel*, in the story of *Sauls* election, where we reade, *That when he came to a certain place, called the Hill of God, he met a company of Prophets comming down from the high place, (or Oratory there) with a Psaltery, a Tabrat, and a Pipe, and a Harp before them, and they prophesied, and he with them.* Their Instru-

ments

ments argue what kinde of *Prophecy* this was; namely, praising God with spirituall songs, and melody. In what manner, is not so easie to define or specifie: But with an extemporary rapture, I easily beleeve. And if we may conjecture by other examples, one of them should seem to have been the *Præcentor*, and to utter the verse or ditty; the rest to have answered τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια, the extremes or last words of the verse, For after this manner we are told by *Philo Judæus*, that the *Essens* (who were of the *Jewish Nation*) were wont to sing their Hymnes in their *Σαυνεία*, or worshipping places. And after the self-same manner, *Ensebius* tells us, did the *Primitive Christians*, having in all likelihood learnt it from the Jews, whose manner it was; the same is witnessed by the Author *Constitutionum Apostolicarum* in his second Book, and fifty seventh Cha. where describing the manner of the *Christian service*; after the reading of the Lessons of the Old Testament, (saith he) ἑτέροις τις τὸς ᾤδαβιδά λαλλήτω ὕμνος, ἢ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ἀποφάνηται. Let another sing the Psalms of David, and the people, succinere, or answer, τὰ ἀκροστίχια, (i.) ἀκρὰ τῶν στίχων, the extremes of the verses. Some footsteps of which custome remain still with us (though perhaps in somewhat a different way) when in those short versicles of Liturgy, being sentences taken out of the *Psalms*, the Priest says or sings the first half, and the People answer the latter; quasi τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια. As for example, in that taken out of *Psal.* 51. 17. the Priest says, O Lord open thou our lips; The People or Chorus answer, And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise. But whatsoever the ancient manner of answering was, thus much we are sure of, that the

1 Cor. 11. 5.

Note to
sing ἀντι-
φωνῶν, i.
alternis
choris, and
answer
ἀκροστίχια
are diverse.
Vid. Hook.
l. 5. p. 261.

1 Cor. 11. 5.

Psa. 147. 7.

Jews in their divine lauds were wont to praise God after this manner, in *Antiphones* or *Responseries*; as (to let passe other testimonies, and the use of their Synagogues to this day derived from their Ancestors,) we may learn by two speciall Arguments; one from the *Seraphims* singing, *Esay* the sixth, where it is said, that the *Seraphims* cried one unto another saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his Glory.* Note, they cryed one unto another. Secondly, from the use of the Hebrew verb ענה, which in the proper and native signification thereof being to answer, is also used for to sing: as in the Psalm, where we translate, *Sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving, sing praise upon the Harp unto our God*; in the Hebrew it is ענה, *Answer unto the Lord in thanksgiving, sing praise upon the Harp unto our God.* And *Isay* 27. 2. *In that day sing ye unto her, a vineyard of red wine.* In the Hebrew, *Answer ye unto her.* And *Numbers* 21. in *Israels* song of the Well; *Spring up, O Well, sing ye unto it.* In the Hebrew it is, *Answer unto it.* And *Moses* speaking of those that were worshipping the golden Calf, *Exodus* 32. 18. *It is not the voyce of them that shout for mastery, nor the voyce of them that cry for being overcome, but the noise of them that sing do I heare;* In the Hebrew, *the voyce of them that answer one another.* And so in other places. But to put all out of doubt, look *Ezra* 3. 11. where it is expressly said, *The Levites, the sons of Asaph, sung together by course, in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* Hence was derived the manner of praying, and praising God in the *Christian* service, *alternis vicibus*, in a musically way, and,

and, as it were, by way of *prophecy* and *versifying*; even though we do but speak it only; as you know the Poet says, *Amant alterna Camene*. Thus I have taken occasion somewhat to enlarge this particular; That we our selves might the better understand the reason of what we do, and what precedents, and whose example we follow therein. And thus much of *prophecy*.

I come now to the second thing, I propounded to speak of; namely, what was that fault among the *Corinthians*, which the Apostle here taxeth: For the right understanding whereof, I say two things; First, for the offenders, that they were the *women*, and not the *men*. That which the Apostle speaketh concerning *men*, being by way of supposition only, and to illustrate his Argument against the uncomely guise of the *women à pari*: this appears, because his conclusion speaks of *women* only, and nothing at all of *men*. Secondly, for the quality of the fault, it was this; that the *women* at the time of *praying* and *prophecy* were unveiled in the Church; notwithstanding it was then accounted an unseemly and immodest guise, for *women* to appear open and bare-faced in public. How then, will you say, should it come to passe, that Christian women should so much forget themselves, as to transgress this *decorum* in Gods House, and service which they observed other where? I answer, from a phantasticall imitation of the manner of the *she-Priests* and *Propheteesses* of the Gentiles, when they served their Idols, as their *Pythia*, *Baccha*, or *Manades*, and the like; who used, when they uttered their Oracles, or celebrated the rites and sacrifices of

1 Cor. 11. 5.

their Gods, to put themselves into a wild and extaticall guise, having their faces discovered, their hair dishevelled, and hanging about their ears: This these *Corinthian women* (conceiting themselves when they prayed or prophecyed in the Church, to be acting the parts of *she-Priests*, uttering Oracles like, the *Pythia*, or *Sibylla*, or celebrating sacrifice, as the *Menades*, or *Baccha*) were so fond, as to imitate (as that sex is prone to follow the fashion) and accordingly cast off their veils, and discovered their faces immodestly in the Congregation, and thereby (as the Apostle speaks) dishonoured their heads; that is, were unseemly accoutred, and dressed on their head: which he proveth by three Arguments; partly from Nature, which having given *women* their hair for a covering, taught them to be covered, as a sign of subjection; the manner of this covering being to be measured by the custome of the Nation: Lastly, by an Argument *à pari*, from *men*, for whom even themselves being Judges, it would be an uncomely thing to wear a vail, that is, a *womans* habit; so by the like reason, was it as uncomely for a *woman* to be without a vail, that is, in the guise and dresse of a *man*. And howsoever the Devils of the Gentiles, sometimes took pleasure in uncomeliness, and absurd garbs and gestures; yet the God whom they worshipped with his holy Angels, who were present at their devotions, loved a comely accommodation, agreeable to Nature and Custome, in such as worshipped him. For this cause therefore (saith he) ought a woman to have a covering on her head, because of the Angels. Lastly, he concludes it, from the example and custome both of the

the *Jewish* and *Christian* Churches, neither of which had any such use, for their *women* to be unvailed in their sacred assemblies : *If any man* (saith he) *be contentious*, (that is, will not be satisfied with these reasons) *let him know*, that *we*, (that is, we of the Circumcision) *have no such custome, nor the Church of God*. For so, with *S. Ambrose*, *Anselme*, and some of the ancients, I take the meaning of the Apostle to be in those words.

Thus you have heard briefly, what was the fault of these *Corinthian Dames*, which the Apostle here *reproveth*. From which we our selves may learn thus much; That God requires a decent and comely accommodation in his House, in the act of his worship, and service; For if in their habit and dresse, surely much more in their gestures, and deportment; he loves nothing that is unseemly in the one, or in the other.

TITUS 3.5.

By the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.



Hese words, as it is easie to conceive, upon the first hearing, are spoken of *Baptisme*, of which I intend not by this choyce, to make any full or accurate tractation, but onely to acquaint you (as I am wont) with my thoughts concerning two particulars therein: One, from what propriety, analogy, or use of water, the washing therewith was instituted for a sign of new birth, according as it is here called *λουτρον παλιγγενειας*, *the washing of regeneration*. The other, what is the counter-type, or thing which the water figureth in this Sacrament.

I will begin with the last first, because the knowledge thereof must be supposed, for the explication and more distinct understanding of the other. In every Sacrament, as ye well know, there is the outward Symbole or sign, *res terrena*, and the *signatum* figured and represented thereby, *res celestis*. In this of *Baptism*, the sign or *res terrena* is washing with water: The question is, what is the *Signatum*, the invisible and celestial thing, which answers thereunto? In our Catecheti-
call

call explications of this mystery, it is wont to be affirmed to be the *blood of Christ*; That as *water* washeth away the filth of the body, so the *blood of Christ* cleanseth us from the guilt and pollution of sin. And there is no question but the *blood of Christ* is the fountain of all the grace and good communicated unto us, either in this or any other Sacrament, or mystery of the Gospel. But that this should be the *antitype*, the counterpart, or thing figured by the *water* in *Baptism*, I beleeve not, because the Scripture, which must be our guide and direction in this case, makes it another thing; to wit, the *Spirit* or *Holy Ghost*; this to be that, whereby the soul is cleansed and renewed within, as the body with water is without; so saith our Saviour to *Nicodemus*, *oh. 3. Except a man be born of water, and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* And the Apostle in the words I have read, parallels the *washing of regeneration*, and the *renewing of the Holy Ghost*, as type and countertype. *God* (saith he) *hath saved us* (that is, brought us into the state of salvation,) *by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost*: where none, I trow, will deny that he speaks of *Baptism*. The same was represented by that vision, at our Saviours Baptism, of the holy Ghosts descending upon him, as he came out of the water, in the similitude of a Dove: For I suppose, that in that Baptism of his, the mystery of all our Baptisms was visibly acted; and that God sayes to every one, truly baptized, as he said to him, (in a proportionable sense,) *Thou art my Son, in whom I am well pleased.*

And how pliable the analogy of water is to typifie the

Titus 3.5.

Isa. 44.3.

the Spirit, well appears by the figuring of the Spirit thereby in other places of Scripture; As in that of *Isay*, *I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine off-spring*, where the latter expounds the former: Also by the discourse of our Saviour with the Samaritan woman, *Iohn 4.14. Whosoever* (saith he) *drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst, but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up to everlasting life*: By that also, *Ioh. 7.37.* where on the last day of the great feast, *Iesus stood and said, If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink. He that beleeveth on me, as the Scripture saith* (that is, as the Scripture is wont to expresse it, for otherwise there is no such place of Scripture to be found in all the Bible) *out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this* (saith the Euangelist) *he spake of the Spirit, which they that beleve on him should receive.*

Nor did the Fathers or ancient Church, as far as I can finde, suppose any other correlative to the element in Baptism, but this; of this they speak often, of the *blood of Christ* they are altogether silent in their explications of this mystery: many are the allusions they seek out, for the illustration thereof, and some perhaps forced, but this of the *water*, signifying or having any relation to the *blood of Christ*, never comes amongst them; which were impossible, if they had not supposed some other thing figured by the water, then it; which barred them from falling on that conceit.

The like silence is to be observed in our Liturgy, where the *Holy Ghost* is more then once paralleld with the

the water in Baptism, washing and regeneration attributed thereunto; but no such notion of the blood of Christ. And that the opinion thereof is novell, may be gathered, because some *Lutheran Divines* make it peculiar and proper to the followers of Calvin.

Whatsoever it be, it hath no foundation in Scripture, and we must not of our own heads assigne significations to Sacramentall types without some warrant thence. For whereas some conceive those two expressions, of *παυσμὸς*, or *sprinkling of the blood of Christ*, and of our being *washed from our sins in* (or by) *his blood*, do intimate some such matter, they are surely mistaken; for those expressions have reference not to the water of Baptism in the New Testament, but to the rite and manner of sacrificing in the Old; where the Altar was wont to be *sprinkled* with the blood of the Sacrifices, which were offered, and that which was unclean purified with the same blood: whence is that elegant discourse of Saint Paul, (*Heb. 9.*) comparing the sacrifices of the Law, with that of Christ upon the Crosse, as much the better. And that whereas in the Law, *ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ὕδατι μόνον καθαρίζεται*, *Almost all things were purified with blood; so much more the blood of Christ, who offered himself without spot to God, cleanseth our consciences from dead works*: But that this washing, that is, cleansing by the blood of Christ, should have reference to Baptism, where is that to be found? I suppose, they will not alledge the water and blood which came out of our Saviours side, when they pierced him; For that is taken to signifie the two Sacraments ordained by Christ, that of blood the Eucharist, of water Baptism

Titus 3. 5.

1 Pet. 1. 2.

Apoc. 1. 5.

TIM 3.5.

Baptism, & not both to be referred to Baptism: I add, because perhaps some mens fancies are corrupted therewith, that there was no such thing as sprinkling, or *ῥαντισμός*, used in Baptism in the Apostles times, nor many ages after them; and that therefore it is no way probable, that *ῥαντισμός ἀσuat & χειρῶν* in S. Peter should have any reference to the Laver of Baptism.

Let this then be our conclusion; That the *blood of Christ* concurs in the mystery of Baptism, by way of efficacy and merit, but not as the thing there figured; which the Scripture tels us not to be the blood of Christ, but the *Spirit*.

And so I come to my other *Quære*. From what property or use of *water*, the washing therewith is a Sacrament of our new birth; for so it is here called, the *washing of regeneration*; and our Saviour sayes to *Nicodemus*, *Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*. For in every Sacrament there is some analogy between what is outwardly done, and what is thereby signified: therefore in this. But what should it be? It is a thing of some moment, and yet in the tractates of this mystery, but little or seldom enquired after; and therefore deserves the more consideration. I answer; this analogy between the *washing* with water, and *regeneration* lies in that custome of washing infants from the pollutions of the womb, when they are first born; for this is the first office done unto them when they come out of the womb, if they purpose to nourish and bring them up. As therefore in our naturall birth, the body is washt with *water* from the pollutions wherewith it comes besmeared out
of

of the matrix; so in our second birth from above, the soul is purified by the *Spirit*, from the guilt and pollution of sin, to begin a new life to God-ward.

The analogy you see is apt and proper, if that be true of the custome, whereof there is no cause to make question. For the use at present, any man, I think, knows how to inform himself: For that of elder times, I can produce two pregnant and notable testimonies; one of the Jews and people of God; another of the Gentiles. The first you shall finde *Ezek. 16.* where God describes the poor and forlorn condition of Jerusalem, when he first took her to himself, under the parable of an exposed Infant; *As for thy nativity*, saith he, *in the day thou wast born, thy navell was not cut, neither was thou washed in water, to supple thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all: None eye pitied thee, to do any of these things unto thee, to have compassion on thee; but thou wast cast out in the open field, to the loathing of thy person in the day that thou wast born.* Here you may learn what was wont to be done unto infants at their nativity, by that which was not done to *Israel*, till God himself took pity on her, cutting off the navell string, washing, salting, swadling: upon this place *S. Hierome* takes notice (but scarce any body else; that I can yet finde) that our Saviour, where speaking of *Baptism*, he says, *Except a man be born of water & the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, alludes to the custom here mentioned of washing Infants at their nativity.

The other testimony (and that most pertinent to the application we make) I finde in a story related by *Plutarch*, in his *Quaestiones Romanae*, not far from the begin-

Titus 3.5.

Ezek. 16.
4.5.

Titus 3.5.

beginning, in this manner : Among the Greeks, if one that were living were reported to be dead, and funerrall obsequies performed for him, if afterward he returned alive, he was of all men abominated, as a prophane and unlucky person; no man would come into his company, and (which was the highest degree of calamity) they excluded him from their Temples and the Sacrifices of their gods : It chanced that one *Aristinus* being fallen into such a disaster, & not knowing which way to expiate himself therefrom, sent to the Oracle at *Delphos*, to *Apollo*, beseeching him to shew him the means whereby he might be freed and discharged thereof. *Pythia* gave him this answer,

Ὅσας περὶ ἐν ἀσχεῖσιν γυνὴ τίκτουσι τέλει,

Ταῦτα πάλιν τελίσαντα θύειν μαχέρεσι δεῖσι.

*What women do, when one in child-bed lies,
That do again, so must thou sacrifice.*

Aristinus rightly apprehending what the Oracle meant, offered himself to women, as one newly brought forth to be washed again with water; from which example it grew a custome among the Greeks, when the like misfortune befell any man, after this manner to expiate them; they called them *Hysteropotmi*, or *Postliminio nati*: How well doth this besit the mystery of Baptism; where those who were dead to God through sin, are like *Hysteropotmi*, regenerate and born again by water and the Holy Ghost.

These two passages discover sufficiently, the analogy of the washing with water in Baptism to regeneration or new birth; according as the Text, I have chosen for the scope of my discourse, expresseth it; namely, that *washing with water* is a signe of *spirituall infancy*;

infancy; for as much as infants are wont to be washed, when they come first into the world.

Hence the Jews before *John the Baptist* came amongst them, were wont by this rite to initiate such, as they made *Profelytes*, (to wit) as becoming infants again, and entring into a new life and being, which before they had not. That which here I have affirmed, will be yet more evident, if we consider those other rites anciently added and used in the celebration of this mystery, which had the self-same end we speak of; namely, to signifie *spirituall Infancy*. I will name them, and so conclude; As that of giving the new baptized *milk and honey*, *ad infantandum*, as *Tertullian* speaks; *ad infantie significationem*, so *S. Hierome*; because the like was used to infants new born; according to that in the seventh of *Isay*, of *Immanuel's* infancy; *A Virgin shall conceive and bear a son; butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse evill and chuse good*. Secondly, that of *salt*, as is implied in that of *Ezekiel*, *Thou wast not washed with water, nor salted with salt*: that of putting on the *white garment*, to resemble *swaddling*: All these were anciently (especially the first) used in the Sacrament of our *spirituall birth*, out of reference to that which was done to Infants at their *naturall birth*. Who then can doubt, but the principall rite of *washing with water*, the onely one ordained by our blessed Saviour, was chosen for the same reason: to be the element of our initiation; and that those who brought in the other, did so conceive of this; and from thence derived those imitations.

JOSH.

Thou shalt

Isa. 7. 14.
15.



JOSH. 24. 26.

And (Joshuah) took a great stone, and set it up there (viz. in Sichem) under the Oak, which was in the Sanctuary of the Lord : Alii, by the Sanctuary. Hebr. במקדש.



THE Story whereupon these words depend is this ; *Joshuah* a little before his death assembled all the Tribes of Israel at *Shechem*, or *Sichem* ; there to make a solemn Covenant between them and the Lord, to have him alone for their God, and to serve no other Gods besides him : which they having solemnly promised to do, saying, *The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey : Joshuah* for a testimony and monument of this their stipulation, erects in the place a great stone or pillar under an Oak, which was by (or, as the Hebrew hath it, in) the sanctuary of the Lord. Of this Oak, or rather collectively, *Quercetum*, or *Oaken-holt* of *Sichem*, is twice mention made elsewhere in Scripture. For this was the place where *Abraham* first sat down, and where the Lord appearing unto him, he erected his first Altar in the Land of Canaan, after he came out of

of Haran thither; as we read *Gen. 12. 6.* in these words; *And Abraham passed through the Land unto the place of Sichem, unto the Oak, or Oak-grove of Moreh, where the Lord appeared unto him, saying, Vnto thy seed will I give this Land; and there he builded an Altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him.* And what place more fit for *Abrahams* posterity, to renew a Covenant with their God, then that where their God first made his Covenant with *Abraham* their Father? Again, it was this place, where in the after-times of the Judges, one hundred and seventy years after the death of *Ioshuah*, the *Sichemites* made *Abimelech*, the base son of *Ierubaal* or *Gideon*, King, as we read *Iudg. 9. 6.* *That all the men of Sichem gathered together, and all the House of Millo, and went and made Abimelech King, by the Oak of the Pillar which was in Sichem:* The words are *אלון מצב*, even the Oak, where *Ioshuah* here in my Text set up this great stone for a witness to Israel. For the word *אלון* here, and *אלון*, or *אלון*, in the other two places, signifie one and the same thing, to wit, either an *Oak*, *Terebinth*, or some other kinde of tree; as the Septuagint perpetually render them.

Yea, that of *Judges* must of necessity so be rendred, by comparing it with this of my Text, to which it hath reference: Neverthelesse our last Translation in the first of these places *Gen. 12.* concerning *Abraham*, chose rather to follow *S. Hierome* (wherefore I know not) who follows not himself, and translates it *a plain*, not an *Oak*, to wit, *the plain of Moreh*: by which Translation, the identity of that place with the other two, where it is translated *Oak*, is obscured and made

Iosb. 24. 26.

the lesse observable. If there be any difference between the words אֵיל, and אֵילָה, it should rather be this, that אֵיל, should signifie a *tree*, and אֵילָה, a *grove*, *holt*, or *wood* of such trees; as the Septuagint in that place of the ninth of *Iudges*, have expressly rendred it, namely, Βαλανότυ & αἰώνας ἐν Σικκίμοις, the *Quercetum*, *Oak toft*, or *holt* in *Sichein*. And so, I beleieve, it ought to be understood in the other places, that is, to be taken collectively; of which we shall hear more hereafter.

But this is no great matter of difficulty, that which follows is; namely, how this *Oak*, or *Oaken-holt* of *Sichein*, is said here in my Text to have been in (for the Hebrew is במקדש) or *by the Sanctuary of the Lord*. For how comes the *Sanctuary* of the Lord to be at *Sichein*, when as the *Tabernacle*, and the *Ark of the Testimony* were at *Shiloh*, there set up by *Ioshuah* himself, and so remained (as the Scripture elsewhere tells us) untill the time of the Captivity of the Land; which without doubt was not till after *Ioshuah* was dead and buried: and is usually understood of that time, when the Ark was taken captive by the Philistines. And yet is not onely here a *Sanctuary* mentioned at *Sichein*, but in the beginning of the Chapter, the Elders and Officers of the Tribes are said, upon *Ioshuahs* summons, to have presented themselves there before the Lord, which speech useth to imply as much.

If we say, the Ark of God was taken out of its place at *Shiloh*, and brought to *Sichein* by the Levites, upon occasion of this generall Assembly, yet the difficulty will not be removed: For first, how could the

Ark

Ark alone give denomination to the place where it stood, to be called the *Sanctuary of the Lord*? Or secondly, if the Altar were there with it, how was the Law of God observed, which saith, *Thou shalt not plant a Grove of any trees, (or any tree) neer unto the Altar of thy God, which thou shalt make thee: Neither shalt thou set up a pillar, which the Lord thy God hateth*, when as here are both, an Oak or *Quercetum*, in the Sanctuary of God, and a Pillar or *Stane* erected under it?

197. 24. 26.

Deut 16. 21

Thirdly, this *Sanctuary*, whatsoever it was, must be something which had a constant and fixed station, and was not temporary or mutable; because the Oak, under which this pillar was erected by *Iosuah*, is here designed and appointed out by it, as by a constant and standing mark: else to what purpose had it been to sign out the Oak by it, if it were such as would be here to day and not to morrow? For these reasons it appears that this *Sanctuary* could not be the Tabernacle, where the Ark and Altar for Israel were, but that it was something else: And what that should be, is to be enquired.

I answer, it was a *Proseucha*, or praying place, which the Israelites (at least those of *Ephraim*, in whose lot it was) after the Country was subdued unto them, had erected in that very place at *Sichem*, where God first appeared to *Abraham*, and where he built his first Altar, after he was come into the Land of Canaan; The place where God said unto him, *Unto thy seed will I give this Land.*

For the understanding whereof, you must take notice, that the Jews besides their *Tabernacle* or *Temple*, which

Ios. 24. 26.

which was the onely place for sacrifice, had first or last two sorts of places for religious duties: The one called *Proseucha*; the other *Synagogues*: the difference between which was this; *Proseucha* was a plot of ground, encompassed with a wall, or some other like mound or enclosure, and open above, much like to our Courts: the use properly for prayer, as the name *Proseucha* importeth: A *Synagogue* was *ædificium tectum*, a covered edifice, as our houses and Churches are, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the people instructed in divine matters; according to that *Acts 15. 21. Moses of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day.* From whence also ye may gather, that *Synagogues* were within the Cities, as *Proseucha's* were without; which was another difference between them, as you shall hear confirmed.

That *Proseucha's* were such places as I have described them to be, I prove out of a notable place of *Epiphanius*, a Jew bred and born in Palestine; who in his Tract against the *Messalian Heretiques*, after he hath told us that the *Messalians* built themselves certain houses, or large places, *ἐὸς πρὸν ἀίαντος, Fororum in-ster*, which they called *Proseucha*; he goes on thus; *Et habuisse quidem Iudeos jam olim, ut & Samaritanas, certa quadam ad precandum loca extra urbes, quas Proseuchas dicerent, ex Apostolorum Actibus liquet, ubi purpurea instrix Lydia Apostolo Paulo occurrisset dicitur; De quo ita Scriptura narrat, ἐδούκει τὸ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν;* it seemed to be a place of prayer, (of which I shall say more anon;) He goes on still, *Est & Sicimis*, saith he,

qua

quæ hodie Neapolis dicitur, Proseucha locus extra urbem Theatro similis, secundo ab urbe lapide situs. Quem ita aperto cælo & area subdiali extruxerunt Samaritæ Iudaorum in omnibus imitatores. Out of these words you may collect every part of my description. First, that *Proseucha* were out of the Cities in the fields. Secondly, that they were *φóρον δίκλιν*, like the ancient *Forum*, or place of market, and * *ἐν ἀέρι καὶ ἀστέρι*, under the open aire, and without roof, such as the Courts of the Temple also were, whither the people came to pray; so that they were as it were a kind of dis-joy-
ned, and remoter Courts unto the Temple, whither they turned themselves when they prayed in them. Thirdly, that they were ordained for places of prayer; All these are in this passage of *Epiphanius*; and moreover that such a one was in his time remaining at *Sichem*, the place my Text speaks of, there erected by the Samaritans, in that, as in all things else, imitators of the Jews: What better testimony could be desired?

These *Proseucha's* of the Jews, both name and thing, were not unknown to the Poet *Juvenal*, when describing in his third Satyr, in what manner proud and insolent fellows in the City of Rome, used in their drunken humours, to abuse and quarrell with those they met in the streets, in the night time, whom they took to be of mean estate and condition, he brings them in speaking thus: *Ede ubi consistas; in quâ te quero Proseuchâ?* where dwell you? in what *Proseucha* should I seek or enquire for you? intimating that he was some poor fellow, either that dwelt in an house that could not keep out wind and wea-

iosh. 24. 26.

* The like he hath a few lines after of the *Sataniani*; *τὰ ἱερὰ ἐν ἀστέρι καὶ ἐν ἀέρι* - *τοὶ δὲ τὸ εὐχεσθὲν καὶ ὑμνεῖν.*

Ios. 24. 26.

ther, but was like a Jews *Profenchas*, all open above ; or he alludes to the banishment of the Jews out of Rome, by *Domitian*, in his own time, and then fresh, as who had no where else to bestow themselves, but in their *Profenchas* out of the City, or who used to assemble in the *Profenchas* ; according to some of these senses is *Iuvenal* to be understood.

For that the Jews had *Profenchas* about the City of Rome, appears by *Philo Iudaeus* in his *De legatione ad Caium*, where commending the clemency and moderation of *Augustus Caesar*, he saith, ἡπίετο καὶ τὰς περισυχὰς ἔχοντας, καὶ συνήλθας εἰς αὐτὰς, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἡμερῇς ἐβδόμας. That he knew the Jews of Rome had their *Profenchas*, and that they used to assemble in them, especially on the Sabbath days, and yet never molested them, as *Caius* did. The same *Philo* mentioneth *Profenchas* elsewhere, though it be not to be dissembled, that he seems to comprehend *Synagogues* also properly so called under that name, as being better known to the Gentiles, who called both by that name. *Iosephus* in his *Life* tells us of a *Profenchas* at Tiberias in Galilee, in these words, καὶ τὴν ἐπύκου ἡμέραν πάντες συνάγοντας εἰς τὴν Περυσυχάν. On the next day, the Sabbath, the whole people were gathered together in the *Profenchas*, which is (saith he) μέγιστον οἶκημα. a large edifice, fit to receive a great multitude.

In the New Testament, the name of *Synagogue* is frequent, but that of *Profenchas* seldom ; whence may be conjectured that both are comprehended under that name, as in *Philo* both are termed *Profenchas* : yet once or twice, as learned Interpreters think, we read of *Profenchas* in the new Testament ; as namely

Acts

Vide de
vita Mosis.
Lib. 3.

Isa. 56.

Acts 16. 13. (which Epiphanius even now alledged to that purpose) where S. Luke tells us, that S. Paul being come to Philippi in Macedonia on the Sabbath Day, they went out of the City to a river side, ἐξῆλθον πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν, where there was taken to be a Profecucha, or where was famed to be a Profecucha; ποταμὸν ἐξῆλθον, will bear both. The Syriack hath; Quia ibi conspiciebatur Domus orationis; the Arabick, Locus orationis. For if ποταμὸν were taken here for prayer it selfe, as if the sense were; where prayer was used to be made; it should rather have been said, ἐξῆλθον πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν γένεσθαι, and not ποταμὸν. yet, if it were so taken, it would still argue no lesse, then that there was here an appointed place for prayer, and that out of the City, which is all one, as to say there was a Profecucha: so I take ποταμὸν, in the 16. verse of the same Chapter, where it is said; It came to passe, πορευομένων ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, as we went to the Profecucha: especially since we read not in the Text, that S. Paul went thither to pray, but to preach, where he deemed there was an assembly that day according to custome: And we sat down, (saith S. Luke) and spake unto the women, which were come together there.

A second place where a Profecucha is mentioned in the New Testament, may be that Luke 6. 12. where it is said, that our Saviour went out into a high Mountain to pray, and continued all night, ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τῷ Θεῷ, in Profecucha Dei, so Drusius thinks ποταμὸν is here to be taken for a place, and the Article helps the sense; otherwise it seems an odde and unaccustomed expression for ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τῷ Θεῷ, to mean, in prayer

made

Iosb. 24. 26.

made unto God; and why should it not be as likely, that our Saviour might sometimes pray in their *Proseucha's*, as teach in their Synagogues?

Thus we have seen the testimonies for *Proseucha's*, their use and difference from *Synagogues*. Now for *Synagogues*, the common opinion is, that they were not before the Captivity of Babylon; and that necessity first taught the Jews the use of them in that Captivity, which afterward they brought with them at their return into their own Country. The reason why men so think, is, I suppose, the absolute silence of them in Scripture, untill the time of the second Temple; but though the name were not, it is possible the thing might be: howsoever, because it is most received, that they were not, we will let it passe for currant. But as for *Proseucha's*, such as we have described them, none, that I know, have affirmed or determined ought of their antiquity; it may be, not taken it into consideration, either because they had no occasion to think of any such matter, or because they confounded them altogether with *Synagogues*.

The matter therefore being free and undecided, I will make bold to affirm, that if *Synagogues* were not, yet *Proseucha's*, that is, open places for Prayers, were a long time before the Captivity, yea even from the dayes of *Ishuah* the son of *Nun*. And though the Jews had, or were to have but one Altar, or place of Sacrifice, that namely, which the Lord should choose, to place the Ark of his Covenant there, the Tabernacle or Temple; yet had they other places for devotion, and religious use. And that this

Sanctuary

Sanctuary of God here mentioned in my Text at *Sichem* (which was a Leviticall City) was such a one; my reasons are these; First, because it is incredible, that the Israelites, having but one Temple for the whole Nation, whereat they were bound to appear, and those the males onely, but thrice a year, should have no other places of *prayer* nearer their dwellings, whither they might resort on Sabbath dayes, the Temple or Tabernacle being from some of them above an hundred miles distant at the least. Secondly, because (as I have already shewed) this *sanctuary at Sichem* could not be the Tabernacle, which was then at Shiloh, not at Sichem, and yet must have some stable and fixed place, because the situation of the *Oak* is designed by it: yea, must have been still there, when this story of *Ioshuah* was written; which is thought to have been long after his death: surely this Chapter was written after it, where both his death and buriall are recorded: wherefore to say the Ark was brought thither upon this occasion, will not serve turn. Thirdly, this place should be a *Proseucha*, because of that circumstance of trees growing in it; which, as it proves it not to have been the Tabernacle, (where no such thing was lawfull to be) so seems it to be a Characteristicall note of a *Proseucha*.

For though it were not lawfull to have trees near the Altar of God, that is, in or about the Court of the Tabernacle; Yet was it not so with *Proseucha's*, yea they seem to have been ordinarily garnished and beset with them. This may be gathered from a passage of *Philo Iudæus*, where relating the barbarous outrage of the Gentiles at Alexandria, against the Jews,

Iosb. 24. 26.

Jews, there dwelling in the time of *Caim*, & *Πρωτοχῶν*, saith he, τὰς μὲν ἐδὲν ἐστρόμους, τὰς δὲ αὐτῆς θεμελίους ἐστρώσαν, of some of the *Proseucha's* they cut down the Trees, others they demolished to the very Foundations.

The same is implied by that of *Juvenal*, speaking of a Jewish Wizard or Fortune-teller, — *conducta sub arbore conjux*. And again in his sixth Satyre,

*Arcanam Iudæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, magna sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia cæli.*

Interpres legum Solymarum, that is, of *Moses Lawes*, *Magna Sacerdos Arboris*, because of the Trees in their *Proseucha's*, or Places of worship. The same appears also out of those verses of his third Satyre, complaining that the once sacred Grove of *Fons Capenus*, where *Numa* used to meet with the Goddesse *Egeria*, was then let out to the beggerly Jews for a *Proseucha*, and that every Tree (such were the times) must pay rent to the people: by which means, the woods which formerly had been the habitation of the Muses, were become dens for beggerly Jews to mutter their Orizons in; hear his words:

*Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constitisset amica,
Nunc sacri Fontis nemus, & delubra locantur
Iudæis, quorum cophinus sænumque supellex;
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
Arbor; & ejctis mendicat sylva Camænis.*

Vide Psal.
52. 10. Si-
cut olea in
Domo Dei.

Whence comes this connexion of *Jews* and *Trees*, but from their having trees in their *Proseucha's*: unto which their situation without the Cities conducted; as also it did for privacy and retirement.

Thus

Thus you see how well the description and mark of a *Proseucha* agrees to this *Sanctuary* in my Text. And that the Jews had many other such in other places, as well as at *Sichem*, even in those elder times, as at * *Mispah*, *Bethel*, and *Gilgal*, I make little doubt; which we read to have been places of Assembly for the people; and the two last sanctified of old by Divine apparition, as *Sichem* was. Of *Mispah* the Author of the first of *Maccabees*, in his third Chapter, if I understand him, testifieth as much; when he tells us, that whilst the holy City lay desolate, and the Sanctuary was trodden down by the tyranny of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; *Indas Maccabaeus*, and those of the people which adhered unto their God, assembled together at *Maspha* to make there their supplications unto their God, ὅτι τὸν ὁ προσευχῆς εἰς Μάσφω τὸ προσευχῆς τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, because at *Maspha* or *Mispah* had been a place of prayer in former time for Israel; as much as to say, there had been a *Proseucha* of old. And do we not read in that story of the Benjamiticall war in the Book of *Judges*, That the Tabernacle being at *Shiloh*, (as appears by the last Chapter) yet (in the Chapter going before) it is said, that the whole Congregation of Israel was gathered together as one man unto the Lord in *Mispah*? and that in the twenty sixth verse is mention of an house of God there, where the people prayed and fasted? It is said indeed that the Ark of the Covenant was upon that extraordinary occasion brought thither, but it being certain, out of the next Chapter, that the Tabernacle was still at *Shiloh*, this House of God could be none of it: Nay perhaps, we may hence learn, that when the Ark upon occasion

1st. 24. 26.

* These three places are called by the LXX. *Samuel*. 6. 16. τὸναι ἡ ἀσμέναι, though in the Original there be no such thing.

of

Iosb. 24. 26.

of such a generall and extraordinary assembly was to be removed, they used to bring it to such places as these, which were as holy Courts, ready prepared for it, and that then it was lawfull, but not else, to sacrifice in them.

Of these *Courts for prayer*, we may understand that also in the seventy fourth Psalm; *They have cast Fire into thy Sanctuary, they have burnt up all the Conventicula Dei in the Land*, namely, in the Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who destroyed both their *Temple*, and their *Proseucha's*. For if we understand it of the persecution of *Antiochus*, as some do, it must then follow, that some Canonick Scripture was written after *Malachi*, and the ceasing of Prophecy, that is, in the time of *Maccabees*; which will not easily be granted; Besides that we read not, that *Antiochus* cast any fire into the Temple. Now if it speak of the vastation by *Nebuchadnezzar*, then had the Jews before that time, not onely a Sanctuary for sacrifice, but also מועדי, *Conventicula Dei*, that is, either *Proseucha's*, or *Synagogues*; for either will serve my purpose.

But now you will say, what profit is there of this long discourse? were it so, or were it not so, as I have endeavoured to prove, of what use is the knowledge thereof to us? yes, to know it was so, is usefull in a threefold respect: First, for the right understanding of such places of the Old Testament, where a *House of God*, and *assembling before the Lord* are often mentioned, there where neither the Ark of the Covenant, nor the Tabernacle at such time were: as besides the places before alledged, we read in the
tenth

tenth of the first Book of *Samuel*, of *Sauls* meeting with three men going up to God to *Bethel*, and of a place called, *The Hill of God*, whence a company of Prophets came from the high place there, prophesying with a Tabret, Pipe, and Harp before them; in neither of which places can we finde that ever the Tabernacle was: and as for the Ark we are sure it was all this time at *Kiriathjearim*, till *David* solemnly fetcht it thence: and if at any time the Ark might (as now it was not) be transferred to any of them upon occasion of some generall Assembly of the Nation; that so they might have opportunity to ask counsell of the Lord, and offer Sacrifice, yet were they not the ordinary station thereof.

10th. 24. 26.

1 Sam. 10.

3.5.

Secondly, we may learn from hence, that to have appropriate places, set apart for prayer and *Divine duties*, is not a circumstance or rite proper to legall worship onely, but of a more common nature: For as much as though Sacrifice, wherein the legall worship (or worship of the old Covenant) consisted, were restrained to the Ark and Tabernacle, and might not be exercised where they were not; yet were there other places for Prayer besides that; which are no more to be accounted *legall places*, then bare and simple prayer was a *legall Dutie*.

Lastly, we may gather from this Description of *Proseucha's*, which were as Courts, encompassed onely with a wall or other like enclosure, and open above; in what manner to conceive of the accommodation of those *Altars*, we reade to have been erected by the Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, in the Book of *Genesis*; namely, that the ground whereon they

18b. 24. 26.

they stood, was fenced and bounded with some such enclosure, and shaded with trees, after the manner of *Profeccha's*, as we may reade expressly of one of them at Beerisheba: *That Abraham there planted a Grove, and called upon the Name of the Lord, the everlasting God.* Yea, when the Tabernacle and Temple were, the *Altar* of God stood still in an open Court, and who can beleieve that the place of those *Altars* of the Patriarchs were not bounded and separated from common ground? And from these patterns in likelihood, after the Altar for Sacrifice was restrained to one onely place, the use of such open places, or Courts for prayer, garnished with trees, as I have shewed *Profeccha's* to have been, continued still,

1 TIM.

1 TIM. 5. 17.

Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour : especially they that labour in the Word and Doctrine.



Here are two things in these words to be explicated ; First, what is meant here by *Elders* : Secondly, what is this *double-honour* due unto them. For the first, there is no question but the Priests or Ministers of the Gospel of Christ were contained under this name : for so the New Testament useth the word Πρεσβύτερος, or *Presbyter*, for the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments in the Gospel ; whence cometh the Saxon word *Priester*, and our now English word *Priest*. And the Ancient Fathers thought these only to be here meant, and never dreamed of any other. But in our time those who obtrude a new Discipline and Government upon the Church, altogether unknown and unheard of in the ancient, will needs have two sorts of *Elders* or *Presbyters* here understood: one of such as preach the Word and Doctrine, whom they call *Pastours*; another of Lay-men, who were neither *Priests* nor *Deacons*, but joyned

1 Tim. 5.
17.

ned as assistants to them in the exercise of *Ecclesiastical Discipline* in admonitions and censures of manners, and in a word, in the execution of the whole power of the *Keys*.

These our Church-men call *Lay-Elders*, and the Authors of this new device, *Presbyterians*; these *Presbyters* or *Elders* they will have meant in the first words, *οἱ ἡγῶντες πρεσβύτεροι*, *Elders that rule*, or govern well, whom therefore they call *Ruling-Elders*; the other whom they call *Pastours*, to be described in the latter words; *they who labour in the Word and Doctrine*, whom therefore they distinguish by the name of *Teaching-Elders*.

This is their exposition, and this exposition the ground and foundation of their *new Discipline*; but none of the Fathers, which have commented upon this Place, neither *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, *Ambrose*, *Theodore*, *Primasius*, *Oecumenius*, or *Theophylact*, (as they had no such, so) ever thought of any such *Lay-Elders* to be here meant; but *Priests* only, which administered the Word and Sacraments.

But how (will you say then) is this Place to be understood, which may seem, as they alledge, to intimate two sorts of *Elders*, some that ruled only, others that laboured also in the Word and Doctrine? The Divines of our Church, who had cause, when time was, to be better versed in this question, than any others, have given divers expositions of these words; none of which give place to any such new-found *Elders*, as the *Fautors* of the *Presbyterian Discipline*, upon the sole Authority of this one place, have set up in divers forain Churches, and would have brought into ours.

I will relate four of the chief of these expositions, to which the rest are reducible.

The first is grounded upon the use of the participle in the Greek tongue, which is often wont to note the reason or condition of a thing, and accordingly to be resolved by a causall, or conditionall conjunction. According whereunto this Text, *οἱ καλῶς προεστώτες πρεσβύτεροι*, *duplici honore digni habeantur*, (or *dignentur*) *μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ*, is to be resolved thus; *Elders or Presbyters that rule or govern the Flock well*, let them be accounted worthy of double honour, and that chiefly in respect, and because of their labour in the Word and Doctrine. And so this manner of speech will imply two duties, but not two sorts or orders of Elders, and that though this double honour be due unto them for both, yet chiefly and more principally for the second, their labour in the Word and Doctrine: and this way goes S. Chrysostome and other Greek Writers.

A second exposition is taken from the force and signification of the word *κοπιῶντες*, which signifies not simply *πνεῖν*, to labour, but to labour with much travell and toyl; for *κόπος* is derived from *κόπιμα*, *vexor*, *laboribus & molestiis premor*, and so properly signifies *molestiam*, or *fatigationem ex labore*. Thus the meaning will be, let Elders that do bene *presidere*, i. govern and instruct their Flock well, be counted worthy of double honour; especially such of them as take more then ordinary pains in the Word and Doctrine: Or thus; let the Elders that discharge their office well, be, &c. especially by how much the more their painfulnesse and travell shall exceed in preaching the Word and Doctrine, &c.

P

Thus

1 Tim. 5: 17.

1 Tim. 5.
17.

Thus we have seen two expositions of these words, neither of them implying two sorts of Orders of *Presbyters*, but only distinguishing severall offices and duties of the same Order, or implying a differing merit in the discharge of them: But if they will by no means be perswaded, but that two sorts of *Elders* are here intimated, let it be so; two other expositions will yeeld them it, but so as will not be for their turn; for their *Lay-Elders* will be none of them.

The first is this, That the Apostle should speak here of *Priests* and *Deacons*, considering both as Members of the Ecclesiasticall Consistory or Senate, which consisted of both Orders, and in that respect might well include them both under the name of *Elders*; it being a common notion in Scripture, to call the Associates of a Court of Judicature by that name: *Senatus* in Latin hath its name à *senibus*, i. *senioribus*, of Eldership; and is as much to say, as Πρεσβυτεριον. According to this supposall, the Apostles words may have this construction: *Let the Elders which rule well*, whether *Priests* or *Deacons*, be counted worthy of double honour, but more especially the *Priests* who besides their government labour also in the Word and Doctrine. Now what can be opposed against such an exposition I see not. For it is not improbable, but the Apostle should make provision as well for the maintenance of *Deacons*, as of *Priests*, seeing he omits it not, of *Widows* in the verse going next before this. But unlesse he includes them under the name of *Elders*, he makes no provision for them at all. Besides this is not the only place (some think) where *Deacons* are comprehended under the name of *Elders*. For the Councill

of

of *Hierusalem*, *Acts 15.* where they inscribe their Synodical Epistle thus; *The Apostles, Elders, and Brethren to the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, &c.* may seem to comprehend the Deacons under the name of *Elders* or *Presbyters*, otherwise they should omit them, which without doubt were part of the Councell.

There is another exposition, which allows also of two sorts of *Elders* to be here implied, but makes them both *Priests*; namely, that *Presbyters* or *Priests* in the Apostles time, were of two sorts, one of *Residentaries*, and such as were affixed to certain Churches, and so did *προΐσταναι, praesidere Gregi*. Another, of such as had no fixed station, or charge over any certain place, but travelled up and down to preach the Gospel where it was not, or to confirm the Churches where it was preached already; such, as are elsewhere known by the names of *Euangelists* and *Doctors* or *Prophets*: that these were those *οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ*, spoken of here by the Apostle: that both these sorts of *Presbyters* were to be counted worthy of double honour, as well *οἱ πολλοὶ περιεσπῶντες*, as those that travelled up and down to preach the Gospel, *οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ*, but especially these latter, because their pains were more then the others. This is confirmed from the use of the word *κοπιῶν*, which in Scripture signifies not only corporall labour, as may appear in many places; but seems to be used by *S. Paul* even in this very sense we have now given, as *1 Cor. 15.* where he says, comparing himself with the other Apostles, *περισσώτερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα*, I have travelled up and down more then they all, as is manifest he did.

1
Tim. 5.
17.

These are the principall expositions given by the Writers of our Church, upon this passage of Scripture, which is the foundation and *only place* whereon they build this *new Consistory*; and are so much in love with it. But this being capable, as you see, of such variety of exposition; how much too weak and insufficient it is to establish any such new order of *Elders* never heard of in the Church from the time of the *Apostles* untill this last age, any man may judge.

But give me leave to propound a fifth exposition, which shall be more liberall to them than any of those yet given. For it shall yeeld them all they contend for so eagerly to be implied in this Text, namely, that there are not only two sorts of *Elders* here implied; but also that the one of them are *Lay-Elders*, such as have nothing to doe with the administration of the Word and Sacraments; what would they have more? yet they will be never the nearer for this concession; for the *Lay-Elders* here implied, may be no *Church Officers*, but *Civill Magistrates*, which in Scripture language we know are called *Elders*: as when we reade of the *Elders of Israel*, of the *Elders of Judah*, of the *Elders of the Priests*, and *Elders of the people*, of *Priests* and *Elders*, and the like; according to such a notion the words may be construed by way of *Transitus à thesi ad hypothesin*, as Rhetoricians call it, to wit, in this manner; *Cum omnes Seniores, sive Reipublicæ, sive Ecclesiæ, qui bene præsident, duplici honore dignandi sint, tum maxime Seniores Ecclesiastici, qui laborant in verbo & Doctrinâ*: Or thus, Let all *Elders* that govern well, of what sort soever, be counted worthy of double honour, especially the *Elders of the Church* which labour

Labour in the Word and Doctrine, Is not this good sense, and doth not the Apostle in the beginning of this very Chapter, use the name Elder, in the larger and more generall sense, when he says, *Rebuke not an Elder, but exhort him as a Father, and the younger men as Brethren, the Elder women as Mothers, the younger as Sisters*: why may he not then do so here? And doth not S. James in his last Chapter call the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, *Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, as it were in distinction from *Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πολιτείας*? But it will be objected that this exposition is too ambitious, because it makes the Apostle to preferre the *Elders of the Church* before the *Elders of the Common-wealth*, that is, the *Priest* before the *Civill Magistrate*, when he says that all *Elders*, whether of *Church* or *Common-wealth*, are to be accounted worthy of double honour, so especially those *Elders* which labour in the *Word and Doctrine*, which are the *Presbyters* of the *Church*.

But here know that the name of *Elder* is never given in Scripture to the *Supreme Magistrate*, but to the *subordinate* only; and why the *Ministers of the Word and Doctrine* should not be accounted as worthy of double honour, as they, or more worthy, I know not; especially if S. Paul here says it, sure I am, this objection is not sufficient to refute my interpretation.

Thus I thought good to acquaint you how many ways this place may be expounded, without importing any such new *Elders*, (neither *Priests* nor *Deacons*) as they would impose upon us for *Church Officers*, by the sole authority thereof; for though this *Disciplinary* controversy of our Church stirred up by the

1 Tim. 5.
17.

1 Tim. 4.

17.

admirers of the *Genevian platform* were in the heat before our time, yet the sect is not yet dead, but ready upon every occasion to surprise such as they finde unarmed, or not forewarned.

And thus having informed our selves who they are, w^{ch} are here termed Elders, we will now see also, what is that *honour* which is due unto them, which was the second thing I propounded, διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιόδοσον, *let them be accounted* (saith the Apostle) *worthy of, or deign'd double honour.* That by *honour* here, is meant *honorarium stipendium*, or a tribute of maintenance, is manifest by the following words, which the Apostle brings to inforce it; *For the Scripture saith*, (saith he) *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corn;* and, *The labourer is worthy of his hire:* Who sees not what these proofs infer? The first of them he alledges also in the same argument, 1 Cor. 9. where he addes, *Doth God take care for Oxen?* Or *saith he it altogether for our sakes?* (ours namely, that preach the Gospel) *For our sakes no doubt this is written, that he which ploweth should plow in hope, and he that thresteth in hope, should be partaker of his hope.* The case is plain; It is an Hebrew notion, *to bring honour*, that is, to pay tribute, or bring a present, as *Apoc. 21. 16.* ὁ δόξου καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς αὐτὴν. to wit, the new Jerusalem. And thus much of the word *Honour.*

But what is meant by *double honour*? Some (as among the Fathers S. Ambrose,) will have this *double honour*, to be *honour of maintenance*, and *honour of reverence.* But because the Apostles proofs here infer only *maintenance*, I take it to be meant in this place only of it. And as for *double*, there seems to be an allusion to the

the right of the *first-born*, to whom at first the office of *Priesthood* belonged in their Families, and into whose room the *Levites* were taken, and whom the *Presbyters of the Gospel* now succeed. As therefore they had a *double* portion among their Brethren, in like manner should the *Presbyters of the Gospel* be counted worthy of *double honour*.

1 Tim. 5.
17.

And if you will admit of that construction of these words, which I gave in the fifth place, namely to comprehend as well the *Elders of the Common-wealth*, as the *Elders of the Church*, (that both were to be accounted worthy of double honour, but especially those of the Church, who labour in the Word and Doctrine) it will agree yet far better; because both the one and the other succeed in the place of the *First born*; to whom belonged both to be *Priests* and *Civill Governours* in their Tribes and Families.

Yet howsoever the ancient Christians were wont in their Agapes or Love-Feasts, to give their *Presbyters* a *double* portion, $\kappa\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho$, with some reference to this Text, as appears by *Tertullian*; nevertheless, I think *double honour* is not here to be so precisely taken, but only to note a *liberall and ingenuous maintenance*, such as might set them above the vulgar, as the *First-born* by their *double* portion were preferred above the rest of their Brethren.

But I have not yet done with the word $\mu\eta\delta$, for from this that the Apostle here styleth the *Priests* maintenance, *honour*; it followeth, that the *Priests* maintenance is not to be esteemed of the nature of *Almes*, as some would have it, but is a *Tribute of honour*, such as is given by an inferiour to his superiour. For *Almes*

1 Tim. 5.

17.

and honour, *Nec bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur*, the one respecting those to whom it is given, as *miserable*, the other, as *honourable*. I mean if *almes* be taken, as we use the word, for a work of mercy. From the same ground also it follows, that the *Priests maintenance* is no ordinary mercenary wages, but such as is given by way of *honour*, as well as of *reward*: for such as is given to ordinary workmen is reward and wages only, and not a Testimony or Tribute of *honour*: But that which is due to the *Priest*, as you see, is *τιμή*, namely, of the same nature with that which is given to *Princes* and *Magistrates*, by those which are under them. For as the *Ministers* of the Gospel are in the nature of *Presbyters* or *Elders*, unto the people over whom they are set; so is their maintenance from them, such as is futable to the condition and Dignity of an Elder; not a common wages, which the superior often gives to his inferiour, or servant; but *honorarium*, or *τιμή*.

ACTS

ACTS 2. 5.

And there were [*ἑταίροι*] sojourning at Ierusalem Iewes, devout men, out of every Nation under heaven.



T he Feast of Pentecost, when that wonder hapned of the holy Ghosts descent upon the Apostles in the likenesse of fiery tongues, there were present at Ierusalem (as the story a little after my Text informs us) men of severall Nations, as *Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Indaa, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphilia, Aegypt, and the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, (or stranger-Romans) both Iews and Profelytes, Cretes and Arabians*; all these, upon the noyse of this strange accident came together unto the Place, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language, wherein he was born.

Many when they read this story, suppose the people here mentioned, the most of them to have been *Gentiles*; and some Expositors cannot be excused from this mistake. For the more clear discerning whereof, and their better information, who may perhaps be overtaken with the same errour; I have made choyce of the words before read, for the argument of my present discourse, which tels us in expresse terms, that these *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, these Mesopotamians, Cappadocians, &c* the rest after mentioned

Act. 2. 5.

tioned under those Nationall names, were *Israelites*, or *Jews* of the dispersion; *Jews* born in *Parthia*, and *Media*, *Jews* of *Elam*, or *Persia*, *Mesopotamian Jews*, and so the rest of the Countries there named; all of them of the Circumcision; for so saith my Text, beginning to speak of them: *There were (so journeying, (or if you will, dwelling) at Ierusalem, Jews of every Nation under heaven; that is, of every Nation where the Jews were dispersed.*

This is yet further confirmed by *S. Peters* speech unto them; as when having cited the words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, verse the 22. he saith unto them, *Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Iesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, &c. Him being delivered by the determinate counsell and fore-knowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain: Men of Israel, and such as had slain their Messiah; surely those were no Gentiles. Likewise when at the hearing of this, they were pricked in their hearts, he saith unto them; Repent and be Baptized, every one of you, in the Name of Iesus Christ, for the remission of sins. For the Promise is made unto you and your children, and to all that are as farre off, even as many as the Lord shall call. The Promise, saith he, is made unto you and your children; were these then any others then Jews, or Israelites of the seed of Abraham?*

Lastly, we finde that of these *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and of the rest named with them, there were added unto the Church by this Sermon of *S. Peter* three thousand souls; But it is certain that *Cornelius* the Centurion was the first *Gentile* that was converted unto the Faith; Therefore these first Converts

were

were no *Gentiles*. Perhaps you will say, they were *Profelytes* of these severall Nations, and therefore called *Jews*. I say, not so neither; because *Profelytes* are by name rehearsed among them, when it is said of those *Romani advena*, (verse the tenth) that they were *Jews and Profelytes*; *Ergo*, the rest were *Jews* by race, and not by Religion onely. But what need I to have heaped together all these proofs, when my Text alone is sufficient to evince it?

I come now therefore to a more particular illustration thereof, according to what I have thus in generall premised. And first, for the word κατοικούντες, which I translate *sojourning*, rather then *dwelling*; (for so I understand it, that they were not proper dwellers, but such as came to worship at Jerusalem from those far Countries at the Feasts of the Pascheover and Pentecost; and so had been continuing there some good time) It is true that in the usuall Greek οἶκω & κατοικέω, signifie a durable mansion; But with the *Hellenists*, in whose Dialect the Scripture speaketh, they are used indifferently for a stay of a shorter or longer time; that is, for to *sojourn*, as well as to *dwel*; as these two examples out of the Septuagint will make manifest: one, Gen. 27. 44. where *Rebecca* sayes to her younger son *Jacob*, *Son arise, and flee unto Laban thy brother to Haran*, ἐξέλθοῦ μετ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρας τινάς, and tarry with him a few dayes, untill thy brothers fury turn away; οἰκᾷ is here to tarry but a few dayes. Another is in the first Book of *Kin.* 17. 20. where *Eliab* cries unto the Lord, saying, O Lord my God, hast thou also brought evill upon the widow, ὣς ἔστι ἐν ἐμοὶ κατοικῶ μετ' αὐτῆς, with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son? here κατοικᾷ is to sojourn onely: In a word

Act. 2. 5.

word, *οἰκω*, & *κατοικω* answer to the Hebrew verb *שׁוּב*, which signifies any stay, or remaining in a place.

Next for the persons here specified, *Jews out of every Nation under heaven*; for the right understanding thereof we are to know that before the last dispersion of the *Jews* by the Romans, after their Temple and City were destroyed by *Titus* (which at the time of this story was not, nor many years after it) there had been already two Captivities, and great dispersions of that Nation, besides some smaller scatterings: The first was of the ten Tribes, by *Salmanassar* King of Assyria, who is said to have planted them in *Hala*, and *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan*, and in the Cities of the *Medes*; and these never (I mean any considerable part of them) returned to dwell again in their own Country; of these therefore we are (chiefly) to understand, to have been those which the story here calls *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*; *Elamites*, that is, *Persians* of the Province of *Elymais*. For in those Countries which these names comprehend, were the ten Tribes placed by the Assyrian, and there still dwelt or thereabouts, in our Saviour and his Apostles time, and long after. *S. Hierome* upon those words in the third of *Isaël*, *Et Filios Iuda & Filios Ierusalem vendidisti Filiis Græcorum*, (which he understands of the Captivity by *Vespasian* and *Titus*) tells us thus much; *Filii* (saith he) *Iuda & Ierusalem, nequaquam Israel & decem Tribuum, qui usque hodie in Medarum urbibus & montibus habitant.* The second Captivity was by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of Babylon, of the two Tribes, *Judah* and *Benjamin*, more then a hundred years after that of the ten. Now a good part of these at seventy years end returned

AB. 2. 5.

ned again, under *Cyrus* and his successors, to dwell again in their own land, re-edified the Temple, and City of Jerusalem, re-erected their Common-wealth, which continued till our Saviours time and a little after. Notwithstanding all those that were Captives in Babylon returned not: it may be not much more then the half of them; certain it is, that a great number of them stayed there still, those especially which were rich, and so well accommodated, having no mind to stir; whence in our Saviours, and the Apostles times, there were an innumerable company of them in those parts, where they flourished with Academies, and Schools, and had Doctors not inferiour to those of Jerusalem it self: Yea, from them proceeded the *Chaldee Paraphrase*; and that great Doctor and Patriarch of Rabbies, *R. Hillel*. Of these therefore, we have reason to think, were those which are here enumerated by the name of *dwellers in Mesopotamia*, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἢ Μεσσοποταμίαν: where note by the way that οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἢ Μεσσοποταμίαν, are comprehended in the number of those, whom my Text saith were κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, which confirms my interpretation, that κατοικοῦντες there signifies *sojourning*, and not *dwelling*, for that they could not be said to dwell in both places.

These two dispersions beyond the river Euphrates, how numerous they were, in our Saviour and the Apostles times, we may gather from those words of King *Agrippa*, in *Josephus*, in that Oration he made unto the Jews before that fatall siege, dissuading them from rebelling against the Romans, their party being too much too weak to maintain themselves

Act. 2. 5.

selves against that mighty Empire : *Quos igitur* (saith he) *ex orbe non habitato socios in Bellum assumetis ? Si quidem omnes, qui in orbe habitabili degunt, Romani sunt : Nisi forte quis vestrum spes suas ultra Euphratem porrigat, & in Adiabenorum Regione Gentiles suos aestimet adjuturos ;* (*Adiabenorum Regio, is that of Assyria ;* he goes on) *Verum nec illi propter irrationabilem causam tanto se Bello implicabunt : nec, si tam probroso operi assensum darent, Parthus tamen sineret.* Mark then, that they were under the dominion of the *Parthians*, *Josephus* himself testifieth as much in his Prologue to his Tract *de Bello Iudaico* ; where he informs us, that that History of his he had first penned *patria lingua*, for the use of those of his Nation in the East ; which he thought soon after to publish in Greek, for the better information of the Greeks and Romans concerning the true gests of that war. *Indignum esse ratus* (saith he) *Parthos quidem & Babylonios, Arabumque remotissimos, & ultra Euphratem Gentis nostra incolas, itemque Adiabenos meâ diligentia verè cognoscere unde cœpisset Bellum, quantisque cladibus constitisset, quove modo desisset : Græcos vero, & Romanorum aliquos, qui militiam secuti non essent, figmentis seu adulationibus captos, ista nescire :* Observe here the rehearsal of his Nation ; *Babylonii, Parthi, Arabes, Trans-euphratensi* or *Mesopotamienses*, and *Adiabeni* : Besides he tels us in the same place, *Quod Iudæi quidem cunctos, etiam qui trans Euphratem essent, Gentiles suos secum rebellaturos esse crediderant.*

Besides these two captivities by *Salmanassar* and *Nebuchadnezzar* ; the first whereof never returned again into their own land, and the second but in part ;
there

there happened a *third* Captivity and dispersion in the dayes of *Ptolomæus Lagi*, one of the Greek Kings, reigning in Egypt, who surprizing the City of Jerusalem, carried many of the People of the Country, of the off-spring of those who returned from Babylon, captives into Egypt, planting them at Alexandria, and the places thereabouts; whom many others followed of their own accord, partly allured by the Kings favour, (who gave them equall priviledge with those of Alexandria) and partly by the fertility of the Country: so that this Colony became a very great one. These were called *Hellenists*, because they spake the Greek tongue, and used the Translation of the Septuagint (which was made in Egypt) in their Synagogues. Of these three principall dispersions, came those lesser scatterings in all parts of the Roman Empire, and elsewhere. From that of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, was spread that of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, *Bithynia*, to which *S. Peter* as an Apostle of the Circumcision, writes his two Epistles; which may be gathered, because in his second Epistle, he salutes them from *Babylon*, which was their *Metropolis*. The Church, saith he, at *Babylon*, elected together with you, saluteth you; that is, the Church of the Circumcision there. From those of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, were derived those plantations in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, and all other *Hellenists* whatsoever in severall parts of the Roman Empire. Add to these, that many of those of *Judæa* it self, that could not live well at home, upon some occasion or other, either alluring them or constraining them, seated themselves abroad among the Gentiles, and in their Cities, being together

Act. 2. 5.

ther with themselves under the same Dominion of the Roman Empire. Insomuch that King Agrippa, in that fore-mentioned oration of his, before that last siege, dissuading them of Judæa from rebelling against the Romans, in regard of the evill they might bring thereby, not upon themselves onely, but upon their whole Nation wheresoever living among the Gentiles, sticks not to say, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔθνος οὐκ ἐκμαίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, ὃ μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων. *For there is no people in the whole world, which hath not some part of ours dwelling amongst them*; marvell not therefore, that S. Luke sayes in my Text, *Jews of every Nation under heaven.*

All this is confirmed out of the New Testament it self; forasmuch as before the last Captivity by Titus, which was not till almost forty years after our Saviours Ascension, and whilst their Common-wealth in the holy Land, was yet standing; we read that almost in every City of the Gentiles, whither the Apostles came to preach the Gospel, they found Jews with their Synagogues in them: To which adde that S. James directs his Epistle, *To the twelve Tribes scattered abroad*, or as the Greek hath it, ταῖς δωδεκα φύλας ταῖς ἐν τῇ διαπορῇ, as I have also before noted, that S. Peter doth his unto the dispersion of Asia.

This is that I had to speak for the illustration of this Story, and Text: out of which besides the right understanding of Scripture, whereto it conduceth, you may observe these four things: First, the wisdom and providence of Almighty God, in so ordering the first publication of the Gospel, that the same thereof, and of that convincing miracle, which gave authority thereunto, might be carried unto all Nati-

ons,

ons, by so many both ear and eye-witnesses of the same as these Jews were.

Acts 2.5.

Secondly, a probable reason why the *Apostles* were so ignorant at the first, as they seem to have been, that the Gospel was to be peached unto the *Gentiles*, notwithstanding our Saviours Commission unto them; *Go preach this Gospel unto all Nations*. For it maybe, they thought this command might be satisfied, in preaching the Gospel to those of the Circumcision onely, which were of every Nation under heaven.

Thirdly, the *Elogium* here given to those who made conscience (as we speak) or Religion, to come unto the House of God to worship; they were *ἀρεταῖς ἰουδαίου*, so saith my text, *There were sojourning in Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, &c.* For there appears no other respect why they are so called, but because they came so long a journey to worship God in his House or Temple at *Jerusalem*.

Fourthly, the blessed opportunities and means for salvation which they meet with, which come thither to worship. For had these *Jews* staid at home, as the rest of their brethren did, they had not bin partakers of such a blessing; nor witnesses of so wonderfull a miracle for confirmation of their faith, as now they were.

Q

1 COR.

1 COR. 9. 14.

Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel; ἐκ τοῦ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ζῆν.

My purpose, in choosing this Text, is not to make the maintenance of the Ministry under the Gospel, the direct aim of my discourse; but only to enquire what is meant by these last words, *in 1st Epistle* *Which* that we may the more readily and certainly finde, let us examine, and consider the *ambassadors*, whereof the words I have now read, are the *ambassadors*. Know ye not, saith the Apostle, *that [οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἁγίασμα]* those that minister about holy things, *[ἐν 1st ἁγίου ἑδίου]* doe care of the holy thing, or as we turn it, of the things of the Temple: *[οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἁγίασμα ἐν τῷ ναῷ]* they which wait at the Altar, *[οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἁγίασμα ἐν τῷ ναῷ]* are fellow-sharers with the Altar? *[οὐκ]* So hath the Lord ordained, *that they which preach the Gospel should* *in 1st Epistle* *Which*.

Here, *οἱ τὰ ἅγια ἐργαζόμενοι*, those who were employed about holy things, are the Levites who lived in *Ἱερὺ*, of the holy thing, or if you had rather it should be a substantive) of the Temple: that is, of that which belonged thereto; namely, of the Tithes which belonged to the Temple, but were no offering of the Altar. *οἱ τῷ θυσιαστικῷ ἀσκήσαντες*, they who did *incumbere*, or *assidere altari*, were the Priests, whose proper office it was to offer sacrifices thereon, and had part of the same for their pro-

1 Cor. 9. 14.

proper maintenance; as the brest & left shoulder before it was burnt, and after so much as was reserved from burning: so they did τὸ θυσιασμεῖον συμμερίζεσθαι, as the Apostle speaks, *they were fellow-sharers with the Altar*; the Altar having one part of the Offering, they another.

Thus you see, the Apostle in both, lutes the maintenance with the office: The office of the Levites was τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, their maintenance, τὸ ἱερόν, *the holy thing*, or the revenue of the Temple; ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐσθίουσιν, *they eat of the offer*. The Office of the Priests, τὸ θυσιασμεῖον μετεσθίουσιν; their maintenance, τὸ θυσιασμεῖον συμμερίζεσθαι, *to share with the Altar*. Now then must not the Apodosis answer the Protasis? what manner of similitude, what analogy will there be else? Ergo, as λειτουργία τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ is the office of the Ministers of the Gospel, so is their maintenance noted by ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ζῆν. Those therefore who interpret these words, as if εὐαγγέλιον in the last place, were taken in no other sense, then it was in the first; namely, to note the function or calling of the Ministers; (as if the sense were no other, but that the Ministers of the Gospel, whose calling it is to preach the Gospel, should get their living by their Calling of preaching the Gospel,) make S. Paul the Author of a lame and inconsequent similitude, whose Apodosis answers not unto his Protasis. For what answer, what an even so, or analogy would this be? The Levites lived of the holy portion, or revenue of the Temple, as their ὁλωσιον, or wages; Even so the Ministers of the Gospel must live by ther Calling and Function: The Priests were maintained out of the share they had of the Offerings of the Altar; Even just so, the Ministers of the Gospel must live by their Calling and Function of

Q 2

Preach-

1 Cor. 9. 14.

* Philo de
Sacerdotiū
honoribus.
ὕπερ ὃ τῷ
μισθῷ τῷ
διδόντων
ὁνειδίζειν
τοῖς λαμ-
βάσι, κε-
λεύει τὰς
ἀσπαργὰς
εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
κομίσασθαι
θεύτερον,
εἰτ' ἐπὶ
δὲ τῶν ἱ-
ερῶν λαμ-
βάνειν ἢ
μοτίμῳ
θεῷ τὸς μὴ
ἐντρονέ-
μας ἐν
ἀπασιν, &c.
τῷ γὰρ μὴ
παρ' ἀν-
θρώπων,
ἀλλὰ πα-
ρὰ τοῦ πά-
ντων ἐν-
τρέφει, ὁ
κεῖν λαμ-
βάνειν, ὡ-
ς οὐκ ἀπὸ
ἐκείνου
ἐκεῖ.

Preaching the Gospel: May not any one see that the Apodosis answers not the Protasis? For that speaks of the wages, this of the service, for which the wages is due. Well therefore, as in the Protasis the wages was compared with the work; so must it be in the Apodosis too; & consequently ἐκ τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ ζῆν, must here express the wages, as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, doth the work.

But now here is the *quare*; If ἐκ τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ ζῆν, note not the function, but the wages, and maintenance due to the Euangelick Ministers, in what notion then is εὐαγγέλιον here to be taken; and how to be expounded? *Oecumenius* would have εὐαγγέλιον, in this last place to signifie οἱ τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ πεπιστευότες, the beleevers of the Gospel, εὐαγγελιστῆς, & the meaning to be, that those *who preach the Gospel*, should be maintained by those *which beleeve the Gospel*: But this would make our Apodosis to answer the Protasis, little better then the former: For that speaks of the maintenance, and wages of the Levites, and Priests, not a word of the maintainers. * Besides, to speak properly, it is not true, that the people maintain the Ministers: They are not their Ministers, but Gods; and he maintains them, out of his own revenue, and not at other mens charges. *Quis militat suis stipendiis?* (saith our Apostle, at his entrance upon this Argument; *Who goeth to war at his own charges?* Now I ask, *Cuius stipendiis militat, qui militat?* *nonne Imperatoris?* To which purpose note also by the way, that it is not said here (as we translate it,) *So hath God ordained, that those which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel*: But, *So hath God appointed, or given order to those which preach the Gospel, that they should live of the Gospel*; that is, *Non dicit Dominū mandasse aliis, ut*

eos.

cor alerent, sed mandasse ipse, ut ex Evangelio viverent.

1 Cor. 9. 14.

But to return again to the interpretation of Ευαγγέλιον, which others therfore had rather take here for τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, for that which in the Gospel is consecrate to God; to wit, as the Priests and Levites had their maintenance out of that which was offered unto God in the Law: So God had ordained, that the Ministers of the Gospel should be maintained of that which is consecrate to him in the Gospel. And this sense is streight and good.

Jol. 18. 7.
The Priest-
hood of the
Lord is
their [the
Levites]
inheritance.

But what need we fly to a Trope, when the naturall sense of the word Ευαγγέλιον will serve our turn; yea do it much better: For howsoever in the New-Testament it most commonly signifies *good tidings*; yet, in other Greek Writers, the more usuall signification in the singular number is δῶρον ὑπὲρ ἀγαθῆς ἀγγελίας, *præmium quod datur letum afferenti nuncium*; the gift or reward wont to be given for good tidings. *Homer* (*Odys.* 14.) brings in *Ulysses* in a poor travellers disguise, stipulating with his servant *Eumæus*, what his reward should be, for the good news he promised to tell him of his Masters life and speedy return, Ευαγγέλιον δ' ἐμοὶ ἔστω· let this be my *ευαγγέλιον*, or Reward, saith he, χαλῖνα, χίτων, καὶ εἰματα καλὰ. To whom *Eumæus* answers, ὦ γέρον, ἔτ' ἀρ' ἐγὼν *ευαγγέλιον* τὸδε πῶσι, οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐπ' δίκον ἐλεύσεται. Neither am I able to give such an *ευαγγέλιον*, neither will *Ulysses* ever come home again. *Plutarch* (in his *De gloria Atheniensium*) relates, that the Lacedemonians to one that brought them tidings of the victory at Mantinea, having been no actor, but a spectator only, sent for an *ευαγγέλιον*, only a dish of meat from one of their common suppers, called *Phiditia*: The words are, *ευαγγέλιον ἐν φειδίτῳ κρέας ἀπέστειλαν*. The same Author (within three

1 Cor. 9. 14.

or four lines after) affirms, that Historians, who relate and describe battels and victories in such perspicuous styles, deserve an *εὐαγγέλιον* from those who first read them: And (in his *Demetrius*) he tels, that when one *Aristodemus* brought news to King *Antigonus*, of a notable victory his party had obtained against *Ptolemaus Lagi*, but put the King first in great perplexity, by discovering nothing, either by word or countenance, what his tidings were, till he came to the Kings presence, then saying, *Salve Rex Antigone, vicimus praelio navali Regem Ptolemeum*: The King answered, *Et tu quoq; hercle salve; quia vero ita nos torfisti, lues pernam, nam tardius εὐαγγέλιον accipies*; which is a sufficient testimony both of the use of the word, and the custome. *Cicero* (in one of his Epistles *Ad Atticum*) useth the plurall number: *O suaves tuas Epistolas*, (saith he) *uno tempore mihi datas duas! Quibus εὐαγγέλια que reddam nescio; deberi quidem plane fateor*.

Liz. Ep. 8.

Besides, in the plurall number, *εὐαγγέλια*, signifies a sacrifice for good tidings; Hence *Plutarch* (in his *Phocien*) hath *εὐαγγέλια δόντων* *Isocrates* (in *Aceapagitica*) εἰς τοσούτοις προσέξεν εὐαγγέλια πρὸς τοὺς θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ob tot successus his quidem sacrificavimus εὐαγγέλια. *Xenophon* (in his *Hellanica*) εἶπεν τὰ εὐαγγέλια. To conclude; it is apparent by these examples, that *εὐαγγέλιον* signifies a gift, or tribute due for good tidings; whether as an offering to the Gods, the Authours, or as a reward to men, the messengers and bringers.

Now the most blessed & happy tidings that ever came to the ears of the sons of men, is salvation by Jesus Christ our Lord; whereof his Priests and Ministers are the daily messengers: Is there not then an *εὐαγγέλιον* due for this? And is not this that our Apostle meaneth

neth

nethe when he says; *The Lord hath ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel*. So that which of old was required only for acknowledgement of the Divine Dominion, under the bondage of the Law, is now turned into the nature of an *εὐαγγέλιον* in the liberty of the Gospel; I mean that which we offer now unto God for the maintenance of the Evangelicall Ministry, and other uses of his service. The sense is most fit and agreeable, and makes the Apostles expression (if so understood) passing elegant.

But you will say; What probability is there the Apostle should use *εὐαγγέλιον* in this notion? For though prophane Authors do so, yet the Scriptures meaning, both here and elsewhere, is to be measured by its own Dialect. Have therefore the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Septuagint any such notion as this? I answer, Yes, all three of them. For in the Hebrew, *נִבְרָא*, the onely word for *good tidings*, signifies also *Premium boni nuncii*; Yea, being not above five times found in the Old Testament, some will have it thrice taken in that signification, and twice will be easily yielded them. Likewise in the Chaldee, *נִבְרָא*, and *נִבְרָא*, signifie as well the one as the other; both *nuncium* and *nuncii premium*. As for the Septuagint, the word *εὐαγγέλιον* is but thrice found with them, and once so apparently in this signification, as leaves no place for contradiction. It is 2 Sam. 4. 10. where they have, *ὃς ἐστὶν με δέδωκε εὐαγγέλιον*, *Cui oportet me dedisse Evangelia*. They are the words of King David, when Rechab and Baanah brought Ishbosheths head unto him; *When one told me, saith he, Behold Saul is dead, (thinking he had brought good tidings) I took hold of him, and slew him in Ziklag, when I should have given a reward for his tidings.* The Hebrew word

ren-

1 Cor. 9. 14.

rendred here reward for good tidings, is בשרה : The Septuagint, as I said before, have δῶναι εὐαγγέλια. The Vulgar, or S. Hierome, mercedem pro nuncio : The Chaldee Paraphrast, Donum boni nuncii.

Thus you see, this notion was familiar to all the Languages that S. Paul was brought up in. Why should it then be improbable; he should use it when he had occasion? And no marvel it is to be found no oftner; For, unless it be in this Chapter, in the whole New Testament the thing it self (*reward for good tidings*) is never mentioned, intimated, or alluded to. How then could the word be used? But in this Chapter, me thinks I hear it used a second time, ver. 23. I will only propound it to your consideration, and so conclude.

The matter stands thus, S. Paul, though he received no reward at the hands of the Corinthians for his pains in making known the glad tidings of salvation unto them, but did it *gratis* to them-ward: yet he looked for an εὐαγγέλιον from God, stored up in the heavens, for all his faithfull Messengers, and to be received at the great Day: In expectation whereof, he not only preached the Gospel to them freely, but endured all things, and made himself a servant to all: τὸ τοῦ ποιῶ (saith he) διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα συγκοινωνῶς αὐτῷ γίνωμαι *this I doe for the εὐαγγέλιον, that I might be partaker thereof.* What εὐαγγέλιον should it be, that Paul here aimed to be partaker of? Surely, it should seem εὐαγγέλιον here notes some *Premium*, even by that which immediately follows; *Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the brabeum; So run that ye may obtain.* I leave it to your better meditations, and so conclude.

FINIS.

DIATRIBÆ.
OR,
A continuation of certain
DISCOURSES
ON
SUNDRY TEXTS OF
SCRIPTURE:

Delivered upon severall occasions,

BY
JOSEPH MEDD, B. D. late Fellow
of *Christs Colledge* in CAMBRIDGE.

Never before published, being exactly printed according to the Authors own Manuscripts.



LONDON,
Printed by M. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. Peters Church in Cornhill.
MDCXLVIII.

A
CONTINUATION
OF CERTAIN
DISCOURSES
ON
Sundry Texts of SCRIPTURE.

LUKE 2. 13, 14.

13. *And suddenly there was with the Angel a multitude of the heavenly Host, praising God, and saying,*
14. *Glory be to God on high, (or, in the highest) and on e arth peace, good will towards men.*



T the Creation of the world, when God laid the foundations of the earth, and stretched out his line thereon, *the stars in the morning* (as God himself describes it *Job 38.7.*) *sang together, and all the sons of God* (that is, the holy Angels) *shouted for joy.* This in my Text is so like it, that a man would think some new Creation were in hand;

B b

nor

Luk. 2, 13,
14.

nor were it much wide of truth to affirm it : for if ever there were a day wherein the Almighty Power, the incomparable Wisdom, the wonderfull Goodness of God again the second time appeared, as it did at the worlds Creation, it was this day, whereof S. Luke our Euangelist now treateth, when the Son of God took upon him our flesh, and was born of a Virgin, to repair the breach between God and man, and make all things new. The news of which restauration was no sooner heard and made known to the Shepheards by an Angel sent from heaven, but suddenly the heavenly Host descended from their celestially mansions, and sung this Carol of joy ; *Glory be to God on high, welcome peace on earth, good-will towards men.* A Song renowned both for the singularity of the first example, (for untill this time, unlesse it were once in a Prophetical Vision, we shall not finde a Song of Angels heard by men in all the Scripture) and from the custome of the Church, who afterward took it up in her Liturgy, and hath continued the singing thereof ever since the days of the Apostles untill these of ours. Yet perhaps it is not so commonly understood, as usually said or chaunted, and therefore will be worth our labour to inquire into the meaning thereof, and hear such instructions as may be learned therefrom. Which that we may the better do, I will consider first the Singers or Chaunters, *The heavenly Host* : Secondly, the Caroll or Hymne it self, *Gloria in excelsis Deo : Glory be to God on high, &c.*

For the first, the heavenly host here spoken of, is an Army of holy Angels : For *the Host of Heaven* in the language of Scripture is twofold, Visible and Invisible.

visible. The Visible Host are the Stars, which stand in their array like an Army, *Deut. 4. 19. Lest thou lift up thine eyes* (saith the Lord there) *unto heaven, and when thou seest the Sun, Moon, and Stars, even all the Host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship and serve them.* The Invisible Host are the Angels, the heavenly Guard; according to that of *Micaiah, 1 King. 22. 19. I saw the Lord sitting upon his Throne, and all the Host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left.* So *Psal. 103. Blesse the Lord ye his Angels, that excell in strength, that do his Commandements. Blesse the Lord all ye his Hosts, ye ministers of his that do his pleasure:* Where the latter words do but vary that which is expressed in the former. From this it is that the Lord Jehovah, the true and only God, is so often styled the Lord or God of *Sabaoth*, or of *Hosts*, that is, King both of Stars and Angels: according to that *Nehem. 9. Thou art God alone; — and the Host of Heaven worshippeth thee.* By which Title He is distinguished from the Gods of the Nations, who were some of the Host, to wit, of the Stars or Angels, but none of them *the Lord of Hosts* himself. For the same reason, and with the same meaning and sense, in the Books written after the Captivity, he is styled *Deus cæli, the God of heaven*, as in *Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel*; in which Books, together with the last of *Chronicles*, the title of *Deus Sabaoth* is not to be found, but the title of *Deus Cæli* only, and as may seem taken up for some reason in stead of the other.

But to return to what we have in hand: It was the Angelicall Host, as ye hear, who sang this Song of

B b 2

joy

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

joy and praise unto the most High God. And wherefore? For any restitution or addition of happinesse to themselves? No; but for Peace on Earth, and Good-will towards men. He that was now born took not upon him the Nature of Angels, but of men: He came not into the world to save Angels, but for the salvation of men. Nor was the state of Angels to receive advancement in glory by his comming, but the state of men; and that too in such a sort as might seem to impeach the dignity, and dimme the lustre of those excellent creatures, when an inferiour nature, the nature of man, was now to be advanced into a Throne of Divine Majesty, and to become Head and King not only of men, but of the heavenly Host it self. O ye blessed Angels! what did these tidings concern you, that ruined mankinde should be restored again and taken into favour; whereas those of your own Host, which fell likewise, remained still in that gulf of perdition, whereinto their sin had plunged them, without hope of mercy or like promise of Deliverance? what did it adde to your eminent Dignity, the most excellent of the creatures of God, that the Nature of man should be advanced above yours? that *at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and things under the Earth?*

The Observation therefore which this Act of the Angels first presents unto us, is the ingenuous goodnesse and sweet disposition of those immaculate and blessed spirits, in whose bosomes Envy, the Image of the Devil and deadly poison of charity, hath no place at all: For if any inclination to this cankered passion had

had been in these heavenly creatures, never such an occasion offered, nor greater could be, to stir it up to envy. But heaven admits of no such passion, nor could such a torment consist with the blissefull condition of those who dwell therein. It is the smoke of that bottomlesse pit, a native of hell, the character and cognisance of those Apostate Angels, *which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, and are reserved for chains of everlasting darknesse.* These indeed grieve no lesse at the happinesse of men then the Angels joy; witnesse the name of their Prince Satan, which signifies the Fiend, or malicious one, who out of envy overthrew mankinde in the beginning; out of envy he and all his fellow-fiends are so restless and indefatigable to seduce him still.

The Use of this Observation will not be far to seek, if we remember the admonition our Saviour hath given us in the prayer left unto his Church; which is, To make the Angels the pattern of our imitation in doing the will of our heavenly Father; for so he teacheth us to pray, *Let thy will be done in earth, as it is done in heaven*; that is, Grant us ô Lord to do thy will here, as thy holy Angels do it there. And as we should imitate them in all things else; so in this affection towards the happinesse and prosperity of others. And good reason I think, if we mean at all to approve our selves unto God our Father, why we should endeavour rather to be like unto them, then unto Devils: But in nothing can we be more like them, then in this, to rejoyce at the good, and not repine at the happinesse of our brethren: *Hoc enim Angelicum est*; This is the Character of the Angelicall nature,

Luk. 2. 83,
14.

nature, and consequently of those, who one day shall have fellowship with them. To be contrarily affected *Diabolicum est*, the badge and brand of Devils and Fiends; and those who wear their Livery, reason good they should keep them company. Let every one therefore examine his own heart concerning this point, that he may learn upon what terms he stands with God, and what he may promise himself of the blessednesse to come. Do the gifts of God? Doth his favour or blessing vouchsafed to thy brother, when thou seest or hearest of them, torment and crucifie thy soul? Dost thou make their happinesse thy misery? Is thine eye evill to thy Brother, because Gods is good? If this be so, without doubt thy heart is not right before God; nor doth his Spirit, but the spirit of Devils or Fiends reign therein. But if the contrary appear in any reasonable measure, with a desire to increase it; (for we must not look to attain the perfection of Angels in this life, but in some measure and degree only) if thou canst rejoyce at anothers good, though it concerns not thy self; the Spirit of God rests upon thee: *For emulations and envyinges* (saith the Apostle, Gal. 5.) *are the fruits of the flesh, but the fruits of the Spirit are* *charities & kindnesses, and* *goodnesse*: So he calls the opposite vertues to those former vices.

But as any good that beides our brother ought to affect us with some degree of joy, and not with grief and envy; so chiefly, and most of all his spirituall good, and that which concerns his salvation, ought so to do. This was that the holy Angels praised God for in my Text, on the behalf of men; that unto them.

a Saviour was born, who should save them from their sins, and reconcile them unto God. Which sweet disposition of those good and blessed spirits our Saviour himself further witnesseth, when he saith, (*Luk. 15. 17.*) *There is joy in heaven (namely, among the holy Angels) for one sinner that repenteth.* But is there any man, will you say, such a son of Beliall, as will not do this, will not imitate the holy Angels in this? Judge ye: There is an evil disease which commonly attends upon Sects and Differences in opinion: that as men are curious and inquisitive into the lives and actions of the adverse party, so are they willing to finde them faulty, and rejoyce at their falls and slips, hear and relate them with delight; namely, because they suppose it makes much for their own side, that the contrary should by such means be scandalized, and the Patrons and followers thereof disreputed. But should that be the matter of our grief, whereat the Angels joy; or that the matter of our joy, whereat the Angels grieve? How is this to do our Fathers will on earth, as the Angels do in heaven? Nay, if this be not to put on the robes of darknesse, and to shake hands with hellish fiends, I know not what is. *O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united.*

There is another Lesson yet more to be learned from this act of the Angels; namely, that if they glorifie God for our happinesse, and the favour of God towards us in Christ, much more should we glorifie and magnifie his goodnesse our selves, to whom solely this Birth, and the benefit of this Birth redounds. If they sing, *Glory be to God on high, for his favour to-*

Luk. 15. 13.
14.

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

ward men; we to whom such favour is shown, must not hold our peace; for shall they for us, and not we for our selves? No, the Quire of heaven did but set us in, we are to bear a part, and it should be a chief part, since the best part is ours. As therefore the Church in her publick Service, hath ever since kept it up: so must every one of us in particular, never let it goe down or dye on our hands.

Thus much of the Quære; Now come we to the Antheme or Song it self: whose contents are two; First, the Doxology or Praise; *Glory be to God on high.* Secondly, a gratulation rendring the reason thereof; *Because of Peace on earth, Good will towards men.* For the conjunction *⁊* is not to bee taken here for a copulative, but as *⁊*an is frequently in the Hebrew, for a conjunction causall, or for *⁊*. *Glory to God in the highest;* for that there is *Peace on earth, Good-will towards men.* Or if we retain the copulative sense, yet we must understand the words following as spoken by way of gratulation: *Glory be to God on high, and welcome peace on earth, good-will towards men.* Or both causally and gratulatorily thus, *Glory be to God in the highest; for (⁊ factum bene!) there is peace on earth, and good-will towards men.*

To begin with the first, the Doxology or praise; *Glory be to God in the Highest;* that is, Let the Angels glorifie him, who dwels on high: for *⁊* in *⁊*isous is to be referred to Glory, and not to God; the sense being, glorified be God by those on high; and not God, who dwels on high, be glorified. This may appear by the like expression in the 148. Psalm, whence this Glorification seems to be borrowed: *Praise ye the Lord*

Ita Zonar.
ad c. 74.
Trullan.

Lord from the heavens, praise him *in his holiness*, Praise ye him all his Angels, praise ye him all his Host. Therefore Junius for Praise ye the Lord from the Heavens, hath *Laudate eum cœlites*: The Chaldee, for *Laudate eum in excelsis*; *Laudate eum Angeli excelsi*. In like manner here, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, are the words of the Angelicall Quire, inciting themselves and all the Host to give glory and praise unto God for these wonderfull tidings. Now therefore let us see what this *Glory* is; and how it is given to God.

Luk. 2, 13,
14.

To tell you every signification of the word *Glory* in Scripture, might perhaps distract the hearer, but would inform him little. Nor will it be to purpose to reckon up every signification it hath, when it is spoken of God: I will therefore name only the two principall ones: And first, *Glory* when it is referred to God, often signifies the Divine Presence, or שְׁכִינָה, as in this Chapter, a little before my Text, when it is said, *The Glory of the Lord shone round about the Shepherds, and they were sore afraid*. But this is not the signification in my Text, but another which I shall now tell you. For *Glory* besides signifies in Scripture the high and glorious Supereminency or Majesty of God, which consisteth in his threefold Supremacy of Power, of Wisdome, and of Goodnesse. And as words of eminency and dignity with us (as Majesty, Highnesse, Honour, Worship) are used for the persons themselves to whom such Dignity belongeth, (as when we say, His Majesty, his Highnesse, his Honour, his Worship:) so in the Scripture, and among the Hebrews, *His Glory*, or the *Glory of the Lord*, is used to note the Divine Essence, or Deity it self. As in
2 Pet.

Link. 2. 13.
14.

2 Pet. 1. 17. *There came a voice (saith S. Peter) from the excellent Glory, (that is, from God the Father) This is my wellbeloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Rom. 1. The Gentiles are said to have *changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into the likeness of things corruptible.* As it is said (in the 106. Psal. ver. 20.) of the Israelites in the Wildernesse, *That they changed their Glory into the similitude of an Oxe that eateth grasse.* S. John cap. 1. 14. of his Gospel says of the Son, *We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of God.* According to which sense he is called Heb. 1. *The brightness of his Fathers glory, and the expresse Image of his person;* where the latter words are an exposition of the former, *Image* expounding *brightness*, and *person* or *substance* expounding *glory*.

Jer. 2. 11.

If Glory therefore signifie the Divine Majesty or Greatnesse, to glorifie or give glory unto God is nothing else but to acknowledge this Majesty or greatnesse of His; namely, his supereminent Power, his Wisdom, and Goodnesse: for in the peerlesse supereminency of these three, (under which all his other Attributes are comprehended) his glorious Majesty consisteth. Take this withall; That all the religious service and worship we give unto God, (whether we praise him, pray, or give thanks unto him) is nothing else but the acknowledging of this *glory*, either in deed or word; namely, by confessing it, or doing some act whereby we acknowledge it. To come to particulars: By our Faith we confesse his Wisdome and Truth; by our thanksgiving, his Goodnesse and Mercy; when we pray, we acknowledge his Power and Dominion; and

and therefore the form of prayer our Saviour taught us, concludes, *For shine is the kingdom, power, and glory.* In praise we confesse all these or any of them, according to that in the Hymne of the Church, *Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur.* We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord. All which is evident by those forms of glorification set down in the *Apocalypse*, which are nothing else but expresse and particular acknowledgements of the greatnesse or Majesty of God, and his peerlesse prerogatives. When the four Wights are said to have given glory, honour and thanks to him that sat upon the Throne: what was their Dicty but this? *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.* When the Lamb opened the book with 7. Seals, the Wights, the Elders, and every creature in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, sung, *Worthy is the Lamb to receive power, and riches, and strength, and honour, and blessing.* And again, *Blessing, honour, glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.* In which we may observe the whole glorification to consist in the acknowledgement of these three soveraign prerogatives of the Divine Majesty, his Power, his Wisdome, his Goodnesse. The two first, Power and Wisdome, are expresse; and Riches and Strength belong to Power: The third is contained in *evangelia*, Blessing, or thanksgiving; which is nothing else but the confession of the Divine goodnesse.

Hence it is, that the Septuagint and Vulgar Latine commonly render the words *in & omni*, which signi-

Luk. 2. 13.
14.

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

signifie to praise, and glorifie, ἐξομολογῆμαι, confiteor : Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum misericordia ejus. Psal. 106. 107. 136. Confitebor tibi Domino in toto corde meo, quoniam audisti verba oris mei. Psal. 138. Confitemini Domino, & invocate nomen ejus. Psal. 105. and the like. And in the 148. Psal. Confessio ejus super cælum & terram : that is, His glory is above the heaven and the earth. The Holy Ghost in the New Testament useth the same language, Luk. 11. 25. Ἐξομολογῶμαι σοι, πάτερ, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes; where we have, I thank thee ô Father, Beza and Erasmus read, Gloriam tibi tribuo; which I think is the better. So also in this Chapter Luke 2. 38 it is said of Anna, Ἀνθωμολογῶ το τῷ Κυρίῳ, Deo laudes gratiasque agebat. So Heb. 13. 15. By him therefore, (that is, by Christ) let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, the fruit of our lips confessing to his Name. By all which it is evident, that to praise and give glory unto God, whether by praise at large, or prayer and thanksgiving in speciall, is nothing else (as I have said) but to confesse and acknowledge his peerlesse Majesty over all and in all; which the Scripture calls his glory. And if ever there were a work of God, wherein all these peerlesse Prerogatives of Power, Wisdome, and Goodnesse, all together appeared in the highest degree, it was undoubtedly in this wonderfull work of the Incarnation of the Son of God for mans redemption: well therefore might the heavenly Host sing, Gloria in excelsis Deo; The Power, the Wisdome and Goodnesse of the glorious God be acknowledged by

by the holy Angels and all the Host of heaven for ever and ever. This is the meaning of the Doxology.

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

Come we now to the gratulation, which contains the cause thereof; *glory be to God on high, for (ὁ σάκτυμ bene! ὁ happy news!) there is peace on earth, good-will towards men.* One and the same thing two ways expressed: for it is an Apposition, or ἐξήγησης, the latter words declaring the meaning of the former; *Peace on earth*, that is, *good-will towards men*, εὐδοκία ἐν ἀνθρώποις. 'Ev for eis; to wit, in imitation of the Hebrew construction, where שָׁלוֹם & רַחֵם verbs, which signifie εὐδοκίαν, & שָׁלוֹם the noun signifying εὐδοκία, are construed with כִּי, which is 'Ev in Greek, and accordingly both the Septuagint and New Testament expresse the same. But the Vulgar Interpreter reads here, *Pax in terris, hominibus bonæ voluntatis*, as if the Greek were ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας, and not εὐδοκία, as now all our Copies constantly read, and I beleeve ever did: yet *Beza* seems here to favour the Vulgar Latine, expounding *Homines bonæ voluntatis* of those whom God wils well to; to wit, of the Elect, to whom this Peace by Christ belongeth: and from the convenience of this sense, inclines to beleeve, that the Greek anciently read so; quoting to this end *Irenæus*, *Origen*, and *Chrysostome* (as he saith) in divers places. But he trusted too much the Latine Translation of *Chrysostome*; for the Greek *Chrysostome* hath no such matter; but both in those places *Beza* points to, and in divers others reads constantly ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία, as our Copies doe. And so I make no question *Irenæus* and * *Origen* did too in the Greek Originals if we had them to look into. But the Latine Translators thought

* Vide
contr. Celsū
lib. 1. p. 46.
gr.

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

thought not fit to alter the words of the Hymne so ordinarily sung in the Liturgy, and so expressed it in Latine, as the Latine Church used. And for the meaning, I beleieve the Vulgar Latine aim'd at no other sense, then what the Greek implies; namely, that this Peace was no earthly peace, but the peace of Gods good-will to man, referring the Genitive Case *voluntatis*, not to *hominibus*, but to *pax*. *Pax in terris*: what *pax*? *Pax bona voluntatis hominibus*. That which makes me think so is, because *Origen* and his Translator, in the place *Beza* quotes for this reading, expressly expounds it so. And so there will not be a pin to choose; save that the Greek expresseth this sense by way of Apposition more naturally; the Latine by way of Rectiō, somewhat harshly; and yet perhaps the Translatour thought, lesse ambiguously.

Well then; this *peace on earth* is *eudoxia en anghelois*, Gods good-will or favour to men: and Gods *eudoxia en anghelois*, is the *peace on earth*, the Angels gratulate; namely, the reconciliation of God to men in Christ: For by reason of Sin, heaven and earth, God and man were till now at enmity: but by Christ this enmity is taken away, and man, by the forgiveness of his sin, restored unto peace and favour with God. And as by this Nativity God and man became one Person, so by this conjunction Heaven and earth, Angels and men, become one Fellowship, one City and Kingdome of God: the Kingdome of Satan, that Prince of the powers of the Aire, who by reason of sin had captivated, and brought under his service the whole Earth, and thereby held the same at open

war

war and enmity with Heaven, being now by degrees to be destroyed and rooted out. And this is that admirable mystery of our Redemption by Christ, which the Angelicall Host here gratulates, by the name of *Peace on earth, and good-will towards men.*

And that we may not doubt, but we have hit the meaning, that this *peace on earth*, is Gods good-will to men, and therefore expounded by it; besides that in the Old * Testament *peace* is often taken for Gods favour and mercy to men; (as in that of *Isay 54.10. The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed, but my kindnesse shall not depart from thee, neither shall the Covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.*) So if we examine the Use thereof in the New Testament, we shall finde it in speciall applied to this our Reconciliation to God in Christ by remission of sin. S. Peter to Cornelius *Act. 10.* describes the Gospel thus, *The word which God sent to the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ.* And S. Paul, *Col. 1.* It pleased God the Father, that in Christ all fulnesse should dwell. And (having made peace through the blood of his Crosse) by him to reconcile all things unto himself. What can be plainer then this? The same, as I take it, he means *Eph. 2.* when he tels us, *That Christ came to preach peace both to those that were afarre off, and to them that were nigh;* that is, both to Jew and Gentile. But what peace? namely, that *through him*, we both might have access by one Spirit unto the Father. Hence the Gospel is called the Gospel of peace; and God so often in the New Testament, the God of peace; that is, of reconcilment and favour: and the Euangelicall salutation is,

Grace

Luk. 2. 13;
14.

Vid. Num.
6. 27.
Judg. 6. 24.
Psal. 85. 7.
&c.
Cant. 8. 10.
Jer. 16. 15.
29. 11.

Luk. 2. 13,
14.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord.

The meaning of this Angelicall gratulation being thus cleared, let us see now what may be learned and observed therefrom. Where my first Observation shall be this: *S. Peter tels Cornelius, That to Christ give all the Prophets witnesse, that through his name, whosoever beleeveth in him, shall receive remission of sins.* Our Saviour after his Resurrection, expounding the Scriptures to his Apostles sayes, the same, *Luke 24. 47. Thus it is written (saith he) and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and that remission of sins should be preached in his Name among the Nations.* But where is this publication of remission of sins by Christ written? for in those formall words we shall hardly finde it. Let us take here the Angels key, and we shall: for they tell us that *peace on earth* is this good-will towards men. Now do not the Prophets speak of some peace on earth, which Messiah should bring with him when he comes? yes surely: well then, let us look for this publication of remission of sins under that name, and we shall finde it, *Isay 9. 6. Vnto us a Childe is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderfull, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Father of eternity, the Prince of peace,* that is, of peace not between men and men, but between God and men) *and of the increase of his government and peace shall be no end Isay 52. 7. How beautifull upon the mountains, are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation,*

vation, that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth : which place S. Paul, Rom. 10. 15. interprets of the publication of the Gospel of Christ. *Esay 53. 5. The chastisement of our peace was upon him* ; that is, he suffered for the remission of our sins. *If. 57. 19.* quoted by S. Paul to the Ephesians, Chap. 2. *Peace to him that is afarre off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord, and I will heal him.* *Ezek. 34. 24, 25. I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David (King Messiah a Prince among them. — And I will make a Covenant of peace with them. So Chap. 37. 26. Hag. 2. 9. The glory of this latter house shall be greater then of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts; and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts. Zech. 9. 10. Shout o daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy King cometh unto thee, — and he shall speak peace unto the Heathen, and his Dominion shall be from Sea to Sea, and from the River unto the end of the earth.*

Luke 2. 13,
14.

Thus much of the Use to be made of the Angels expression in this heavenly Carol : Now I shall propound to your consideration another, and that taken from the argument it self; namely, that if Almighty God, our heavenly Father, be so graciously disposed to us-ward, as to be reconciled unto us, by forgiving us our trespasses : then ought we seemably to be reconciled to our brethren and forgive them their trespasses, when they have wronged or offended us. *Leo Serm. 6. de Nativit. Natalis Domini, natalis est pacis, ergo singuli fideles offerant Patri pacificorum concordiam filiorum.* The Illation is good; we have the authority of the Apostle S. John to back it; *1 Joh. 4. 10. God (saith he) so loved us, that he sent his Son to be the*

C c

propi-

*Luk. 1.33.
14.*

propitiation for our sins. What follows? *Beloved,* (saith he) *if God so loved us, we ought to love one another.* So I say, if God be so gracious, to forgive and be reconciled to us, we ought as it were, to eccho this his loving kindnesse, and to forgive, and be reconciled one to another.

This congruity and semblableness of our actions and affections one towards another, with Gods favour and mercy towards us, is the Rule and Reason not only of this, but of many other duties he requires at our hands. Thus the Jews were every seventh year to manumise their servants, as an act of congruity and thankfulness to God, who had delivered them, when they were servants, out of the land of Egypt, and house of bondage. They were bidden to use a stranger kindly, because themselves had been strangers, and God when they were oppressed, had been compassionate and kinde towards them, and redeemed them from their thraldome. Likewise we read in the Gospel, *Luk. 8. 36. Be ye mercifull, as your heavenly Father is mercifull: And Matth. 5. Blessed are the mercifull for they shall obtain mercy.* In a word, God hath revealed, he will shew mercy to none, but such as appear before him with this congruity. *James 2. 13. He shall have judgement without mercy, that sheweth no mercy:* and therefore the tenor of our sentence at the last judgement runs, *Come ye blessed, and be partakers of mercy, because ye have shewed it: But, Goe ye cursed without all mercy into Hell fire, because ye have shewed no mercy.*

Thus we see how God requires this congruity in generall: and as for the particular of reconcilment and

and forgiving our brother, it is written in capitall letters, and urged in such sort as it might not unfaily be termed the Livery of Christianity. In so much, that if we consider it duly, it cannot but breed astonishment, that the evidence and necessity should be so apparent, and the practice among those who look for the benefit of Christ and call upon his Name, so little regarded: when as I dare boldly pronounce, there is no remission of sins to be looked for at the hands of God without it.

An invincible argument whereof is, That our Saviour himself, in the prayer he hath taught his Church, hath put in a barre against asking it, but upon this condition, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* If we ask not with this disposition, there is no promise that any such prayer shall be heard: nay, our Saviour tels us in plain terms, it shall not: *If (saith he) you forgive not men their trespasses, no more will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses.* How then can any man whose heart is fraught with malice, and meditates revenge against his brother, hear this and not tremble? Is it not a fearfull thing for a man to carry in his own bosome, not only an evidence that his sins are unpardoned, but a barre too, that he cannot ask the forgivenesse of them? Let no man deceive himself: *Et si enim multis bonis conscientia abundamus, nullum possumus praeferri solatium,* saith S. Chrysostome, *reconciliatio tamen contempta.* As the fifth Commandement is called by the Apostle the first Commandement of promise, so is this petition for forgivenesse of sins, the only petition with condition: and such a condition too, as our Saviour

Luk. 11. 3.
14.

Luke 2. 13,
14.

dwels upon and enforces, when he had delivered this form of prayer to his Disciples: For he passes by all the rest of the petitions, and singles out this alone to comment upon, as that wherein the chiefeſt moment lay, and without which all our prayer would be uneffectually, and to no purpose.

A further confirmation of which we have in that parable of *Servus nequam*, *Matth 18.* whom his Lord being moved with compassion, when he besought him, forgave a debt of ten thousand Talents: But he finding one of his fellow-servants which ought him an hundred pence, though he fell at his feet and besought him, yet would not hear him, but cast him into prison. *Then his Lord was wroth, and said, O thou wicked servant! shouldst not thou have had compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity upon thee? And he delivered him unto the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due to him.* The Application is terrible: So likewise, saith our Saviour, shall my heavenly Father doe unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses. We are this *Servus nequam*, if when our heavenly Father forgives us thousands of Talents, we stand with our brethren for an hundred pence. There is no proportion between the offences wherewith we offend God, and the offences wherewith our brother offends us. And therefore we have no excuse, hath our brother wronged us never so often, never so much, never so hainously: For whatsoever it be, or how unworthy or undeserved soever, our sin, our ingratitude to Almighty God is and hath been infinitely greater, even much more then ten thousand Talents surpasses an hundred pence.

To

To these two testimonies adde a third, and that also as the former, out of our blessed Saviours own mouth: *Mat. 5. If thou bring (saith he) thy gift to the Altar, and there remember, that thy brother hath ought against thee: leave there thy gift before the Altar, and goe thy way; First be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift:* τὸ δῶρόν σου, the word whereby the Septuagint constantly render that which the Law calls *Corban*; and the Gospel concures with them, *Mar. 7. Κορβάν ὃ ἐστὶ δῶρον.* Now *Corban* in the Law is in speciall used for those offerings, which were made for atonement of Sin, as the Burnt-offering, Sin-offering, Trespasse-offering, and Peace-offering, call'd Offerings by Fire or Sacrifices. So that this precept of our Saviours here, is the same in effect with the former, when thou comest to offer an offering unto God for an atonement of thy sin; Go thy way first, and be reconciled unto thy brother, for without this thy sin shall not be forgiven thee. I shall not need tell you, that now in the Gospel, Christ is the Sacrifice, is the gift which a Christian by faith offers unto God for the propitiation of his sin; and that this sacrifice is commemorated, sealed and communicated unto us in the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper; whereby it will easily appear, how this precept of our Saviours uttered after the style of the legall worship is applicable to the Euangelicall.

Hence in the ancient Church, when they assembled to celebrate this Sacrament, the Deacon was wont to proclaim, *Μὴ τις χτ' ἑνὶ, Ne quis contra aliquem; Let no man have ought against his brother:* And then, *Ἀσπάζεσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ, Salute one another with*

*Luke 2.13,
14.*

Luk. 2. 13.
14.

an holy kisse : which accordingly they did, first the Bishop and Clergy, then the Laity, the men apart by themselves, and the women by themselves ; and this was a profession of friendship and reconciliation, and therefore called *Osculum pacis, the kisse of peace*. In after-times the Priest gave this kisse of peace unto the Deacon, and he to the chief of the Congregation, and so it was given from one to another. In stead of which at length was brought in that foolish ceremony, still used among the Romanists, for the Priest to send a little gilded or painted Table, with a Crucifix or some Saints picture thereon, to be kissed of every one in the Church, before they receive the Holy Bread ; which they call *the kissing of the Pax*. So oftentimes profitable and usefull Ceremonies degenerate into toyes and superstitions. Our Church, though she useth no ceremony, retains the substance ; when the Priest in his exhortation to the Communicants, saith, *If any of you be in malice or envy, or any other grievous crime, bewail your sins, and come not to this holy Table* : and by the Rubrick the Priest, if he know any such, is to turn them back, unlessse they will be reconciled.

Lastly, the necessity of this duty is testified by that pious and generally received custome amongst Christians, to exhort those that are dying to forgive all the world, that so themselves may finde mercy and forgivenessse at the hands of God. Is it needfull at the hour of death, and not as needfull in the time of our health ? Is there no forgivenessse to be expected at the hands of God without it, when we are dying, and is there while we are living ? No certainly, All times
are

are alike here; and there is no time wherein God will forgive us, unlesse we forgive our brother. What then remains, but that we do every day, as we would do, if we were to die the next? It is a blessed disposition to have a becalmed heart to those who have wronged us, and not to *let the Sun go down upon our wrath*: To be able to come before God with confidence, and say; *Lord forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.*

Mat. 18. 35

14.

Cc 4

Mat.

MAT. 7. 21.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of heaven; but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven.



Here are three sorts of men in the world; some which call not Christ their Lord, as Turks, Jews and Infidels: some which call him Lord, as all Christians, but not all in like manner, for there are two sorts of them; some which call him Lord, and that is all; others which both call him Lord, and doe the will of his Father, the administration whereof is committed to him. The first of those three sorts, those who do not so much as call Christ their Lord, it is plain they cannot be saved; for there is no other name to be saved by, but the name of Christ onely. For the second sort, those who call Christ their Lord, that is, are Christians, and profess to beleve in Christ, and hope to be saved by him, and yet do no works of obedience unto God; though such as these may think themselves in a good estate, yet our Saviour here expressly excludes them from entering into the Kingdome of heaven: But the third sort, which doe not only

onely call Christ their Lord, but doe the will of his Father, these are the onely true Christians; for these there is hope, but for none other: *Not every one* (saith our Saviour) *that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, &c.*

Mat. 7. 21.

Our Saviour foresaw there would be among those who beleeved on his Name, such as should think their faith sufficient, and that as for works they might be excused, having him for their Lord and Captain of their salvation, who himself had both undergone the punishment due for their sins, and fulfilled that obedience which they should have done. So that now there remained nothing on their part for to obtain salvation, but to trust and rely upon him, without any endeavour at all to please God by works, as being now become unusefull to salvation. If ever there were a time when Christians thus deceived themselves, that time is now, as both our practice sheweth plainly by a generall neglect of such duties of piety and charity, which amongst our Fore-fathers were frequent; as also our open profession, when being exhorted to these works of piety to God, and of charity towards our brethren, we stick not to alledge, we are not bound unto them, because we look not to be saved by the merit of works, as they, but by faith in Christ alone; as though faith in Christ excluded works, and not rather included them, as being that whereby they became acceptable unto God, which of themselves they are not: or as if works could no way conduce unto the attaining of salvation, but by way of merit and desert, and not by way of the grace and favour of God in Christ, as we shall see in the handling of this Text. We greatly now a days, and that most
dange-

Mat. 7. 21.

dangerously, mistake the error of our forefathers, which was not in that they did good works; I would we did so; but because they knew not rightly the end why they did them, nor where the value of them lay: they thought the end of doing them was, to obtain eternall life, as a reward of Justice due unto them, whereas it is onely of grace and promise in Christ Jesus: They took their works to have such perfectness in them as would endure the touchstone of the Law of God, yea such worth and value as to merit the reward they looked for; whereas all the value and acceptableness of our works, issueth from the merit of Christ, and lieth onely in his righteousness communicated unto us and them by faith, and no otherwise. But setting aside these errors of the end, and of the value of works, we must know as well as they; That *not every one that saith unto Christ, Lord, Lord, &c. but he that doth the will of his Father, &c.*

Now for the Explication of the words: To call Christ, *Lord*, is to beleve in him, to acknowledge him, to look for salvation by him, or, as the Scripture expresseth it, *Luke 6. to come unto him, every one*, (saith our Saviour there, explaining this very Text we have in hand) *Every one* (saith he) *that commeth unto me, and heareth my words, and doth them, I will shew you who he is like*: where *to come unto Christ*, is put in stead of that which in the former was, *to say unto him Lord*. The *doing of his Fathers will*, is the doing of those works of obedience, which his Father hath commanded in his Law, and now committed to his Son, whom he hath made the head and King of his Church to see executed and performed by those he bringeth to salvation.

vation. But how, and in what manner, we shall see by and by.

Mat. 7. 21.

The Text consists of two parts; The one negative; *Not every one that saith unto Christ, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of heaven.* The other affirmative; *But those who doe the will of his Father shall onely enter thither.* But these are so nearly linked together, that they cannot be handled asunder: And the observations which I shall draw thence depend on the whole Text; the first and chiefest whereof is this, *That faith in Christ without works of obedience, and amendment of life, is not sufficient for salvation, and consequently not that faith whereby a Christian is justified.* For if it were, it would save us: If it be not sufficient to save us, it cannot justify us: This floweth directly from the Text, and cannot be denied; if ye remember what I said before; that to call Christ, Lord, is to beleeve in him.

For the better understanding of this, you must take notice that there is a threefold faith whereby men beleeve in Christ: There is a *false* faith: There is a *true* faith, but not saving: and thirdly, there is a *saving* faith. A *false* faith is, to beleeve to attain salvation through Christ any other way then he hath ordained, as namely, to beleeve to attain salvation through him, without works of obedience to be accepted of God in him; which is a faith whereof there is no Gospel. A *true* faith is, to beleeve salvation is to be attained through obedience to God in Jesus Christ, who by his merits and righteoufnesse, makes our selves and our works acceptable to his Father.

A *saving* and *justifying* faith is, to beleeve this so

as

Mat. 7. 21.

as to embrace and lay hold upon Christ for that end. To believe to attain salvation through obedience to God in Christ, so as to apply our selves, and rely upon Christ, for that end, namely, to perform those works of obedience, which God hath promised to reward with eternall life : For a *justifying* faith stayeth not onely in the brain, but stirs up the will to receive and enjoy the good beleaved, according as it is promised. This motion of election of the will, is that which maketh the difference between a saving faith, which joyneth us unto Christ, and that which is true indeed, but not saving, but dogmaticall and opinio-
 native onely. And this motion, or applying of the will to Christ, this embracing of Christ and the promises of the Gospel through him, is that which the Scripture (when it speaks of this faith) calleth *comming unto Christ, or the receiving of him*, Joh. 1. 12. *As many as received him, to them he gave power (or priviledge) to be the sons of God, even to them that beleeve on his Name : where receiving and beleeving* one expound another. So for *comming* ; *Come unto me* (saith our Saviour) *all ye that are heavy laden, and I will ease you.* The last is very frequent, *Joh. 5. 40. Ye will not come to me* (saith our Saviour) *that ye might have life.* And *Chap. 6. 37. All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me.* ver. 44. *No man can come unto me, unlesse the Father draw him.* 45. *Every man that hath heard, and learned of the Father commeth unto me ;* and such like. All which expresse the specification of a saving faith, which consists in the embracing, receiving and applying of the will to the thing be-
 leaved.

What

What this embracing, receiving, or applying unto Christ is, I will farther make plain thus: He that beleeveth that Christ is an atonement to God for the sins of all repentant sinners, (and surely he is an atonement for none else) must repent and turn from all his sinnes, that so Christ may be an atonement for him, else he embraceth not what he beleeveth.

He that beleeves that God in Christ will accept and reward our obedience and works of piety, though short of perfection, and of no worth in themselves, must apply himself accordingly to doe works of Religion and Charity, that God in Christ may accept and reward them. For our beleeif is not that saving beleeif, untill we apply our selves to what we beleeve. To beleeve to attain salvation through Christ, without works of obedience to be accepted in him, is, as I have already said, a false faith whereof there is no Gospel, no promise: To beleeve the contrary, that Christ is given of God to such only as shall receive him, to perform acceptable obedience to God through him, and yet not to apply, and buckle our selves thereto, were indeed to beleeve what is true, but yet no saving faith, because we embraced not the thing we beleeved, as we beleeved it.

Thou sayest then thou hast faith, and beleevest that Christ is the atonement to God, for the sins of all such as leave and forsake their sins by repentance; Why then repent thee of thy sins, that Christ may be an atonement for thee. Thou sayest thou hast this faith, that God in Jesus Christ will accept thy undeserving works and services unto eternall life, why then embrace thou Christ, and rely upon him for this end, that

Mat. 7. 21.

that thou mayest do works of piety towards God, and charity towards men, that so God in Christ may accept thee and them unto eternall life.

Now if this be the faith which is saving, and unites us unto Christ and no other, then it is plain that a saving faith cannot be severed from good works, because no man can embrace Christ as he is promised, but he must apply himself to do them. For out of that which hath been spoken three reasons may be gathered for the necessity of them. First, it is the end of our faith and justification by Christ, yea the end why he shed his blood for us, that we being reconciled to God in him, might bring forth fruits of righteousness, which else we could never have done. This is no speculation, but plain Scripture. *S. Peter 1 Ep. 2. 24.* telleth us, that *Christ his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness.* *S. Paul, Tit. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.* The grace of God (saith he) that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men; (wherefore) teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. These words contain the summe of all I have hitherto told you: That Christ is therefore given us, to be a propitiation for our sins, and to justify us, that in him we might walk before God in newnesse of life, so to obtain a Crown of righteousness in the world to come.

Answ-

Answerable is that place *Ephes. 2. 10.* where the Apostle having told us, *we are saved by grace through faith, and not of works, lest any man should boast.* He addes presently, (lest his meaning might be mistaken, as it is of too many) *that we are Gods workmanship created in Jesus Christ unto good works; which God hath before ordained (προορισεν) that we should walk in them:* as if he should say, Those works of obedience, ordained by God aforetime, in his law for us to walk in, which we could not perform of our selves; now God hath as it were new moulded us in Jesus Christ, that we might perform them in him; namely, by way of acceptance, though they come short of that exactnesse the Law requireth. And thus to be saved, is to be saved by grace and favour, and not by the merit of works; because the foundation whereby our selves and our services are approved in the eyes of God, and acquitted of guilt, (which the Scripture calleth to be justified,) is the meer favour of God in Jesus Christ, and not any thing in us. And this way of salvation excludes all boasting; for what have we to boast of, when all the righteousness of our works is none of ours, but Christs imputed to us; whereby onely, and not for any merit in themselves, they become acceptable, and have promise of reward. But that men should be saved by Christ, though they be idle and doe nothing, I know no such grace of God revealed in Scripture.

Now that in Christ we may perform works of righteousness, which God will accept and crown, is plain by the tenour of Scripture. *St Paul, Philip. 1. 11.* desires that the *Philippians* might be filled with the fruits

Mat. 7. 21.

fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God. And the same Apostle tels the Romanes, Rom. 6. 22. that being made free from sin, and become servants to God, they have their fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life; that is, as the Syriack turns it, *Sunt vobis fructus sancti*, they have holy fruits, whose end is life eternall.

And if we would seriously consider it, we should finde, that the more we beleeve this righteousness of faith in Christ, the more reason we have to perform works of service and obedience unto God, then if we beleeved it not: For if our works would not be acceptable with God, unlesse they were compleat in every point, as the Law required; if there were no reward to be looked for at the hands of God, unlesse we could merit it by the worthinesse of our deeds: who that considers his own weaknesse and insufficiency, would not sooner despair, then go about to please God by works? He would think it better to do nothing at all, then to endeavour what he could never hope to attain, and so lose his labour. But we, who beleeve that those who serve God in Christ, have their failings and wants covered with his righteousness, and so their works accepted, as if they were in every point as they should be; why should not we of all men fall to work, being sure by Christs means and merit, we shall not lose our labour?

A second motive why we should do good works is, because they are the way and means ordained by God to obtain the reward of eternall life, without which we shall never attain it: *Without holiness no man shall see God*, Heb. 12. 14. *Look to your selves* (saith S. John

Ep. 2.

Ep. 2. ver. 8.) that ye lose not those things ye have wrought for, but that ye may receive a full reward. The Angels message from heaven to devout Cornelius was, *Thy prayers and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God*: whereupon S. Peter inferred, that in every Nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him, Acts 10.

Mat. 7. 21.

Hence it is that we shall be judged, and receive sentence at the last day, according to our works: *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me: For in as much as ye have done these unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me.* Lord, how do those look to be saved at that day, who think good works not required to salvation, and accordingly do them not! Can our Saviour passe this blessed sentence on them? think they he can? If he should, they might truly say indeed, Lord, we have done no such matter, nor did we think our selves bound unto it; we relied wholly upon our faith in thy merits, and thought we had been freed from such services. What? doe they think Christ will change the form of his sentence at that great day? No certainly: If the sentence for Blisse will not fit them, and be truly said of them, the other will, and must, for there is no more; *Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels: For when I was hungry, ye gave me no meat, &c.* This must be their doome un-

D d

lesse

Mat. 7. 21.

lesse they suppose the righteous Judge will lie for them.

And it is here further to be observed, that the works named in the sentence of Judgement, are works of the second Table, *works of mercy and charity*; Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, all Almesdeeds, which men are now a-days so much afraid of; as if they looked toward Popery, and had a tang of meriting: For now a-days these costly works of all others are most suspicious; but will it be so at the day of Judgement? True it is, they merit not the reward which shall be given them: but what then? Are we so proud we will doe no works, unlesse we may merit? Is it not sufficient that God will reward them for Christs sake, though they have no worth in themselves?

The third and last motive to works of righteousness is, because they are the only sign and note whereby we know our faith is true and saving, and not counterfeit: For 1 *John* 1. 8. *If we say we have fellowship with Christ, and walk in darknesse, we lie, and doe not the truth.* Chap. 2. ver. 3. *Hereby we know that we know him (viz. to be our Advocate with his Father, and the propitiation for our sins) if we keep his Commandements.* And Chap. 3. 7. *Little children, let no man deceive you: He that doeth righteousness, is righteous, even as Christ is righteous.* The same almost you may finde again, Chap. 2. 29. For if every one that beleeveth in Christ truly and savingly, beleeves that salvation is to be attained by obedience to God in him, and not otherwise, and therefore embraceth and layeth hold upon him for that end; How can

can such an ones faith be fruitlesse? how can he be without works, who therefore lays hold on Christ that his works and obedience may be accepted as righteous before God, for his sake, and so rewardable? It is as possible for the Sun to be without his light, or the fire to want heat, as such a faith to be without works.

Our Saviour therefore himself makes this a most sure and never failing note to build our assurance of salvation upon, *Luke 6. 46.* where the mention of the words of my Text gives the occasion, *Why call ye me, Lord, (saith he) and doe not the things which I say?* 47. *Whosoever commeth to me, and heareth my sayings, and doth them, I will shew you to whom he is like.* 48 *He is like a man which built an house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on a rock. And when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and could not shake it, for it was founded upon a rock.* 49. *But he that heareth and doth not, is like a man that without a foundation built an house upon the earth; against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the ruine of that house was great.* Whom these three motives or reasons will not perswade to good works, let not my soul o Lord be joyned with theirs, nor my doome be as theirs must be.

A second observation out of these words, and near a-kin to the former is; That it is not enough for a Christian to live harmlesly, and abstain from ill, but he must do that which is good. For our Saviour excludes not here those onely, who do against the will of his Father, but those who do not his Fathers will: It is doing good which he requireth, and the not do-

Mat. 7. 21.

ing evill only. This is an error which taketh hold of a great part of men, even of those who would seem to be religious. He is a reformed man, and acquits himself well, who abstains from fornication, adultery, who is no thief, no couzener, or defrauder of other men; who will not lie, or swear, or such like: But as for doing any works of piety or charity, they think they are not required of them.

But they are much deceived: For God requires some duties at our hands, which he may reward not out of any merit, but out of his mercifull promise in Christ. But not doing ill is no service rewardable: A servant who expects wages, must not onely do his Master no harm, but some work that is good and profitable: otherwise the best Christian would be he that should live altogether idly; For none doth lesse harm, then he that doth nothing at all. But *Mat. 25. 30. He that encreased not his Masters Talent,* though he had not mis-spent it, is adjudged *an unprofitable servant, and cast into utter darknesse, where is weeping, and gnashing of teeth.* So also *Mat. 3. The tree that beareth no good fruit, is hewn down,* though it bore none that was evill: *The axe is laid to the root of the tree, every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.* *Mat. 21. 19. The fig-tree is cursed for having no fruit,* not for having evill fruit. And the sentence of condemnation, as you heard before, is to passe at that great day, for not having done good works, not for doing ill ones: *Goe ye cursed, for when I was hungry, ye fed me not, &c.*

Thus having let you see how necessary it is for a Christian to joyn good works with his faith in Christ;

I will now come to shew you, how you must do them, hoping I have already perswaded you that they must needs be done.

First therefore, we must doe them out of *faith in Christ*, that is, relying upon him onely for the acceptance, and rewarding of them : for in him alone God is well pleased with us and with what wee doe, and therefore *without faith* and reliance upon him, *it is impossible to please God*. We must not think there is any worth in our works, for which any such reward as God hath promised, is due; For, alas! our best works are full of imperfections, and far short of what the Law requires. Our reward therefore is not of merit, but of the mercifull promise of God in Christ : which the Apostle means, when he says, *We are saved by grace, and not by works* : That is, it is the grace and favour of God in Christ, which makes our selves acceptable, and our works rewardable, and not any desert in them or us.

Having laid this foundation, the next thing required is *sincerity of heart* in doing them : we must doe them out of the fear of God, and conscience of his Commandements, not out of respect of profit, or fear, or praise of men ; For such as do so are hypocrites : *Not every one*, saith our Saviour, *that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, but he that doth the will of my Father* ; Now it is the will of our heavenly Father that we serve him in truth and uprightness of heart : *I know* (saith David, 1 Chr. 29. 17.) *that thou my God triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness*. And so he said to Abraham, Gen. 17. 1. *I am the Almighty God, walk before me, and be thou upright*, or be thou

NUM. 7. 21.

sincere. This manner of serving God *Joshuah* commended to the Israelites, *Iosh. 24. 14. Fear the Lord* (saith he) *and serve him in sincerity and truth* : and the Prophet *Samuel*, *1 Sam. 12. 24. Onely fear the Lord, and serve him in truth with all your heart.* This sincerity, uprightnesse and truth in Gods service is, when we do religious and pious duties, and abstain from the contrary out of conscience to Godward, out of an heart possessed with the love and fear of God. It is otherwise called in Scripture, *perfectnesse*, or *perfectnesse of heart* : For it is a lame and unperfect service, where the better half is wanting, as the heart is, in every work of duty both to God and men. And therefore it is called *perfectnesse*, when both go together, when conscience as the soul, enlives the outward work as a body. And indeed this is all the perfection we can attain unto in this life, to serve God in truth of heart, though otherwise we come short of what we should : and therefore God esteems our actions and works, not according to the greatnesse or exactnesse of the performance, but according to the sincerity and truth of our hearts in doing them : As appears by the places I have already quoted, and by that *1 King. 15. 14.* where it is said, that though *Asa* failed in his reformation, and the *high places were not taken down*, nevertheless his heart was perfect with the Lord his God, all his days.

A note to know such a sincerity and truth of heart by, is, If in our privacy, when there is no witness but God and our selves, we are carefull then to abstain from sin, as well as in the sight of men. If when nobody but God shall see and know it, we are willing to do

do a good work, as well as if all the world should know it. He that findeth himself thus affected, his heart is true, at least in some measure, but so much the lesse by how much he findeth himself the lesse affected in this manner. When we are in the presence and view of men, we may soon be deceived in our selves, and think we do that out of conscience and fear of God, which indeed is but for the fear or praise of men, either lest we should be dammed, or impair our credit, or the like: but when there is none but God and us, then to be afraid of sin, and carefull of good duties, is a sign we fear God in truth and sincerity, and not in hypocrisy.

The speciall and principall means to attain this sincerity and truth of heart is, to possesse our selves with the apprehension of Gods presence, and to walk before him as in his eye: wheresoever thou art, there is an eye that seeth thee, an eare that hears thee, and a hand that registreth thy most secret thoughts. For *the ways of man* (saith Solomon Prov. 5. 21.) *are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his doings*: How much ashamed would we be, that men should know how much our hearts and our words and actions disagreed? How would we blush that men should see us commit this or that sin, or neglect this or that duty? what horrible Atheisme then doth this argue, that the presence of man, yea sometimes of a little child, should hinder us from that wickednesse which Gods presence cannot? This having of God before our eyes, and the continuall meditation of his all-seeing presence, would together with devout prayer for the assistance of Gods grace, be in time the bane of

Mat. 7. 21.

hypocrisie and falshood of heart, and beget in stead thereof that truth and sincerity which God loveth.

Another property of such obedience as God requires, is *universality*: we must not serve God by halves, by doing some duties and omitting other, but we must with *David*, *Psal. 119. 6, 20. have respect to all Gods Commandements*; to those of the second Table, as well as to those of the first; and to those of the first, as well as those of the second. The want of which universality of obedience to both Tables is so frequent, as the greatest part of Christians are plunged therein, to the undoubted ruine of their souls, and shipwrack of everlasting life, if they so continue.

For there are two sorts of men, which think themselves in a good estate, and are not: The one are those who make conscience of the duties of the first Table, but have little or no care of the duties of the second. And this is a most dangerous evill, by reason it is more hard to be discovered: those which are guilty thereof, being such as seem religious, but their Religion is in vain. Such were those in the Church of Israel against whom the Prophet *Esay* declaimeth *Chap. 1. from the 10. ver. to the 17. To what purpose are your sacrifices and burnt offerings, saith the Lord? your oblations and incense are an abomination. Your new Moons, Sabbaths, calling of Assemblies; even the solemn meeting, I cannot away with; it is iniquity.* Would you know what was the matter? see the words following; *Learn to do well, seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherlesse, plead for the widow.* Lo here a want of the duties of the second Table.

Such

Such is that also of *Hosea* Chap. 6. *I desired mercy, and not sacrifice*; which is twice alledged by our Saviour in the Gospel against the Pharisees hypocritical scrupulosity in the same duties of the first Table, with a neglect of the second. But here perhaps some may find a scruple, because that if sacrifice in this or the like places be opposed to the duties of obedience required in the second Table, it should hereby seem, that the duties of the second Table which concern our neighbour, should be preferred before the duties of the first, which concern the Lord himself; forasmuch as it is said, *I desire mercy, and not sacrifice*; that is, rather mercy, which is a duty of the second Table, then sacrifice, which is of the first. I answer, The holy Ghosts meaning is, not to preferre the second Table before the first, taking them simply, but to perform the duties of both together, before the service of the first alone: Be more ready to joyn mercy, or works of mercy with your sacrificing, then to offer sacrifice alone.

To go on: The duties of the first Table are by a speciall name called duties of Religion; those of the second Table come under the name of Honesty and probity: Now as a man can never be truly honest, unlesse he be Religious; so cannot that man (what shew soever he makes) be truly religious in Gods esteem, who is not honest in his conversation toward his neighbour: Religion and Honesty must be married together, or else neither of them will be in truth what it seems to be. We know that all our duty to God and our neighbour is comprehended under the name of *love*, as in that summe of the Law; *Love God*

above

Mat. 7. 21.

Ma. 7. 21.

above all things, and thy neighbour as thy self. This is the summe of the whole Law contained in both Tables. But S. *John* tels us 1 *Ep.* 4. 20. *He that saith, I love God, and hateth his brother, is a lier*; which is as much as if he should say; He that seems religious towards God, and is without honesty towards his neighbour, he is a lier, there is no true religion in him.

If you would then know, whether a man professing Religion, by diligent frequenting Gods service, and exercises of devotion, keeping sacred times, and hearing Sermons, be a sound Christian or not, or a seeming one onely; this is a sure and infallible note to discover him, and for him to discover himself by: For, if notwithstanding his care of the duties of the first Table, he makes no conscience to walk honestly towards his neighbour; If he be disobedient to Parents, and lawfull Authority; if he be cruell and uncharitable; if he be unjust in his dealings, fraudulent, an oppressor, a falsifier of Covenants and promises, a back-biter, a sclaunderer, or the like: his Religion is no better then an hypocrites: For such was the Religion of many of the Pharisees, whom therefore our Saviour termeth *Hypocrites*; *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites*: They were scrupulous in the duties of the first Table, they paid tithes even of mints and annise, they fasted twice a week, they were exact observers of the Sabbath, and other ceremonies of Religion; but judgement, mercy, and faith in their conversation towards men, our Saviour tels them, they regarded not.

Besides our Saviours woe denounced against such, there are two dangerous effects which accompany this

this evil disease, which should make us beware thereof: First, those who are addicted to Religion without any conscience of honesty, are easily drawn by the Devil to many intolerable acts under colour and in behalf thereof, as they imagine: We see it in the Papists and Jesuits, whose preposterous zeal to their Religion, makes them think Treasons, Murders, Rebellions, or any other such wicked acts, are lawfull and excusable, so they be done for the good of the Catholique cause, as they call it. And if we search narrowly amongst our selves, we shall light upon some examples of indirect and unlawfull courses, undertaken otherwhile on the behalf of Religion, and all through want of this conscionable care of maintaining honesty towards our neighbour, together with our zeal for Religion toward God. Even as we see an horse in some narrow and dangerous passage, whilest he is wholly taken up with some bugbear on the one side of the way, which he would eschew, and in the mean time mindeth not the other side, where there is the like danger, he suddenly slips into a pit or ditch, with no small danger to himself and rider: So is it here, with such as look onely to the first Table, and minde not the second, whilest they go about as they think to advance the duties of the one, they fall most foully in the other.

The second evill is a most dangerous scandal, which follows profession of Religion without honest conversation towards men: It is a grievous stumbling block and stone of offence, making men out of love with Religion, when they see such evil effects from it, and those who seem to professe it. Those who are not yet

Mat. 7. 21.

yet come on are skared from comming, resolving they will never be of their Religion, which they see no better fruits of. Those who are entred, are ashamed and discouraged, forsaking the duties of Religion, that they might shun the suspition of hypocrisie and dishonesty. *But woe be unto them by whom scandall commeth:* Let us all therefore take heed to adorn and approve our profession, by bringing forth fruits, not onely of piety and devotion toward God, but of works of righteousnesse and charity to our neighbour.

ACTS

ACTS 10.4.

*And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine Almes
are come up for a memoriall before God; or (as it is
ver.31.) are had in remembrance.*



When the Jews had crucified our blessed Saviour, the Lord and Prince of Life, though their impiety were most horrible, and such as might seem to admit of no expiation or atonement, yet would not God for that reject them; but after he was risen from the dead, his Apostles, and Messengers were sent to offer and tender him once more unto them, if so be they would yet receive him as their Messiah and Redeemer, which was promised to come; telling them that what they had formerly done unto him, God would passe by it, (namely, according to our Saviours prayer upon the Crosse, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe*) as done of ignorance on their part, whilest himself was by the dispensation of his Providence, fulfilling that which was long before spoken by the mouth of all his Prophets, that *Christ* or *Messiah* should suffer death: All which you may reade in the Sermon which *St. Peter* preached unto them in the Temple, *Acts 3*. Thus the Lord shewed him-

Acts 10.4.

himself according to his style, *A God gracious and mercifull, long-suffering, and slow to anger.*

But when these Jews, notwithstanding this second tender, not only continued in their former obstinacy, refusing to accept him for their Redeemer, but also misused and persecuted his Ambassadors sent unto them, this their ingratitude was so hideous and hainous in the eyes of God, that he could bear with them no longer, but resolved thenceforth to cast them off, and choose himself a Church among the Gentiles.

To prepare a way whereunto, he sent a Vision much about the same time, both to *Peter*, (who was then by reason of the Jews persecution fled to *Ioppa*) and to *Cornelius* a Gentile, Captain of the Italian Band, living at *Cæsarea* upon that coast; ordaining the one (*Peter*) to be the Messenger and Preacher; and the other (*Cornelius*) to be the first Gentile which should be partaker of the faith of Christ: Therefore accordingly *Peters* Vision was to admonish him, not to make scruple, as all Jews did, of conversing with a Gentile as unclean; signified by a sheet let down from heaven, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the aire, that is, of all both clean and unclean; wherewith came also a voice, saying, *Peter, kill and eat.* Whereunto when *Peter* answered, *Not so, Lord, for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean:* the voice replies, *What God hath cleansed, that call not thou unclean.* Now as this Vision was to give *Peter* commission to go unto *Cornelius*; so was *Cornelius* his Vision to command him to send for *Peter*; For he saw a Vision at the ninth hour of the day, an Angel

gell of the Lord comming unto him, and saying, *Cornelius*. Whom when *Cornelius* looked on, being afraid, he said, What is it, Lord? The Angel said unto him, Thy prayers and thine almes are come up for a memoriall, or had in remembrance before God. And now send men to Ioppa, and call for one Simon, whose surname is Peter, and he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to doe. And thus have I brought the Story as far as my Text; which is as you see a part of this Message of the Angel to *Cornelius*, namely, his Report; And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine almes, &c.

Wherein two things are to be considered; First, who was the man, and what was the condition of this person to whom the Angel spake, namely, *Cornelius*. And the Angel said unto him, Secondly, what the Message or Report he brought importeth; Thy prayers and thine almes/deeds are come in remembrance before God. To begin with the first; The man here spoken to, (as you may read in the beginning of the Chapter, and as I have in some part told already) was *Cornelius*, a Gentile, Captain of the Italian Band at *Cæsarea*, and so no doubt himself of that Nation. To understand which, ye must know, that at this time the Land of Jury, like as most other Nations were, was under the Romane Empire, and ruled by a President of their appointing: which President had his Court and Seat at *Cæsarea*, a great and magnificent City upon the Palestine coast, some seventy miles from Jerusalem, where was continually a guard of Souldiers both for the Presidents safety, and awing the subdued Jews: And among these was our *Cornelius* a Commander, being Captain of the Italian Band. But howsoever he

Acts 10.4.

he were by race and breeding a Gentile, yet for Religion he was no Idolater, but a worshipper of the true God, the God of Israel, or God the Creator of heaven and earth: For the Text tels us, that *he was a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, who gave much almes to the people, and prayed to God alway*: which is as much as to say, he was a Profelyte, for so were those converted Gentiles called, who left their false Gods, and worshipped the true. Yet was he not circumcised, nor had taken upon him the yoke of *Moses Law*, and so was not accounted a member of the Church of Israel: wherefore according to the Ordinances of the Law he was esteemed unclean, and so not lawfull for *Peter*, or any other circumcised Jew to accompany with him, had not God given *Peter* an *Item* that he should thenceforth call no man unclean, for as much as that badge of separation was now dissolved.

For the better understanding of this, we must know, there were, while the legall worship stood, two sorts of Profelytes, or converted Gentiles: One sort which were called Profelytes of the Covenant; These were such as were circumcised, and submitted themselves to the whole Mosaicall pædagoꝑy: These were counted as Jews, and conversed with as freely as those which were so born. But there was a second sort of Profelytes inferiour unto these, whom they called Profelytes of the Gate: These were not circumcised, nor conformed themselves to the Mosaicall Rites and Ordinances, onely they were ryed to the obedience of those Cominandements, which the Hebrew Doctors call the Cominandements of *Noah*, that is, such

as

as all the sons of *Noah* were bound to observe; which were, first, to worship God the Creator. Secondly, to disclaim the service of Idols. Thirdly, to abstain from blood, namely, both from the effusion of mans blood: and fourthly, from eating flesh with the blood therein. Fifthly, to abstain from fornication, and all unlawfull conjunction. Sixthly, to administer justice: and seventhly, to abstain from robbery, and do as they would be done to. And such Profelytes as these, howsoever they were accounted Gentiles, and such as with whom the Jews might not converse as being no free denizens of Israel; yet did they yeeld them a part in the life to come. Such a Profelyte was *Namaan* the Syrian, and of such there were many in our Saviours time; and such an one was our *Cornelius*.

Hence it was, that when afterward there arose a controversie in the Church, Whether or no the Gentiles which beleaved, were to be circumcised, and so bound to observe the Ordinances and rites of *Moses*; *S. Peter* in the Councell of the Apostles at Jerusalem determined, It was the will of God they should not; and that upon this ground, because *Cornelius* the first beleaving Gentile was no circumcised Profelyte, but a Profelyte of the Gate only, and yet neverthelesse when himself was sent (as ye have heard) to preach the Gospel of Christ to him and his house, the Holy Ghost came down upon them as well as upon the Circumcision; whereby it was manifest, that God would have the rest of the Gentiles which beleaved, to have no more imposed upon them, then *Cornelius* had: and accordingly the Councell concluded, that no other burden should be laid upon them, but onely those

E c

pre-

Acts 10.4.

Acts 10.4.

precepts given to the sons of *Noah*; *To abstain from pollutions of Idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication*, and the rest, which they had received already in becoming Christians, and so needed not to be expressly mentioned.

Now that I may not seem to have held you with so long a story without some matter of instruction: Let us observe by the example of this *Cornelius*, how great a favour and blessing of God it is, to live and dwell within the pale of his Church, where opportunity and means of salvation is to be had. If *Cornelius* had still dwelt among his Countymen the Italians, where he was bred and born, or in any other Province of that Empire; he had in all likelihood never come to this saving and blessed knowledge of the true God, but dyed a Pagan as he was born. But by this occasion of living at *Cæsarea*, within the confines of the land of Israel, where the Oracles and worship of the most high God were dayly resounded and professed; he became such an one as ye have heard, a blessed Convert unto the true God, whom with all his house he served and worshipped with acceptance.

If this be so, then should we our selves learn to be more thankfull to God then most of us use to be, for that condition wherein by his Providence we are born; for we might, if it had pleased him, have been Born, and had our dwelling among Pagans and Gentiles, who had no knowledge of his word and promise; (and such our Nation once was :) But behold his goodnesse and mercy! we are born of Christian Parents, and dwell in a Christian Country, and so made partakers of the name and livery of Christ as soon

soon as we were born : How great should our thankfulness be for his mercy ? Nay, wee might have been born and bred in a Christian Nation too, and yet such an one where Idolatry, false worship, and Popery so reigned, as there had been little hopes or means to have been saved : But behold, we are born, bred, and dwell in a reformed Christian State, where the worship of God in Christ is truly taught and practised ; where no God is worshipped but the Father, and in no other Mediator but his Son Jesus Christ. How should we then magnifie our good God for his so great and abundant mercy towards us ? *Luther*, or some other tels a story of a German peasant, who on a time beholding an ugly Toad, fell into a most bitter lamentation and weeping, that he had been so unthankfull to Almighty God, who had made him a man, and not such an ugly creature as that was. O that we could in like manner bewail our ingratitude towards him who hath made us to have our birth and habitation, not among Pagans and barbarous Indians, a people *without God in the world*, but in a believing and Christian Nation, where the true God is known, and the means of salvation is to be had ! Thankfulness for a lesse benefit is the way to obtain a greater : To acknowledge and prize Gods favour towards us in the means, is the way to obtain his grace to use them to our eternall advantage : whereas our neglect of thankfulness in the one, may cause God in his just judgement, to deprive us of his blessing in the other. Consider it.

And thus much concerning the person to whom the Angel spake, *Cornelius*, And he said unto him. Now

Acts 10.4.

I come to the message it self, *Thy prayers and thine almes are come into remembrance before God.* Where before I make any further entrance, there is an Objection requires to be answered; namely, how *Cornelius* his service could be accepted of God, (as it is said to be) when as he had no knowledge of Christ, without whom no man can please God. I answer; *Cornelius* pleased God through his faith in the promise of Christ to come, as all just men under the Law did: which faith God did so long accept after Christ was come, till his coming and the mystery of Redemption wrought by him, were fully and clearly made known and preached, which had not been to *Cornelius* till this time: for though he had heard of his preaching in Galilee and Judæa, and that he was crucified by the Jews, yet he had not heard of his Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension into glory, or was not assured of it, till it was now confirm'd unto him, by one sent from God himself. And it is like that having heard somewhat of the Apostles preaching, and of the Jews opposing their testimony, and so knowing not what to beleieve, he had earnestly besought God in his Devotions to lead him in the way of truth, and make known unto him what to doe.

This being premised, I return again unto the Angels words; wherein I will consider three things: First, the conjunction or coupling of *Almes* deeds with Prayer; *Thy Prayers and thine Almes.* Secondly, the efficacy of power they have with God; *Thy Prayers and thine Almes are come up into remembrance before God.* Thirdly, I will adde the reasons why God so much accepteth them; which are also so many. Motives,

tives, why we should be carefull and diligent to practise them.

For the first, the joyning of Almesdeeds with prayer: *Cornelius* we see joyn'd them, and he is therefore in the verses before going commended for a *devout man, and one that feared God*. And by the Angels report from God himself, we hear how graciously he accepted them; giving us to understand, that a Devotion thus arm'd, was of all others the most powerfull to pierce into his dwelling place, and fetch a blessing from him. Therefore our Saviour likewise, *Mat. 6.* joyns the precepts of Alms and Prayer together, teaching us how to give alms, and how to pray in one Sermon, as things that ought to goe hand in hand, and not to be separated asunder. It was also the Ordinance of the Church in the Apostles times, that the first day of the week, which was the time of publike prayer, should be the time also of Alms. So saith *S. Paul*, *1 Cor. 16. 1.* *Now concerning the collection for the Saints* (saith he) *as I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye. 2. Upon the first day of the week* (that is, upon the Lords day) *let every one of you lay by himself in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.* Which institution seems to be derived from the Commandement of God in the Law twice repeated; *Let no man appear before the Lord empty*: For the words annexed to that Law *Deut. 16.* (where it is applied to the three great feasts, when all Israel was to assemble to pray before the Lord in his Tabernacle) the words I say there annexed, sound altogether like unto these of *S. Paul* concerning the Lords day, *Three*

Act. 10. 4.

Exo. 23. 15
Deu. 16. 16

ABs 10.4.

times a year (saith the Text there) shall all the males appear before the Lord: and they shall not appear before the Lord empty. Every one shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee. Is not this the same in sense with S. Pauls, Let every one lay by himself in store, as God hath prospered him? The Primitive Church after the Apostles followed the same president, and our own Reformed Church hath ordained the same in her Service-book, were it accordingly practised as was intended: For after the Epistle and Gospel she appoints divers choice sentences of Scripture to be read, which exhorts us to Almes and other Offerings to the honour of Almighty God; and then as supposing it to be done, in the Prayer for the whole estate of Christs Church, *We humbly beseech him most mercifully to accept our Almes, and receive our prayers, which we offer unto his Divine Majesty.*

Shall I now need to exhort Christians thus to furnish and strengthen their prayers which they daily offer unto God, to couple them with Almes deeds, to come before God with a present, and not empty-handed? Whom neither Gods Commandement, the practice of his Church, the example of his Saints, nor the acceptance of such prayers as the hand which dealth Almes, lifteth up to him; whom these will not move, no words of mine will do it. But some may say, Would you have us always give Alms when we pray? No; I say not so, but I would not have you appear before the Lord empty; that is, such as are not wont to give them, nor mean to do: for you may give them before, or second your prayers with them after;

after, you may have set and appointed times for the one, as you have for the other, or when the Law of man injoyns you any thing in this kinde, do it heartily, faithfully, and with a willing minde, without grudging, that so God may accept it as a service done to him. Or lastly, thou maist doe as the holy men of Scripture were wont, vow and promise unto God if thy prayer be heard to offer something unto him either for relief of the poor, the Widow, the Orphan, and distressed one, or the maintenance of his service and worship. *If God will be with me, (saith Jacob, Gen. 28.) and keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, &c. Then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set for a pillar, shall be Gods house: and of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto thee.* (See the use of vowing by such as came to pray in Gods House, Eccles. 5. 4.) If thou commest before God in any of these ways, thou shalt not come empty-handed. But send not thy prayer single and alone, the prayer with Alms is the prayer God loveth: Hear what himself saith *Psal. 50. 14. Offer unto God thanksgiving (Alms is an Offering of Thanksgiving) and pay thy vows unto the most High. So call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorifie me.*

Now I come to the second thing I propounded, The power and efficacy which Prayer and Alms have with God, *Thy prayers and thine alms (saith the Angel) are come up for a memoriall (or, are had in remembrance) in the sight of God.* God is said to remember our prayers when he grants them, our Alms and good deeds when he rewards them, or in a word, when he

AAs 10.4

answers either of them with a blessing : as on the contrary he is said to remember iniquity, when he sends some judgement for it. So God is said to *remember Hanna*, when he heard her prayer for a Son, 1 *Sam.* 1. 19. and *Nehemiah* speaking (*cap.* 5. 19.) of his deeds of mercy and bounty shewed unto his poor brethren returned from captivity, says, *Think upon me*, or *remember me o my God for good, according to all that I have done for this people.* Thus were *Cornelius* his prayers and alms remembered. Prayers therefore and alms, be they performed as they should be, are powerfull and approved means to obtain a blessing at the hands of God. To speak first of prayer : What is it that prayer hath not obtain'd ? It hath shut and opened heaven ; see the story of *Eliab*. It hath made the Sun and Moon to stand still ; reade the book of *Joshua*. It is the key that openeth all Gods treasures and blessings both spirituall and corporall : for spirituall blessings, *Cornelius* we see obtained thereby illumination and instruction in Gods saving truth. And *S. James* saith, *If any man lack wisdom let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and it shall be given him* *Ephraim* in the 31. of *Jeremy* prays for converting grace, *Turn thou me, o Lord, and I shall be turned :* To whom God presently replies, *Is Ephraim my dear Son ? Is he a pleasant Childe ? For since I spake against him, I doe earnestly remember him still : Therefore my bowels are troubled for him, I will surely have mercy on him, saith the Lord.* Prayer obtains remission of sins ; *I said* (saith *David Psal.* 32.) *I will confesse my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin. For this shall every one that is godly pray*

pray unto thee in a time when thou maiſt be found. Prayer also obtaineth corporall blessings; When heaven was ſhut and it rained not, *Eliab* prayed for rain and it rained: *Hannah* prayed for a Son, and ſhe conceived: If we be ſick (ſaith *S. Iames cap. 5.*) *The prayer of faith ſhall heal the ſick*: *Nehemiah* prayed that he might finde favour in the ſight of King *Artaxerxes*, and found it. *Chap. 2. 4.*

Acts 10. 4.

But ſome man wil ſay, If prayer have ſuch power and efficacy, how comes it to paſſe that many even godly men, oft pray, and yet ſpeed not? I answer, There are divers cauſes thereof; Either we pray not as we ought, or we are not diſpoſed as we ought to be when we pray; We pray not as we ought, either when we pray not heartily, or not conſtantly: For God regards not formall and ſuperſciſſall prayer, but prayer that comes from the heart, and loves to be importuned before he grant, as our Saviour tels us in the parable of the woman and the unjuſt Judge, whom though at firſt he would not hear, yet importunity made him doe her juſtice. Or ſecondly, we rely not upon God as we ought, when we pray, but truſt more to ſecond means, to our wit, to our friends or the like, then to him. And this ſeems to be that wavering in prayer *S. Iames* ſpeaks of, when he bids us *pray in faith, without wavering, Chap. 1.* that is, without reeling from God to reſt upon ſecond means: but as with our mouth we pray to him, ſo ſhould our hearts rely upon him to give us what we aſk; we often pray to God for faſhion, but indeed we look to ſpeed by others; and ſo God takes himſelf mocked, and then no marvell if he hears us not: If it were our own caſe
we

Acts 10.4.

we would not listen to such suiters. Or thirdly, we pray and speed not, when we make not Gods glory the end of what we ask; *To ask (saith S. Iames) and receive not, because ye ask amisse, that ye might consume it upon your lusts.* Or fourthly, we may ask something that crosseth the rule of Divine providence and justice, and then also we must not look to speed: *David* prayed for the life of his childe by *Bathsheba*, *Vriahs* Wife, but was not heard, because it stood not with the rule of Divine justice, that so scandalous a sin, which made the Enemies of God to blaspheme, should not have an exemplary punishment. In like manner sundry times when the children of Israel rebelled against the Lord, and murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron* their Governors; *Moses* poured forth very earnest prayers to God for removing his judgments from off the people, but God would not hear him, because their sins were scandalous, and committed with so high a hand, that it could not stand with the rule of his justice, not to inflict punishment for them.

Psal. 50.16.

Again, sometimes, and that too often, we are indispoused for God to grant our request; as first, when some sin unrepented of lies at the door, and keeps Gods blessing out; *Psal 66.18. If I regard (saith David) iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me.* And his Son *Solomon* observed it, *Prov 28.9.* where he says, *He that turneth away his care from hearing the Law, even his prayer shall be abomination.* So God would not hear *Ioshua* praying for the Israelites, when they fled before the men of *Ai*, because of *Achans* Sacriledge; *Get thee up, (saith God) why liest thou thus upon*

upon thy face? Israel hath sinned: — for they have taken of the accursed thing; that is, the thing that cursed were those that meddled therewith: Therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their Enemies, — because they were accursed: Neither will I be with you any more, except ye put the accursed thing from among you.

Acts 13.4.

Or lastly, our Prayers often are not heard, because we appear before the Lord empty; we do not as *Cornelius* did, send up prayers and alms together: we should have two strings to our bow, when we have but one. This is another indisposition, which unfits us to receive what we ask of God: For how can we look that God should hear us in our need, when we turn away our face from our brother in his need? When we refuse to give to God, or for his sake, what he requires, why should he grant to us what we request? Hear what an ancient Father of the Church, *S. Basil* by name, in concione ad Deum, *Novi quosdam* (saith he) *qui jejunarunt, qui orarunt, qui ingemuerunt, verum ne unum quidem obolum in egenos expendunt: Quæ utilitas hic est reliquæ virtutis?* I have known, saith he, many who would fast, who would pray, who would sigh; but not bestow one half-peny upon the poor: But what then will their other devotion profit them?

Adde to all these reasons of displeasure, a reason of favour, why God sometimes grants not our requests; namely, because we ask that which he knows would be hurtfull for us, though we think not so. We ask sometimes that which if he granted us would utterly undoe us: As therefore a wise and loving Father will not give his child a knife, or some other hurtfull thing,

Acts 10.4.

thing, though it cries never so much unto him for it : so does God deale with his children. And how wise soever we think our selves, we are often as ignorant in that which concerns our good, as very babes are, and therefore we must submit our selves to be ordered by the wisdom of our heavenly Father.

Moreover, we must know and beleeve, that God often hears our prayers, when we think he doth not ; and that three manner of ways : As namely first, when he changes the means, but brings the end we desire another way to passe : we ask to have a thing by our means, but he likes not our way, but gives it us by another means which he thinks better. *S. Paul* that he might the better glorifie God in serving him, desires *the prick of the flesh* might be taken from him : God denies him that means, but grants him *grace sufficient for him* ; that so being humbled by the sight of his own infirmity, he might glorifie God for *his power in mans weaknesse*. And is it not all one, whether a Physitian quench the thirst of his Patient by giving him Barberies, or some other comfortable drink, as by giving him Beer which he calls for ? Secondly, God often grants our request, but not at that time we would have it, but defers it till some other time which he thinks best. *Daniel* prays for the return of the Captivity in *the first year of Darius*, but God defers it till the *first of Cyrus* : we must not therefore take Gods delays for denials. The souls of the Saints under the Altar, *Rev. 6.* cry out aloud for vengeance; God hears that cry, and cannot deny the importunate cry of innocent blood ; yet he defers it *for a little season*, saith the Text ; and why ? because *their fellow-servants*

servants and Brethren that should be slain as they were, might be fulfilled. Lastly, God sometimes grants not the things we ask, but gives us in stead thereof something which is as good, or better: And then we are not to think, but that he hears us.

And thus much concerning the power and efficacy of prayer. Now I come also to shew the like of Alms, how powerfull a means they are to procure a blessing from God: Not thy prayer onely, saith the Angel, but *thine Almes also are come up for a remembrance in the sight of God.* For Alms is a kinde of prayer, namely, a visible one, and such an one as prevails as strongly with God for a blessing, as any other. Hear David in the 41. Psalm, *Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. 2 The Lord preserve him and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon earth; and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. 3. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sicknesse.* A place so evident as flashes in a mans eye. But hear Solomon speak too, *Prov. 19.17. He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given, he will pay him again. And Pro. 28.27. He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack; but he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse. Also Prov. 11.25. The liberall soule shall be made fat; and he that watereth, shall be watered also himself. Likewise Eccles. 11.1. Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt finde it after many days.* These are for corporall blessings, and of this life; but hear also for spirituall blessings, and those of the life to come. David, Psalm. 112. (quoted by S. Paul, 2. Cor. 9.) *He hath dispersed,*
he

Pro. 21.13.

AAs 10.4.

he hath giuen to the poor, his righteousnesse remaineth for ever, &c. That is, he shall be remembered, not onely in this life, but in the life to come. Luke 16. Make to your selves (saith our Saviour) friends of the unrighteous Mammon, (that is, of these deceitfull and uncertain riches) that when you fail, they (that is, the friends you have made) may receive you into everlasting Tabernacles: that is, that God looking upon the Almesdeeds you have done, and hearing the prayers and blessings of the poor, may reward you with eternall life. So S. Paul, 1 Tim. 6. 17, &c. Charge them that be rich in this world, ——— that they trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, ——— That they doe good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate: Laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternall life, Non memini (saith S. Hierome) me legere mala morte mortuum, qui libenter opera charitatis exercuit, habet enim multos intercessores, & impossibile est multorum preces non exaudiri. What should I say more? Shall we not receive our sentence at the last day according to our works of mercy? Come ye blessed of my Father, and inherit the Kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For when I was hungry, ye gave me meat, when I was thirsty, ye gave me drink, &c. ye know the rest: O the wonderfull efficacy of Alms in prevailing with God! What favour doe they finde in his sight? how are they remembered? but not for any merit in them, which is none, but of his meer mercy and mercifull promise, who accepts them in Christ our Saviour. Whence is that prayer of Nehemiah c. 12.

con-

concerning this case of good works, *Remember me ô my God, concerning this, and spare me according to the greatnesse of thy mercy.* Acts 10.4.

Thus much of the efficacy and prevalency which prayer and Alms have with Almighty God, to procure a blessing from him. Now I come to the third thing propounded, The reasons why God requires them, and why they are so pleasing unto him : which reasons when they are known, will be also strong motives to us why we should frequent them : For though indeed their efficacy alone were a motive sufficient to invite any reasonable man to do them ; yet will these reasons adde a further enforcement thereunto. To begin then with prayer ; the reasons why God requires this duty at our hands (I will name but the chief) are these : First, that we might acknowledge the property he hath in the gifts he bestows upon us : otherwise we would forget in what tenure we hold those blessings we receive from his hands ; Though therefore he be willing to bestow his benefits upon us, yet he will have us ask them before he doth it. Even as Fathers do with their children, though they intend to bestow such things upon them as are needfull, yet they will have their children to ask them. Unlesse therefore we ask of God the things which are his to give, as we shall not receive what we have not, so we cannot lawfully use any thing we have.

Secondly, Another reason is, that we might be acquainted with God: *Acquaint now thy self with God,* saith *Eliphaz* Job 22.21, *and be at peace ; thereby good shall come unto thee.* Now acquaintance we know grows amongst men by conversing together, by inter-
course

Acts 10.4.

course and speaking to one another. So it is here; by accustoming to speak to God in prayer we grow acquainted with him: otherwise if we grow strangers to him, and he to us, we shall not dare to behold him.

Thirdly, Prayer is the way to keep our hearts in order: For to come often into the presence of God, breeds an holy awe in our hearts: It makes us to call our sins to remembrance with sorrow and shame, and to be afraid to commit them: we may know it by experience; men are afraid to offend those into whose presence they must often come to ask and sue for favours, and if they have offended, they are presently ashamed, and the first thing they do, will be to sue for pardon.

These are the reasons for prayer: Now let us see the reasons also why Alms are required; which are near of kinde to those for prayer. For first, we are to offer Alms to testify our acknowledgement of whom we received, and of whom we hold what we have. For as by prayer we ask Gods creatures before we can enjoy them; so when we have them, there is another homage due for them, namely, of thanksgiving, without which the use of the creature, which God gives us, is unclean and unlawfull to us. *Every creature of God* (saith S. Paul, 1 Tim. 4.) *is good, if it be received with thanksgiving*; not else. And the same Apostle 1 Cor. 10. tells us, that even those things, which according to the manner of the Gentiles, were offered unto Idols; (that is, to Devils) a Christian might lawfully eat, so it were done with thanksgiving to the true and onely God: for so he should professe, he

he eat not meat of the Devils gift, or Devils Table, but of the Lords, whose of right was the earth, and the fulnesse thereof: *Whether therefore, saith he, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do else, do all to the glory of God,* that is, give him the glory of the Lordship of his creature by your thanksgiving. Now our thanksgiving to God for his creature, must not expresse it self in words only, but it must be also in work and deed; that is, we must yeeld him a rent and tribute of what we enjoy by his favour and blessing, which if we doe not, we lose our Tenure. This Rent is twofold; either that which is offered unto God, for the maintenance of his worship and Ministers; or that which is given for the relief of the poor, the Orphan and the Widow, which is called Alms. For not onely our riches, but our Alms are an offering unto Almighty God; So *Prov. 19. 17. He that hath pity on the poore, lendeth to the Lord:* and *Chap. 14. 31. He that hath mercy on the poor, honoureth his Maker.* And our Saviour will tell us at the day of Judgement, that *what was done unto them, was done unto him.* This then is the reason why we must give Alms, because they are the tribute of our thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge we are Gods Tenants, and hold all we have of him; that is, of the Mannor of heaven, without which duty and service we have not the lawfull use of what we possesse. Whence our Saviour tels the Pharisees, who stood so much upon the washing of the Cup and Platter, lest their meat and drink should be unclean; *Give alms, saith he, of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean to you.* Luke

11. 41.

F F

Now

Acts 10.4.

Now that this acknowledgement of Gods Dominion was the end of the Offerings of the Law, both those wherewith the Priests and Levites were maintained, and those wherewith the poor, and the Orphan, and the Widow were relieved, appears by the solempne profession of those who paid them were to make, *Deut. 26.* where he that brought a basket of first-fruits to the house of God, was to say, *I proesse this day unto the Lord, that I am come unto the Country which the Lord sware unto our Fathers for to give us.* And when the Priest had taken the basket, he was to say thus; *A Syrian ready to perish was my Father, and he went down into Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a Nation great and mighty, and populous. And the Egyptians evil intreated us, &c. And the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and out-stretched arm, &c. And brought us into this land, and hath given us this land, even a land that floweth with milk and honey. And now, behold, I have brought thee the first-fruits of the land, which thou o Lord hast given me: and thou shalt set it* (saith the Text) *before the Lord thy God, and worship before the Lord thy God.* This was to be done every year. But for Tithes the profession was made every third year, because then the course of all manner of Tithing came about. For two years they paid the Levites Tithe and the Festivall Tithe, the third year they paid the Levites Tithe and the poor mans Tithe: So that year the course of Tithing being finished, the party was to make a solempne profession: When thou hast made an end (saith the Lord) of Tithing all the Tithes of thine increase, the third year, which is the year of Tithing,

thing, (that is, when the Tithing course finisheth) and hast given it to the Levite, the Stranger, the Fatherlesse, and the Widow, that they may eat within thy gates and be filled: Then thou shalt say before the Lord thy God; I have brought away the hallowed thing out of mine house, and also have given it to the Levite, and to the Stranger, to the Fatherlesse, and to the Widow, according to all the Commandements which thou hast commanded me. — Look down from thy holy habitation from heaven, and blesse thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest to our Fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey.

What we have seen in these two sorts, is to be supposed to be the end of all other Offerings in *pious usus*, (which were not sacrifices) namely, to acknowledge God to be the Lord and giver of all. As we see in that royall Offering which *David* with the Princes and Chieftains of Israel made for the building of the Temple, 1 *Chron.* 29. where *David* acknowledgeth thus; *Thine ô Lord is the Kingdom, and thou art exalted as Head over all: Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is, to make great and to give strength unto all. Now therefore our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious Name. — For all things come of thee, and of thine hand have we given thee.*

For this reason there was never time since God first gave the Earth to the sons of men, wherein this acknowledgement was not made by setting apart of something of that he had given them, to that purpose. In the state of Paradise among all the trees in the garden,

Ages 10.4

den, which God gave man freely to enjoy, one tree was *Noli me tangere*, and reserved to God as holy, in token that he was Lord of the garden: So that the first sin of Mankinde for the *species* of the fact was Sacriledge, in profaning that which was holy. For which he was cast out of Paradise, and the Earth cursed for his sake, because he had violated the signe of his fealty unto the great Landlord of the whole earth. Might I not say, that many a man unto this day is cast out of his Paradise, and the labours of his hands cursed for the same sin? But to go on.

After mans ejection out of Paradise, the first service that ever we read was performed unto God, was of this kinde: *Abel* bringing the best of his flock, and *Cain* of the fruit of his ground for an Offering or Present unto the Lord. The first spoils that ever we read gotten from an Enemy in war, paid tithes to *Melchisedek the Priest of the most high God*, as an acknowledgement that he had given *Abraham* the Victory. *Melchisedek* blessing God in his name to be the possessor of heaven and earth, and to have delivered his enemies into his hand. To which *Abraham* said *Amen* by paying him Tithes of all. *Jacob* promiseth God, that if he would give him any thing, (for at that time he had nothing) he would give him the tenth of what he should give him: Which is as much to say, as he would acknowledge and professe him to be the giver, after the accustomed manner.

For the time of the Law, I may skip over that; it is well enough known, no man will deny it. But let us come to the time of the Gospel, which though it hath freed us from the bondage of typicall Elements,

ments, yet hath it not freed us from the possession of our Fealty unto God as Lord of the whole earth. 'Twere strange me thinks to affirm it: I am sure the ancient Church next the Apostles thought otherwise. I will quote for a witness *Irenaus*, who *Lib. 4. cap. 32.* tels us that our Saviour, when he took part of the Viands of his last Supper, and giving thanks with them, consecrated them into a Sacrament of his body and blood, set his Church an example of dedicating part of the creature in *Dominicos usus*; *Dominus* (saith he) *dans discipulis suis consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi, nec ingrati sint, cum qui ex creatura panis est, accepit & gratias egit, &c. Et novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens in universum mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum in novo Testamento.* But this is no proper occasion to follow this argument any further: I will therefore leave it, and adde a second reason why God requires Alms and such like offerings at our hands.

Namely, that we might not forget God: our blessed Saviour *Mat. 6.* and *Luk. 12. 33, &c.* speaking of this very matter of alms, *Lay not up* (saith he) *for your selves treasures upon earth; but lay up for your selves treasures in heaven: — For where your treasure is, there will your heart be.* The proper evill of abundance is to forget God and our dependence upon him: the remedy whereof most genuine and naturall is, to pay him a rent of what we have: So shall we always think of our Landlord, and lift up our hearts to heaven in whatsoever we receive and enjoy.

Acts 10.4.

Yea, when this service is so acceptable to God, that he promiseth a great reward to those who thus honour and acknowledge him, how can it choose but detain our hearts in heaven in that respect also; when we shall so often think of God, not onely as the Lord and giver of what we have, but as the rewarder also of the acknowledgement we perform?

P S A L.

P'S A L. 112. 6.

The Righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.



Word fitly spoken, saith Solomon, is like Apples of Gold in pictures of Silver; that is, gracefull and comely: so is a Text of Scripture fitly chosen, and rightly applied to the occasion. Such an one, as I take it, is this I have now read, not chosen by me, but appointed by order to be used at these times of commemoration. I shall need no other preface to commend it to your attention: Let us therefore see what is the sense and meaning thereof.

The Righteous; that is, the bountifull: shall be in everlasting remembrance: In remembrance with God, in remembrance with men: with God; in the world to come, and in this world: with men, how, and in what manner? These are the severall heads I shall treat of, and first of the first, the Subject; The Righteous, or the bountifull man.

Righteousnesse in a speciall sense, in the Hebrew and the rest of the Orientall Tongues of kinde to it, signifies Beneficence or Founty, both the Virtue and the work; and therefore by the Hellenists or Septuagint

Esa. 11. 6.

is it translated 'ΕΛΕΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ, the word so frequent in the New Testament, for that we call *Alms*. 'Tis a known place, *Dan. 4.* according both to the Septuagint and vulgar Latine; *Peccata tua Eleemosynis redime, & iniquitates tuas misericordii pauperum*: where in the Originall for *Eleemosyna* is צדקה *Iustitia*, as we in our English render it; *Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquity by shewing mercy to the poor*. This notion of *righteousnesse* is to be found thrice together in the 12. of *Tobit*, ver. 8. *Prayer* (saith old *Tobit* there to his son) *is good with fasting, and with alms, and righteousness: A little with righteousness is better then much with unrighteousnesse: It is better to give alms, then to lay up gold. 9. For alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin. Those that exercise alms and righteousness, shall be filled with life.* Here in the Greek copy, *alms* and *righteousnesse* are exegetically put the one to expound the other, but in the Hebrew there is but one word צדקה for them both, that being the word in that language for 'ΕΛΕΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ. Hence in the Syriack Translation of the New Testament 'ΕΛΕΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ is rendred by צדקה *Iustitia*, and so in the Arabick. Hence *Mat. 6. 1.* for, *Take heed that you do not your alms before men,* (as we reade it) the vulgar Latine and some Greek Copies have, *Attendite, ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus:* צדקתם לפני אנשים. Namely, as the word *charity* with us, though in the larger sense it signifies our whole duty both to God and man, is restrained to signify our liberality to the poor; so is the word *Righteousnesse* in the Orientall Languages.

If *Righteousnesse* therefore signifie Beneficence and Bounty,

Bounty, then is the *righteous* according to this notion the *bountifull* man, or as we speak the *charitable*. And that it is so taken in my Text, both the generall scope of the Psalm, and the connexion with the words before and after, is proof sufficient; for before goes this; *A good man sheweth favour and lendeth: he will guide his affairs with judgement: Surely he shall not be moved for ever*: Then come the words of my Text, *The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance*. After it follows this; *He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor, his righteousness remaineth for ever*: which S. Paul alledgeth 2 Cor. 9. to promote their collection for the poor Saints at Jerusaleme.

For illustration of this and our further information, it will not be amisse I hope, to commend to your observation some other places of Scripture where the word *righteous* is thus taken, as namely Psa. 37. 21. *The wicked borroweth and payeth not again; but the righteous sheweth mercy and giveth*. Again, Psa. 25. 26. *I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. He is ever mercifull and lendeth, and his seed is blessed*. Here the *righteous* is the mercifull and bountifull; to whom namely this blessing, that his seed shall not want, is proper and peculiar. The same use is, Prov. 10. 2. *Treasures of wickednesse profit nothing, but righteousness delivereth from death*. The same is repeated again cap. 11. 4. *Riches profit not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death*. Where *righteousnesse* to be taken for *alms* is apparent out of Tobit 12. where it is so applied and rendred, namely, *Alms doth deliver from death*. I could adde also
an-

Ps. 112. 6. another place, *Prov. 21. 28.* but these shall be sufficient.

Hence appears their error who conceive of the nature of Alms, as of an arbitrary thing, which they may do if they will, or not do, without sin; as that which carries no obligation with it, but is left freely to every mans discretion. And this makes some contend so much, to have the Priests maintenance granted to be eleemosynary, that so they might be at liberty to give something or nothing as they listed. But if that were so, yet if Alms be *Iustitia* in the Hebrew tongue, and the language which our Saviour spake. If our Saviour call'd them *Iustitia*, when he mentioned them, who dare affirm then, that *Iustitia* implies no obligation, or that a man may leave it undone without sinne?

So much for the subject, *The Righteous*: The next is the Prædicate, *shall be in everlasting remembrance: In remembrance*, I said, with God and men: with God, in the life to come, and this life: Let us consider the first, The world to come.

It is certain, that at the day of Judgement we shall receive our doom, according to our works of charity and mercy; and that of all the works that a Christian man hath done, these alone have that peculiar privilege to bee then brought in expresse remembrance before God: *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me,*

me, &c. Forasmuch as ye have done thus unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Matth. 25. What doth my Text say? *The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance;* God remembers our good deeds, when he rewards them, (as he doth our prayers when he hears them;) If to remember then, be to reward, an everlasting reward is an everlasting remembrance. 'Tis remarkable that this privilege which the works of Bounty and Mercy shall have at the day of Judgement, was not unknown to the Jews themselves: for so we read in the Chaldee Paraphrast upon Ecclesiastes; *Futurum est ut Dominus mundi dicat omnibus iustis ante se constitutis, Vade, gusta cum gaudio panem tuum, ut statutum est, pro pane quem dedisti pauperibus & obscuris qui esuriebant; & bibe corde bono vinum quod repositum est tibi in horto & den, (id est, Paradiso) pro vino quod miscuisti pauperibus & obscuris qui sitiebant: quia ecce modo accepta sunt opera tua bona coram Domino.*

The reason of this prelation of works of mercy at that great day is, because all we can expect at the hands of our heavenly Father is meerly of his mercy and bounty: we can hope for nothing but mercy, without mercy we are undone; according to that of Nehemiah in his last Chap. *Remember me, o Lord, concerning this, and spare me according to the greatnesse of thy mercy.* Now in those that are to be partakers of mercy, the divine wisdom requires this congruity, that they may be such as have been ready to shew mercy unto others, judging them altogether unworthy of mercy at his hands who have afforded no mercy to their brethren: for so the Scripture tels us, that
they

Psa. 111. 6.

they shall have judgement without mercy, that have shewn no mercy. The tenour of our Petition for forgiveness of sins in the Lords Prayer, runs with this condition, *As we forgive them that trespass against us.* And who can reade without trembling the Parable of the unmercifull servant in the Gospel, to whom his Lord revoked the Debt he meant to have forgiven him, because he shewed no mercy to his fellow-servant, who owed him a far lesse Debt: *Shouldst thou not, saith he, have shewed compassion to thy fellow-servant, as I shewed compassion unto thee?* This rule of congruity, I say, is the reason why at the day of our great account, we shall be judged according to our works of mercy and bounty: *To do as we would be done to,* hath place not onely between man and man, but between God and men.

Nor is this I speak of, manifest by the form of our last sentence onely, but by other Scriptures beside: what else means that of our Saviour, *Luke 16. Make unto your selves friends of the unrighteous Mammon,* (that is, of these slippery and deceitfull riches, for *μαμωνᾶ ἀδίκης* in the Scriptures Dialect is *μαμωνᾶ ψεύδους*) *that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting Tabernacles?* Or what means that of S. Paul *1 Tim. 6. 17. Charge them that be rich in this world, — that they trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, — That they do good; that they be rich in good works, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternall life?*

Laying up a good foundation, &c. in the Greek,
 Ἀποθηκεύζοντας ἑαυτοῖς θεμελίον καλὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον, ἵνα ὀψώσινται

Caritas et alius *ζωή*. Here it is observable that works of Beneficence are said to be *supra* or the foundation of the reward we shall receive in the life to come. If any but S. Paul had said so, we should have gone near to have excepted against it for an error: Works the foundation of eternall life? No, that shall not need: but the foundation of that blessed sentence we shall receive at the last day for them, and that is evident by the form thereof, which we have alledged: whatsoever is meant, a great priviledge sure is hereby implied, that these works have above others. A like place to this we have in the old Testament, with application particularly to Alms or works of mercy, *Tobit 4. 9. For thou layest up for thy self a good treasure against the day of necessity*: in the Greek it is, *Θήκω γὰρ ἀγαθὸν σπουδαίῳ*, &c. which answers to the Hebrew word, *קבר*. Here give me leave to tell you what a late sacred Critick hath observed concerning the word *σπουδαίον* in that place of *Timothy*; namely, that the signification thereof there is not Vulgar, but Hellenisticall, agreeable to the use of the Hebrew word *קבר* whereto it answers; for *קבר* signifies, as it doth, *Radix* or *fundamentum*; but besides this in the Rabbinicall Dialect it is used for *Tabula contractus*, a Bill of contract, a Bond or Obligation whereby such as lend are secured their loan again. That therefore *σπουδαίον* which answers *קבר* in the first sense, doth answer the same likewise in the second; and accordingly the Apostles meaning to be, that those who exercise these works of beneficence do provide themselves as it were of a Bill or Bond, upon which they may at that day sue or plead for the award of eternall

Psa. 112. 6.

nall life, *Vi pacti*, but not *Vi meriti*.

In the same sense he takes *Dequāto*, 2 Tim. 2. 19. *The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his. And let every one that nameth (or calleth upon) the name of Christ, depart from iniquity.* The mentioning of a Seal here, implies a Bill of contract; for Bills of contract had their Seals appendent to them; each side whereof had his Motto, the one suiting with the one party contrahent; the other with the other: That to this S. Paul alludes; Gods *Dequāto*, saith he, *standeth sure*; (that is, Gods Bill of contract, or his *Chirographum*;) having a Seal according to the manner; the one side whereof carrieth this Motto, *The Lord knoweth them that are his*: the other this, *Let every one that calleth upon the Name of Christ, depart from iniquity.*

Thus God remembreth the *Righteous*, or charitable man in the world to come. He remembreth him also in this: For that which the Apostle saith of *godlinesse* that it *hath the promise of this life*, as well as of *that to come*, is most properly and peculiarly true of this righteousness of bounty and mercy: other righteousness indeed must not look for reward till hereafter, but this is wont to be rewarded now.

For spirituall blessings we have the example of *Cornelius*, who for his *Almesdeeds* found favour with God, to have S. *Peter* sent unto him, to instruct him in the saving knowledge of Christ: *Thy prayers and thine Almesdeeds*, said the Angel, *are come up in remembrance before God*; Now therefore send to *Joppa*, and inquire for one *Simon Peter*, &c.

For temporall blessings hear what *David* says, Psa.

37. 25.

37.25. (quoted before) *I was young, saith he; and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. He is ever mercifull and lendeth, therefore his seed is blessed.* This blessing is the mercifull and charitable mans-peculiar, that his children shall not want, who was liberall and open-handed to supply the want of others. But think not that God remembers the charitable man with a temporall blessing in his posterity onely; for he remembers him also in his own person: Thus the same David, Psal. 41.1. *Blessed is he that considereth the poore, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. 2. The Lord will preserve him and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the earth, and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. 3. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing, &c.* And doth not his Son King Solomon say the same? Prov. 19.17. *He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given, he will pay him again.* But this perhaps some will think, may be applied to the reward in the life to come: If it be, it would much illustrate that of S. Pauls *ἀμείλιον* I now spake of. But Prov. 28.27. is a place not capable of this exception; *He that giveth to the poor shall not lack: but he that hideth his eyes, shall have many a curse.*

Thus we have seen, how the righteous man is in remembrance with God: Now let us see how the same is and ought to be in remembrance with men: And it may be inferred from the former, for why should not we remember those whom God doth? The practice in the Church of God hath been accordingly.

The

Psa. 112. 6.

The Jews, when they make mention of any of their deceased Worthies, are wont to do it with this *Encomium*, זכרונו לברכה, *id est*, *Memoria ejus sit in benedictione*: Otherwhile with this, זכרונו לחיי עולם וברא, *Memoria ejus sit ad vitam futuri seculi*. And of their Rabbies in generall, when they mention them, they say, רבותינו זכרוננו לחיי, *Magistri nostri, quorum memoria sit ad benedictionem*. Which encomiasticall scheme is taken from that of Solomon Pr. 10. 7. זכר צדיק לברכה, *Memoria justi sit ad benedictionem*: which therefore they sometimes use unaltered to the purpose aforesaid; sometimes with addition, as *Memoria Justi sit in benedictione ad vitam futuri seculi*; sometimes, *Memoria Justi & Sancti sit ad benedictionem*. These formula are frequent in their writings: Nor hath this commemorative Scheme been taken up by them (as some perhaps may suppose) since the coming of our Saviour in the time of their dispersion; but was used long before, as may appear Ecclus. 45. 1. where Moses is thus remembred, *Moses beloved of God and men*, ὃ τὸ μνημόσυτον ἐν εὐλογίαις, *whose memoriall is blessed*. And in the next Chapter like mention is made of the Judges of Israel; namely, *The Judges every one by name, whose heart went not a whoring, nor departed from the Lord*, τὸ μνημόσυτον αὐτῶν ἐν εὐλογίαις, *Let their memory be in benediction*. So of Judas Maccabeus, 1 Mac. 3. 7. *He grieved many Kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts*, ὅς ἐστι αἰὼν τὸ μνημόσυτον αὐτοῦ ἐν εὐλογίαις, *His memoriall is, or let his memoriall be blessed for ever*.

Eccl. 46. 11

But what is the meaning of this *Formula*? what is it for the memory of the righteous to be ἐν εὐλογίαις, or

or in *benedictionem*? The Septuagints Translation of that Prov. 10. 7. (whence, as I told you, this form of honourable remembrance is taken) will soon resolve us; for they in stead of the words זכר עדיק לברכה, *Memoria justi in benedictione*, Μνημόσυνον δικαίου μετ' ἐγκωμίων, *the memory of the just is with praises*. To make mention therefore of the righteous by way of benediction, is to praise them, for the word ברך, or εὐλογεῖν, to blesse, in Scripture hath a treble notion: First, to speak well of: Secondly, to speak well for: Thirdly, to do well unto. To speak well of, is to praise; So we are said to blesse God, when we praise and glorifie him: *Benedic animas mea Domino*; Blesse the Lord ô my soul; that is, praise him. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*; that is, praised. *Blesse the Lord all ye Nations*; that is, praise him: and so every where in the *Psalms*. The second notion, to speak well for, is to pray for: So the Priest is said to blesse the people, when he prays for them: *The Lord blesse you, and save you, the Lord make his holy countenance to shine upon you, and be mercifull unto you*: So other blessings of the like kinde, are prayers for those, over whom they are pronounced. The third notion of blessing is, to do good unto, to bestow some gift or good upon: Thus God is said to have *blessed man*, when he said unto him, *Increase and multiply, replenish the earth and subdue it*; that is, He endowed him with these gifts. *In thy seed shall all the Nations of the world be blessed*; that is, receive some great benefit. So God is said to have *blessed* the Patriarchs when he made them to thrive, and gave them wealth and riches; according to that of Solomon, Prov. 10. 22. *The blessing of the Lord ma-*

Psa. 112. 6.

Weth rich, and he addeth no sorrow with it; namely, such as is wont to accompany riches gotten without Gods blessing. Hence בִּרְכָה, or *Εὐλογία* in Scripture signifies a gift or present, bounty or beneficence: the present of cattell which *Jaacob* provided for his brother *Esan*, when he went to meet him, is all that Story through call'd *his Blessing*: The Presents which *David* sent of his prey to the Elders of Judah, 1 *Sam.* 30. 26. are there call'd *Blessings*. And in the New Testament, 2 *Cor.* 9. the collection at Corinth for the poor Saints at Jerusalem, is thrice called *Εὐλογία*, *their blessing*, which we translate *Bounty*. I thought good to be a little diligent in this explication, that we might be the better able to discern what kinde of remembrance of righteous men deceased is commended unto us in that Scripture, *The memory of the righteous is with blessing*: whence not the Jew onely, as you have heard, but the Christian also seem to have derived their practice in that particular, which I am now to shew.

For the Christian in this point hath been no whit short of the Jew, but exceeded them rather, not in the later only, but in those better and primitive times: witnesseth those anniversary remembrances of the Martyrs and Saints deceased; the appointing of Festivall days for their memoriall; the custome to assemble at their Sepulchres, to make Panegyrick orations in their honour; and above all, that ancient and so long continued custome without known beginning, to commemorate at the Holy Table, when the Eucharist was celebrated, the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, and Confessors: All which
tended

tended to this, that the *memory of the righteous might be with-blessing*. In the extent of which blessing the Christian went beyond the Jew: for of that three-fold notion of blessing I now spake of; first, to speak well of, or to praise: secondly, to speak well for, or to pray for: thirdly, to do well unto; the Jews seem (not only anciently, but of * late) to have used none but the first in their commemorations, namely, that of praise. But the Christian added the second of prayer and good wishes for the Saints departed, namely, for their publike acquittall and consummation at the day of Resurrection: which, had it continued in the first and originall meaning, could not be disliked; but having roved in time, (the Mother of many Superstitions and Errors) and kindled the fire of Purgatory, it was thought fit by the Authors of our Reformation, to be disused, and the blessing of the Dead to be confined to that of praise onely, namely, of praising and commending them, by recounting their worthy deeds; and then secondly, of praising God for them.

Psa. 113. 6

W^{id.} Bux-
torf. c. 35.

Nehem. 13.

14, 21.



NEHEM. 13. 14, 22.

14. Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds [Heb. חסד] that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof.

22. And spare me according to the greatnesse of thy mercy.



These words are the words of *Nehemiah* himself, by way of a short ejaculatory prayer, or Apostrophe unto Almighty God : But what were those *good deeds*, will you ask, which he speaks of, done for the house of his God, and the offices thereof? Of this the words going before will inform us, v. 10. I perceived, saith he, that the portions of the Levites had not been given them, whereby the Levites and the singers that did the work, were fled every one to his field. 11. Then contended I with the Rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken? And I gathered them together, and set them in their place (or station.) 12. Then brought all Judah the iithe of the corn, and the new wine, and the oyl, unto the Treasuries (or store-houses.) 13. And I made Treasurers over the Treasuries; —

such

such of the Priests and Levites as were accounted faithfull, and their office was to distribute unto their Brethren. 14. Remember me, o my God, concerning this, &c.

Nchem. 13.
14, 21.

There needs no more for understanding the meaning of the words: Now therefore let us see what Lessons we may learn therefrom. And in the first place, that which is most pregnantly to be gathered thence, and best fits our turn; namely, That to make provision for the maintenance of Gods worship, and the Ministers thereof, is a worthy work, and of high esteem and favour with God: forasmuch as *Nehemiah* commendeth himself unto the Divine favour and remembrance, under that name of having done good deeds or kindneses unto the House of God, and the Offices thereof; a manifest argument he took them to be most pleasing and acceptable unto him. The truth of the observation appears not only by this, but by other places of Scripture both of the Old and New Testament: Let us take some survey of them. And first for the furnishing a place for Gods worship, take notice of that famous benediction and prayer of King *David*, when his people offered so willingly and liberally towards the building of the Temple; *In the uprightness of my heart* (saith he) *I have willingly offered all these things: and now I have seen with joy thy people which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel our Fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their hearts unto thee.* 1 Chron. 29. 17, 18. Surely therefore it was a most excellent disposition, and such as he knew, God prized and esteemed.

Nehem. 13.
14, 22.

For, entertainment and provision for his Prophets and Ministers, in what account God hath it, appears by his great sollicitude in his Law that they should not be neglected : *Take heed to thy self* (saith he, *Deut. 12. 19.*) *that thou forsake not the Levite, as long as thou livest upon the earth* : What expression can go beyond this ? Again, by that story of the Shunamite woman, *2 King. 4. 9.* who entertained the Prophet *Elisha* and made provision for him, when he should have occasion to passe that way : *Behold,* (saith she to her husband) *this is an holyman of God, which passeth by us continually.* 10. *Let us make I pray thee a little chamber on the wall, and let us set for him there a bed, a table, and a stool, and a candlestick, and it shall be when he commeth unto us, then he shall turn in thither.* How acceptable to Almighty God was this good office done to his Prophet, appears by the double miracle he wrought for her, both in giving her a childe, when her husband was now so old she despaired ; and in raising him again to life, when he was dead.

But let us come now to the New Testament, and see whether the like be not to be found there ; lest otherwise any might think (as some are prone enough to do) the case were now altered. And first also to begin here with the provision of a place for Gods worship ; the story of that Centurion of Capernaum in *S. Lukes Gospel* is worthy our consideration ; *Who when he heard of Iesus* (saith the Text) *sent unto him the Elders of the Jews, beseeching him, he would come and heal his servant. The Elders came to Iesus, and besought him instantly, saying, He was worthy for whom he should do this. Why so ? For* (say they) *he loveth our Nation,*
and

and hath built us a Synagogue, Luk. 7. 45. Then Jesus (saith the Text, without any more ado) went with them; namely, as well approving of their motive, that he who had done such a work deserved that favour should be deign'd him. Also concerning provision and entertainment for his Apostles and Ministers; Are they not our Saviours own words and promise when he sent them forth? *He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet shall receive a Prophets reward: Nay, He that should give them but a cup of cold water, should not lose his reward.* According to which S. Paul speaking of the Philippians bounty and communication towards him; *I have received (saith he) of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing unto God.* And 2 Tim. 1. 16. concerning the like good office done him by Onesiphorus, he speaks in this manner; *The Lord (saith he) give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. The Lord grant unto him, that he may finde mercy of the Lord in that day.* Which is not much unlike this of Nehemiah in my Text, if it had been spoken in the first person by Onesiphorus himself, as it is in the third by Saint Paul: Howsoever, who will deny, but it implies the same thing?

Now then, if this be so as I think we have proved; What shall we think of the times we live in, when men account them the most religious to Godward, who do, or would unfurnish the House of God most, who rob his Priests most? But they have an excuse sufficient to bear them out, and what is that? The Priests they say have too much. If this excuse would

Nehem. 13.
14, 21.

Nehem. 13.
14, 22.

serve turn, some of themselves perhaps might soon have lesse then they have : for sure some body else as well as the Priest, have more then they need, and might spare some of it. But whether the Priests have too much or not, will not be the question : Suppose they had ; hath God too much too ? For these men consider not that the propriety of such things as these is Gods, and not the Priests ; and that to change the propriety of what is sacred, by alienating thereof to a profane and private use, (I say not, by diverting it from the Priests livelihood to any other holy use, in case the Priest have more then needs ;) is to rob God himself : yea, God tels us so much, *Malach. 3. 8.* *Will a man* (saith he) *rob his God ?* (as if it were a thing intolerable, and scarce ever heard of ;) *yet ye* (saith he) *have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee ? In Tithes and Offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse, because ye have robbed me.* (For that's the burden that goes with things consecrated, *Cursed be he that alienates them.*) This *Malachi* lived at the same time with *Nehemiah*, and the Jews say, 'twas *Ezra* ; whence this exprobration of his, and this fact of *Nehemiah* in my Text, may justly seem to have relation one to the other. And thus much of my first Observation.

My second is, That God rewardeth these, and so all other our good deeds and works, not for any merit or worthinesse that is in them, but of his free mercy and goodnesse ; *Remember me, o my God,* (saith *Nehemiah*) *and wipe not out my good deeds :* Why, is there any reward due to them of Justice ? No ; *But remember me, o my God, and spare me according to the greatnesse,* or multi-

multitude of *thy* mercy. Thus he expounds himself: And S. Paul taught us even now the self-same thing in his *Votum* or prayer for the house of *Onesiphorus*, for like good service done to the Offices of Gods House; *The Lord* (saith he) *grant unto him, that he may finde mercy of the Lord in that day*; that is, the day of Judgement, which is *Tempus iudicamentorum*, when every one shall receive according to his work.

The controversie therefore between the Romanists and us, is not, whether there be a reward promised unto our works: we know the Scripture both of the Old and New Testament is full of testimonies that way, and encourageth us to work in hope of the reward laid up for us: *We know that in keeping of Gods Commandments there is great reward*; Psa. 19. 11. And that unto him that soweth in righteousness, shall be a sure reward; Prov. 11. 18. We know our Saviour saith, Mat. 5. 12. *Blessed are ye, when men revile and persecute y^e, — for great is your reward in heaven.* Also that he that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward. And whosoever shall give a cup of gold water only, to one of his little ones in the name of a Disciple, shall not lose his reward, Mat. 10. Again, we read Luk. 6. 35. *Love your enemies, Do good and lend, — and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest*: we know also what S. John saith, 2 Ep. v. 8. *Look to your selves that ye lose not those things which ye have wrought, but that ye may receive a full reward.* But the Question is, Whence this Reward commeth; whether from the worth or worthinesse of the work, as a debt of Justice due thereto; or from Gods mercy, as a recompence freely

Nehem. 13.
24. 2.

Nehem. 13.
14, 22.

freely bestowed, out of Gods gracious bounty, and not in justice due to the worth of the work it self: Which Question, me thinks, *Nehemiah* here in my Text may determine when he saith, *Remember me, o Lord for my good deeds, according to thy great mercy.* And the Prophet *Hosea*, Chap. 10. 12. when he biddeth us, *Sow to our selves in righteousness, and reap in mercy.* And *S. Paul*, *Rom. 6. 23.* where though he saith, that *the wages of sin is death*, yet when he comes to eternall life, he changeth his style, *But* (saith he) *eternall life is the gracious gift of God through Jesus Christ.* For as for our works they are imperfect, and whatsoever they were, we owed them to him, in whom we live, and have our being, whether there were any reward or not promised for them.

Neither do we hereby any whit detract from that Axiome, That *God rewardeth every man according to his work*: For still the question remaineth the very same, Whether there may not be as wel *merces gratia*, as *merces justitia*; that is, Whether God may not judge a man according to his works, when he sits upon the Throne of Grace, as well as when he sits upon his Throne of Justice. And we think here, that the Prophet *David* hath fully cleared the case in that one sentence, *Psa. 62. 12. With thee, o Lord, is mercy; for thou remandest every one according to his work.*

Nay more then this; we deny not, but in some sense this reward may be said to proceed of Justice: For howsoever originally and in it self, we hold, it commeth from Gods free bounty and mercy, who might have required the work of us without all promise of reward, (for as I said, we are his creatures and

owe

Nehem. 13.

14. 2.

owe our being unto him) yet in regard he hath covenanted with us, and tied himself by his word and promise to conferre such a reward; the reward now in a sort proveth to be an Act of Justice, namely, of *Fustitia promissi* on Gods part, not of merit on ours: Even as in forgiving our sins (which in it self all men know to be an Act of Mercy) he is said to be *Faithfull and Just*, 1 *Joh.* 1. 9. namely, of the faithfull performance of his promise: for promise we know once made, amongst honest men is accounted a due debt. But this argues no more any worthinesse of equality in the work towards the obtaining of the reward, then if a promise of a Kingdome were made to one, if he should take up a straw; it would follow thence, that the lifting up of a straw, were a labour or a work worth a Kingdome, howsoever he that should so promise were bound to give it.

Thus was *Moses* carefull to put the children of Israel in minde touching the Land of Canaan, (which was a type of our eternall habitation in heaven) that it was a Land of promise, and not of merit, which God gave them to possesse, not for their righteousness, or for their upright heart, but that he might perform the word, which he sware unto their Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Whereupon the Levites in this book of *Nehemiah*, say in their prayer to God; Thou madest a Covenant with Abraham, to give to his seed the Land of the Canaanites, and hast performed thy word, because thou art just; that is, true and faithfull in keeping thy promise. Now because the Lord hath made a like promise of the Crown of life to them that love him; *S. Paul* sticks not in like manner to attribute this also

to

Nehem. 13.
14, 22.

to Gods Justice; Henceforth (saith he, 2 Tim. 4. 8.) is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the righteous Judge shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but to all them that love his appearing. Upon which S. Bernard most sweetly, as he is wont; *Ergo quam Paulus expectat, corona Iustitia; sed iustitiæ Dei, non sue: Iustum quippe est, ut reddas quod debet, debet autem quod pollicitus est.*

Lastly, for the word *merit*; It is not the name we so much scruple at, as the thing wont now adays to be understood thereby; otherwise we confesse the name might be admitted, if taken in the large and more generall sense, for any work having relation to a reward to follow it; or whereby a reward is *quocunque modo* obtained; In a word, as the *correlatum* indifferent either to *merces gratiæ* or *iustitiæ*: For thus the Fathers used it; and so might we have done still, if some of us had not grown too proud, and mistook it, since we think it better and safer to disuse it: even as Physitians are wont to prescribe their Patients recovered of some desperate disease, not to use any more that meat or diet, which they finde to have caused it.

And here give me leave to acquaint you with an Observation of a like alteration of speech, and I suppose for the self-same cause happening under the old Testament; namely, of *δικαιοσύνη* changed into *ἐλεημοσύνη*; Righteousnesse into that which hindereth mercy: for so the Septuagint and the new Testament with them render the Hebrew word *צדקה* *Iustitia*; not only when it is taken for beneficence or alms, (as in that Tongue it is the ordinary word) in which use we are wont

Nehem. 13.
14, 22.

wont to expound it works of mercy; but where there is no relation to Alms or Beneficence at all. Whence I gather that by ἑλεημοσύνη, the Septuagint meant not, as we commonly take it, works of mercy, but rather works whereby we finde mercy at the hands of God. I will give you a place which me thinks is very pregnant, Deut. 6. 24, 25. where we reade thus, *And the Lord commanded us to do all these Statutes,* (you may see there what they are) *to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as at this day. And it shall be our Righteousnesse, if we observe to do all these Commandements before the Lord, as he hath commanded us.* Here the Septuagint (for, *And it shall be our Righteousnesse*) have, Καὶ ἑλεημοσύνη ἔσται ὑμῖν, and it shall be our ἑλεημοσύνη, that whereby we shall finde mercy at the hands of God, *if we observe to do all these Commandements, &c.* This place will admit no evasion; for there is no reference to Alms here: And indeed all our Righteousnesse is nothing else but ἑλεημοσύνη, that whereby we finde mercy at the hands of God; and no marvell if works of mercy, as to relieve the poor and needy, be specially so called, for they above all other are the works whereby we shall finde mercy, and receive the reward of Blisse at the last day. And so much of my second Observation.

I come now to my third; That it is lawfull to doe good works, *Intuitu mercedis*: It is plain that Nehemiah here did so; *Remember me, o my God, concerning this, &c.* So did Moses of whom it is said, Heb. 11. *That he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming*

Nehem 13.

14, 22.

ming the reproach of Christ greater riches then the treasures of Egypt; for, saith the Text, *ἀνέχεν (aspiciebat vel intuebatur) eis ἡ ἰουδαῖα πόλις, He had respect unto the recompence of Reward.* And I confesse, it seems an unreasonable thing to me, that that which is made the end (though but in part) of the Action, should not be at all looked unto by the Agent, when as *Finis* is *principium Actionis*; and that which God hath promised unto us, as an encouragement to make us work with the more alacrity, should not be thought on, nor looked to in our working. Do not they, who would perswade this, go the way to discourage men from good works, by removing out of their sight, the encouragement which God hath given them?

But they object: The obedience of Gods children ought to be filiall, that is, free and not mercenary, as that of hirelings. I answer; Obedience, which is only for reward, without all respect or motive of love and duty, is the obedience of an Hireling; not that which acknowledgeth the tie of obedience absolute, and the reward no otherwise due, then of his Fathers free love and bounty, as every true childe of God doth, and ought to do.

They object again that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 13. 5. *Charity seeks not her own*: now say they, the works of Gods children must proceed from love and charity. I answer; what though *Charity seeks not her own*, may not a charitable man so much as look or hope for his own, or have an eye to what is promised him? But this place is altogether misapplied and abused: For that property of charity now mentioned (as some also of the rest of that Chapter) concerns only our charity

charity towards men, and not our charity towards God: the meaning thereof being, That a charitable man will sooner lose his own, then by seeking or contending for it, break the band of charity.


To conclude: The Use that follows from all this Discourse shall be only this, That if Almighty God remember them, who have done good deeds unto his House and the Offices thereof, much more ought we who are partakers of the comfort and benefit of such bounty, to remember and honour them with a thankfull celebration of their Names.

*Nehem. 13.
14, 22.*

M A T.

M A T. 10. 41.

He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward.

 UR blessed Saviour giving his Apostles their mission to preach the Gospel, unfurnished with outward things, and forewarning them what harsh and unkinde usage they and their successors were like to finde amongst men: for the better encouragement of such as should entertain and minister unto them; he pronounceth, *That whosoever received them, received him, and he that received him, received him that sent him*: Whereby it appeareth how honourable an office it was to afford them entertainment, and such as the noblest need not be ashamed of. But because the hope of reward is the most forcible spur to all undertakings, he addeth that too in the words of my Text, *He that receiveth, saith he, a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward*: that is, he that receiveth a Prophet, not for any respect, but *quatenus talis*, because he is a Prophet, shall have a Prophets reward.

Which words contain in them evidently these two Propositions: First, that there is some speciall and eminent degree of reward due unto a Prophet above
other

other men. Secondly, That he that shall entertain a Prophet, and do any good office unto him under that name, that is, for his office sake, shall be partaker of that Reward. Of these two I intend to treat, beginning with the first, the more generall.

That there shall be differing degrees of Reward in the life to come, is evident by sundry places of Scripture: As first, from that so often iterated passage, wherein God is said to reward every man according to his works; which is not to be understood only of the differing quality of our works, good and evil, which God rewards accordingly, the one with everlasting blisse, the other with eternall fire, (as some here except) but also of the differing works of just men compared together, as is manifest by that 1 Cor. 3. 8. where the Apostle comparing his own and Apollos work together, saying, *He had planted, and Apollo watered;* addes, *That both should receive their reward, according to their work;* that is, as their work differed, so should their reward do. In the second place the same is represented by that Parable, Luke 19. of the ten servants who received of their Lord, being to go into a far Countrey, ten pounds to trade with till his return. At what time he that had increased his pound to ten pounds, was made ruler over ten Cities; He that had gained but five pounds, over five Cities, and so the rest, according as they had improved the stock given them. A third place is that 1 Cor. 15. 42. *There is one glory of the Sun, another of the Moon, and another glory of the Stars, for one star differeth from another in glory. So also is the Resurrection of the dead.* Here is the full stop, and not the words to be referred to that

H h

which

Mat. 10. 41

which follows, to wit, That *the body is sown in corruption, and riseth again in incorruption*, as some would have them. For the Apostle speaks here of the difference of things heavenly and glorious, (*one star, saith he, differs from another in glory*;) and not of the difference between glorious and inglorious, corruptible and incorruptible: For this belongs to his other similitude; *There are celestiall bodies, and bodies terrestriall; but the glory of the celestiall is one, and the glory of the terrestriall is another.* A fourth place is that 2 Cor. 9. 6. where the Apostle speaking of the reward of beneficence, avoucheth, that *he which soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully, shall reap bountifully.* Fifthly, that speech of our Saviour to the twelve, Mat. 19. imports as much; *Behold, we, saith S. Peter, have forsaken all and followed thee: Τί ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῖν; what shall we have therefore? Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, ἐν τῇ παύσει τούτῳ, in the Regeneration, or Resurrection, when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel.* S. Luke relates it upon another occasion; whereby it appears our Saviour uttered it more then once, *You (saith he to the Twelve) are they which have continued with me in my temptations: Therefore I appoint you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdome, and sit on Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel. Luk. 22. 28, &c.* Whatsoever is meant by the reward intimated in this expression, for the quality thereof: 'Tis plain there is some peculiar and more eminent degree of glory here promised the Apostles,

postles, which shall not be common to others with them : First, because it is the reward of their proper and peculiar service unto Christ, as the Text shews. Secondly, because these twelve thrones in regard of their number, can besit no more but these twelve. Thirdly, supposing the twelve Tribes of Israel here mentioned, to be likewise in a condition of blisse and happinesse; it must needs be, that those who *sit upon twelve Thrones to judge*, that is, to govern them, must be in a higher degree of dignitie, then those over whom they shall be set : Whatsoever therefore the meaning of the reward be, thus much may be gathered from the description thereof, That there shall be differing degrees of glory in the Kingdome of Christ to come. To conclude; It hath been the ancient and constant Tradition of the Church, testified by the unanimous consent of all the Fathers, was never questioned by any, untill that *Peter Martyr* in this last age Age first began to doubt thereof, and others since more boldly adventured to contradict it.

Their main reasons or objections are these two : First, that the Reward to come depends not upon the virtue or dignity of our works, but only upon the merit and satisfaction of Christ : But his merits and satisfaction is uniform and the same to all : *Erge*, The Reward also which is to be given by virtue thereof shall be so. This Objection proceeds from that scrupulosity, which many of ours have to admit of any relation or connexion between our works and the reward to come : Whence also is that, that they should not be done *intuitu mercedis*; which is an assertion repugnant to the tenour of the Scripture, where the

Mat. 10. 42

Holy Ghost is wont to ground his Exhortations upon the hope and promise of reward. Now what an unreasonable conceit is it to think that where wages is promised for the encouragement of the labourer, the labourer should be bound to work without having any eye or respect to his wages? But to the objection I answer thus; That it is true, the merits and satisfaction of Christ is the foundation of our reward, namely, that alone which makes our works capable thereof, without which they were not: nevertheless it is true also, that our works are the subject of Reward; and the same merit of Christ, makes differing works capable of a different reward.

Their other objection hath a little more likelihood, and seems therefore somewhat more difficult to answer: It is taken from the Parable, *Mat. 20.* where the Kingdome of heaven is compared to a Vineyard, the Master whereof went out in the morning to hire labourers, and agreed with them for a penny a day: Three hours after, or at the third hour, and so again at the sixth and ninth hours; yea at the eleventh, but an hour before Sun went down, he did likewise. And when they came all to receive their wages, he gave the last hired as much as he had agreed with the first, to wit, every one a penny, neither more nor lesse: Whence it seems to follow, that the reward to come, signified by the penny, shall not be proportioned according to the difference of works, but be one and the same to all.

I answer; First, the Parable proves no more but this; that the sooner or later comming of men into the Vineyard of the Church, (for all were not to be called

called at one time, nor in one age) shall not make their reward greater or lesser : not that the reward shall not be different according to the diversity of our works. Secondly, I adde, that this Parable hath respect to the Churches of the Jews and Gentiles not called, nor to be called at the same time : For the Jews were hired into the Vineyard betimes in the morning, the Gentiles not till the day was far spent ; yet shall they by the goodnesse of their heavenly Master receive the same reward of eternall life, which was promised to the Jew, with whom the Covenant was first made, and who bare the heat of the day, whilest the other stood idle. Besides, in the new Vineyard of the Gospel the turn is changed ; for into it (because the Jews would not) the Gentiles have first been hired, though at severall hours, the Jew being not to come in untill the eleventh hour ; yet when Christ comes to give us wages, shall receive his peny, that is, eternall life as well as we.

This to be the genuine scope of the Parable, may be gathered by that which is presently subjoined by our Saviour as it were to be the key thereof. *So the last (saith he) shall be first, and the first last ; πολλοὶ ὀνομαζόμενοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί, for many are called, but few are chosen :* which I understand thus ; *The last*, that is, the Gentiles who came in last, shall be the first partakers of Christs Kingdome. The Jews who were first in Covenant, and had wrought so long before us in Gods Vineyard, shall be last in the Covenant of Christ, and not converted till the fulnesse of the Gentiles be come in : For though many of them were invited at the first comming of Christ, yet few or none

Mat. 10. 41

obeyed, and so the Nation became not of his peculi-
um, but stands yet rejected; *וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים הָיוּ מְרִיבִים*. To the like purpose is the same speech used by
our Saviour, *Luk. 13. They shall come, saith he, from*
the East, and from the West, and from the North, and
from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of
God. And behold, there are last, which shall be first, and
there are first, which shall be last. What means this?
Out of the eighth of *S. Matthew*, where the same pas-
sage is related, we shall hear it expounded; for there
the words run thus, *Many shall come from the East and*
West, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Ja-
cob, in the Kingdom of heaven: But the children of the
Kingdom (that is, the whole generation of Israel, who
received not the Gospel, at the Preaching of Christ
and his Apostles, and all the generations since, who
have continued in unbelief) *shall be cast out into utter*
darkness.

And here by the way, because the Parable useth the
notion of a day, to signify a time of many ages; it
will not be altogether unseasonable to note, that the
Metaphor may appear the easier, how that the Scrip-
ture often elsewhere calls the whole time of mans
pilgrimage in this world, by the name of a Day; As,
To day if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.
S. Paul, Heb. 3. 13. Exhort one another daily, lest ye be
tempted, while it is called a Day; where we say
Day to include every day. And I believe we are thus
to understand Day in the Lords Prayer, in that Peti-
tion, *Give us this day our daily bread;* that is, the whole
time we live in *hoc seculo*. For in stead of *S. Mat-*
thews This Day, spoken after the Hebrew notion, Saint
Luke

Luke hath in the same Petition, *καὶ ὁ ἀποκτίνῃς*, that is, *every day*. Therefore S. Matthews *Hodie*, must comprehend S. Lukes *Every day*, if the sense of the Petition in both of them be the same, as I beleieve it is. Nay more then this; The world to come, even *seculum eternitatis*; or eternity it self is likewise termed a *day*, 2 Pet. 3. ult. *Domino nostro*, saith he, & *servatori Jesu Christo, sit gloria & nunc, & eis in eternum*, & in *díem eternitatis*: A long *Day* indeed. But this *obiter*.

Thus having cleared my Proposition *in thesi*, or in generall; That there shall be differing degrees of glory in the reward to come: It remains that I make it good in the *hypothesis* concerning a *Prophet*; namely, that to them who instruct others in the ways and will of God, which is the Office of a Prophet, there belongs a preheminance of reward, above and besides that which is common to all Saints. This preheminance of glory the Schoolmen term *Aureola*, that is, an Additament of felicity to that essentiall glory in the Vision of God, which they term *Aurea*: This *Aureola* or Coronet to be added to the Crown of glory, they ascribe to three sorts of persons; To Virgins, to Martyrs, and to Doctors or *Prophets*. The two first are out of my scope: The third, of *Prophets*, let us see how it is proved out of Scripture. First therefore it is apparent from my Text, *He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward*; Ergo, there is some speciall or peculiar reward belonging to a *Prophet*, and that too an eminent one; otherwise our Saviours speech will have no enforcement in it, as he that considers thereof may easily see. The second is, *Dan. 12. 3.* where

Mat. 10. 41

the Angel prophesying of the Resurrection to be at the end of Time, and saying, *That many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame, and everlasting contempt;* he adds, *And those that be wise* (that is, have learned the true wisdom, which consists in the fear of God) *shall shine as the brightnesse of the firmament. But those that turn many unto righteousness* (that is, the Teachers and Instructors) *as the stars for ever and ever.* Here the difference between those that teach and are taught, is as much as between the light of the Stars, and the brightnesse of the Firmament. Some will have the whole sentence to speak of the eminency of glory laid up for *Prophets*, Translating *רוֹאֵי חַיִּים* in the first place not *docti* or *intelligentes*, but *Doctores*: *The Teachers shall shine as the brightnesse of the firmament, and they that turn many unto righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever:* but I have followed that interpretaion, which our Translators thought most likely. Thirdly, to this eminency of glory the Angel seems also to have respect in the end of that Chapter, when he says, *But go thy way Daniel, till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand up in thy lot at the end of days: in sorte tua, i. in sorte Prophetarum.* And this perhaps may be that too which our Saviour intends, *Mat. 5. Qui fecerit & docuerit, magnus vocabitur (i. erit) in regno caelorum.* The reason of all this is, because those who teach & convert others to righteousness, have an interest and a kind of title to all the good works which they shall do: How then can their reward but be great and eminent, when not onely their own works, but the works of their converts and disciples, shall be brought into their account? A

A matter, if we consider it, of no small encouragement and comfort unto us, whom God hath placed in this condition to be Teachers and Instructors of others, if so be we bury not our Talent in a Napkin, but employ it for the advantage of our Lord and Master. For it is not the habit or faculty, but the work, which shall reap the reward we speak of: Happy are we therefore, if we neglect not this opportunity of blisse, which God hath given us.

And thus having done with the first Proposition I undertook, I come unto the second; which is, *That he that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall be partaker of a Prophets reward: He that receives,* that is, doth any good office, or deserves well of a Prophet: For this to be the meaning, may appear by that which follows; *He that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous mans reward;* where *righteous* is to be taken by way of eminency, for one of eminent sanctity, such as among the Jews had therefore the surname of *Justi*, as *Simeon Justus*, *Jacobus Justus*, and other the like. Then in the next words the expression is varied; *Who-soever shall give to drink to one of these little ones, a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward:* whence I say we may gather what good office, the word *receiving* before used, intimated to us, namely, to relieve, maintain, support, and the like. He therefore that thus *receives a Prophet, shall be partaker*, saith our Saviour, *of a Prophets reward;* that is, have an eminent reward, or of the quality of a Prophet, though himself be none.

The reason is, because he that supports and enables

Mat. 10. 41

a Prophet for his duty, hath an interest in his work, and consequently in the reward that belongs unto it: This appears by the contrary, because he that maintains and abets those, who commit an evil act, makes himself guilty of their sin, and so of the punishment due to the same. An example whereof we have in that of the Benjamites in the Book of *Judges*, who by abetting the men of Gibeah, who committed that foul abomination with the Levites Wife, made themselves guilty of their sin, and brought that hideous judgement, which at first was deserved only by a few sons of Beliall, upon the Heads of the whole Tribe: It is a known story. Now it is *par ratio* for a man to entitle himself to anothers good works, as to his ill.

But there is a modification in the Text, whereupon this reward we speak of depends, otherwise not to be looked for: And that is, This good office must be done *in nomine Prophetæ*, not for any other respect, then as he is, and because he is a Prophet: *Hætas receiveth a Prophet* in nomine Prophetæ, shall receive a Prophets reward: not he that receives him onely for some personall or by-respect, because he is his kinsman, friend, or friends ally, or which is the ground of the most respect the Prophet gets among the most now adays, because he is one of their own side and faction; but setting all such respects aside, *eo nomine quia Prophetæ*, with meer respect to their office and calling, or because they are (as *Valens* and *Valentinian* in their Rescript *apud Theodoretum* calls them) *Διοικηται τῆς μεγάλης βασιλείας*, *Procuratores magni Regis*. I may tell you that this is no ordinary thing now adays;

we

we may perhaps finde some that can be content to make much of the Prophet for some personall qualities of his, or perhaps because he hath abilities above ordinary, or because it may be he is like to further the way they wish good luck to, or that they may gain repute among some sort of men, or other respects of like nature. But are there many which regard them *in nomine prophetae*? How then comes it to passe that their courtesies are so appropriate to the persons of some, that they shew no respect or esteem to the calling in others?

Whence comes that Unchristian, or indeed Athe-
 isticall language, A base Priest, A paultry Priest? It would never have grieved me, if any other had served me thus, but to be served thus by a base Priest, who can endure it? Tell me in good earnest, is this to honour a Priest or a Prophet *in nomine prophetae*; or not rather point-blank unto it, to reproach and dishonour him under that reverend Name, that is, to despise and reproach the Calling it self? For can a man honour that condition, the name whereof he thinks to be a reproach? Is any man wont to say, A base Lord, A base Knight, A base Gentleman, A base Christian? No: And why? because he accounts them all terans and titles of honour. Judge then by this, what account they make of Gods *Ambre*, who turn the very title of their Calling into a name of reproach, and what reward by proportion they are like to merit at Christs hands: Not a Prophets I am sure; and whether a Christians or not, themselves may judge. 'Tis often, and too often true indeed, that for our persons we are unworthy of any better respect, but even then
 it

Mat. 10. 41

it best appears, whether a man hath respect to the Calling *eo nomine*, when there is nothing in the Person to move him to it.

But there is another sort of men, who honour not a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, yet behinde, namely, such as rob and spoil them of their livelihood and daily bread, and not onely themselves give nothing to enable and encourage them the better to perform their Ministry; but take from them severall ways, that which the piety and bounty of their Ancestors hath allotted them; yea to many, if not to the most, no gain or theft is more sweet, then that which is gotten out of the Priests portion: But whether it will prove so at that day, when the just God shall reward every man according to his works, may be greatly feared. I told you a little before, that the reason, why *he that receives a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall be partaker of a Prophets reward*, is, because he that supports and enables a Prophet to do his duty, hath thereby an interest in his work, and consequently to the reward due to the same. If this be so; what can they look for, who by subtracting their daily bread from them, hinder and disenable them from the free and chearfull performance of their duty, by distracting them with the cares of providing for their bodily life? Do they not derive upon themselves the guilt of whatsoever impediment comes hereby to the propagation of the Kingdom of Christ? Shall not the losse of every soul that perisheth for want of due provision to maintain an able Minister, be cast in their account at the last day? I will speak nothing now of the burden which Sacriledge it self, being a robbing
of

of God, carries with it, (see Prov. 20. 25. *It is a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy; and afterwards to make enquiry;*) nor of those dreadfull execrations, which the Donors of such things were wont *antiquo ritu*, to lay upon the heads of all such as should divert them to profane uses, wherewith these men willingly and wilfully involve themselves. But for a close, let us join in an humble and hearty acknowledgement of Gods goodnesse and mercy, and say, Blessed be God our heavenly Father, who notwithstanding the malignity of many, hath not left us destitute, but in every age hath raised up some to shew kindnesse unto the Prophets, and to provide entertainment for them: Witnesse the goodly structures, and liberall endowments in our two Seminaries for the entertainment and education of Prophets and Prophets Sons, being the bounty of those Worthies, the fruits of whose Piety and Devotion, the whole Church of God by his Divine goodnesse doth enjoy; To whose blessed Names, as their deserts challenge from us, let all due honour and thankfulness be forever rendred:

Deut.



DEUT. 33. 8.

And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy
 Urim be with thy Holy One. וללו אמת חסיד ואמון לאיש
 חסיד.



His verse is part of that blessing where-
 with *Moses* the man of God blessed the
 children of Israel before his death; and
 these words are part of the blessing of
Levi: a blessing which much exceeds
 those that went before it, and is far above all that
 come after it: For as *S. Paul* proves *Melchisedec* to
 be greater then *Abraham*, because he blessed *Abra-*
ham, and worthier then *Levi*, because he tithed *Levi*
 in the loins of *Abraham*; so may we say of this blef-
 sing, that it is the greatest of all, because it is the
 blessing of him who by his Office was to blesse all the
 rest, and the worthiest of all, because by it the party
 blessed is enabled to blesse the rest of his Brethren:
 Ἀεὶ δι' οὗ ἀρετὰς ἐκαστος, ἐκείνο μᾶλλον ἀρετὰς, Always that
 by which another is, that thing it self is more then
 the other.

In the words themselves we will consider first the
 subject blessed, and then the quality of the blessing it
 self: The subject blessed is expresse both by name,
 and

and by description; by name, *Levi*; by description, *Gods Holy One*. The blessing it self is contained in words few, in substance plentifull; *Vrim* and *Thummim*; nay more then so, *Thy Thummim* and *Thy Vrim*; that we might know whence this blessing comes; how that it is $\chi\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\ \delta\iota\omicron\upsilon$, & $\delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota$, a divine thing, the gift of God, who is the Author and giver of all good things: *And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim, &c.*

To begin first with the Subject *Levi*: What *Levi* was is so well known, that it were needlesse to say much to make it better known. Only this, that *Levi* was the Tribe which God had especially bequeathed to himself, and set apart for the Ministry of the Altar. Concerning whose name, (though observations drawn from names are like an house raised upon the sand, yet because of old, and among the Patriarchs Names were given by the Spirit of Prophecy;) it will not be altogether unworthy our speculation, to remember the reason why this Name *Levi* was imposed; which we shall see as truly verified in that Function, to which God did advance his posterity, as it was by his Mother fitly given to himself, upon the good hope she conceived at his birth.

For *Levi* signifies a Conjoyner, an Uniter or maker of union; for thus said *Leah* when she bare him; *Now at this time will my husband be joyned to me, because I have born a third son: And she called his name, Levi.* She called him *Levi*; but for ought we read, in regard of her self, she found him no *Levi* as she hoped; but the prophecied of that sacred office, whereby all the sons of *Levi* became conjoyners, became makers of union, not between *Jacob* and *Leah*, but be-

tween

Deut. 33. 8.

tween God and Man, between Christ and his Spouse, between the spirituall *Jacob* and his deformed *Leah*. For as truly as ever *Leah* spake, might the Church then, and may the Church now, assure, when she hath born these sons unto her husband; Now I know my heavenly husband, my Lord my God, will be joyned to me, because I have born him these *בני*, these sons of Union, these Ministers of reconciliation. *Plato* could say, a Priest was *φίλος θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνιστάς*, A friend-maker between God and men: Nay, his whole office is nothing but the service of peace, and that not only between God and man, but between man and his brother; for *how can he love God, who loves not his brother?* or how can he be at peace with God, who is at variance with his brother? Needs must he therefore that is Minister of the one, be Minister of the other also; and he that is so, nay he alone that is so, is a right Levite, and a true son of Union.

How unworthy then of this holy name, how unworthy to succeed in the holy Order of *Levi*, are those who are Ministers of division, who by their lives, doctrine, example, or any other way divide God and his Church, and the Church within it self; who neither have peace with God themselves, nor will suffer others to have it; who neither agree themselves with others, nor suffer others to agree among themselves? *Beati pacifici, Blessed are the peace-makers*, especially in the sons of Peace. This Christ prayed for in his Apostles, *Joh. 17.* saying, *Holy Father, keep them through thy name, that they may be one as we are one.* Christ is so one, that he makes all one, who are one in him; so should every son of *Levi* be one. In

summe,

summe, the Ministers of God are called Angels, and therefore should sing a song like unto that song of Angels, *Glory be to God on high, peace on earth, and good will amongst men.* That Church which hath such a Levite, such a Minister, such a son of Union, may truly take up the words of *Micah, Judg. 17.* and say, *Now I know the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my Priest.*

And thus much of the name *Levi*: Now I come unto the Tribe it self; concerning which there may be two things asked: First, why God did confine the Priesthood to one Tribe alone, and not suffer it to be common to all, as it was before the Law, and is now since the Law? Secondly, why *Levi* was chosen to this holy Function rather than any other Tribe?

To the first, why God did limit this holy Function to one Tribe only, some of the Jews make this answer: That one of the sons of Israel with his whole posterity was due unto God by virtue of Jacobs vow, *Gen. 28.* which was, that if God would be with him in his journey, and bring him back again unto his Fathers house, *of all that thou shalt give me, saith he, I will give the tenth unto thee*; Now because God gave children, as well as beeves and sheep, therefore they also must fall within compasse of his Vow. And that there might be no difficulty about tithing the odde children, because there were more then ten, they devise this way to make all even: for first, say they, the full number of Jacobs children was fourteen, because that *Iosephs* two sons *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* go in the number of Jacobs sons: for *Iacob Gen. 48.* said unto *Ioseph*, *Thy two sons which are born unto thee in the land*

I i

of

Deut. 33. 8.

of Egypt before I came into Egypt, shall be mine, as Reuben and Simeon are mine; but thy lineage which thou begetteth after them shall be thine. Now of these fourteen, four were the Lords by his right unto the first-born, for so many there were which first opened the womb of their four Mothers, *Rabel* and *Leah*, *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, *Jacobs* two Wives and his two Concubines: Now of the remainder being ten, one falls to Gods share for Tithe, as being comprized within their Fathers Vow.

This reason, though it be as you see handsomely framed, yet hath no great likelihood, because men use not to be tithed; and therefore this extent of the Vow, is beyond the intent of the Vower. And whereas they urge the words, *of all that thou shalt give me*; they seem to forget, that God gave unto *Jacob* besides his sons, great store of man-servants and maid-servants, and yet we reade not that any of these were dedicate unto God, or that he challenged any of their posterity:

The only or chief cause (if I am not deceived) why God restrained the Priestly Function to one Tribe, was for a sign and band of restraint of his Church to one people: For, as the Church cannot be without the sacred Function of holy Ministry; so likewise the condition thereof must follow the condition of the Ministry. As long therefore as none could be a Priest but of the Tribe of *Levi*, so long there could be no Church, but of that people whereof *Levi* was a Tribe. A point of sacred Policy so to order the choice of Ministers, as shall be most fit to uphold the present state of an established Church.

The

The other question we propounded was, Why God chose *Levi* before any other Tribe? And of this many reasons may be given: As first, for *Moses* sake, whom God would honour by advancing the house of his Father to the highest pitch of dignity that mortall man could attain to: for what greater honour then to be Embassadour of the Lord of Hosts, to be admitted unto the inspection of his most secret mysteries; to be Gods $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\theta$, his proper and peculiar portion. Would God they either knew or beleev'd this, who think their house disgraced, and their blood stained, if any of their Kin become of the Clergy! It was not so in Gods opinion, no, nor *Moses* his neither; for had it been, *Levi* of all Tribes should not have been Gods *holy one*.

The second Reason was the Nobility of this Tribe, for *Levi* was enabled both generally, as being the son of a lawfull Wife, and not the son of an Handmaid; and specially as being of kin to *Moses* the Prince of the Congregation: In the first respect he was nobler then many of his brethren; in the second, more noble then any of them. This example of Gods own choice of men for his holy Service, if we would look unto, we would not sin the sin of *Jeroboam*, to make Priests almost of no other but of the lowest of the people: I speak not only of the lowest for externall condition, but of the lowest for the gifts of their minde; for I know it is true which the Virgin hath in her *Magnificat*, That God often puts down the mighty from their seats, and exalteth them of low degree. $\rho\alpha\iota\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\epsilon\iota\zeta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu\ \mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\delta\eta\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \alpha\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota\ \text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \upsilon\phi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. I know it is true that he often filleth the hungry with good things, and

Deut. 33. 8.

the rich he sends empty away: but we should know that whensoever we offer unto him, he requireth the best thing in our hands; and therefore for this worthy Calling we are to give unto him, as far as may be, the worthiest among the sons of men.

Another reason why God chose this Tribe afore other, may be the smalnesse thereof, being not above the sixtieth part of the people: A number which God in his wisdom saw fit for that Church, as being both sufficient for instructing the people, and discharge of the duties of their order; and not too great to live of Gods ordinary, his Tithes and the other offerings of the Altar, whereas the least of the other Tribes were as big as three of it.

But the last Reason, and as it seems one of the chiefest, is that which Moses intimates in the very verse following my Text, speaking thus of Levi, that *he said unto his Father and to his Mother, I have not seen them; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children; but observed Gods word and kept his Covenant.* In which words Moses alludes unto their forward zeal to avenge the Lord of the people which worshipped the golden Calf, *Exod. 32.* where it is said, that *Moses stood in the gate of the camp and cried, Whosoever is on the Lords side, let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves unto him. Then said Moses, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the Camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses, &c. For Moses had said,*

(so)

(so it follows in the Text) *Consecrate your selves unto the Lord this day, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother, that there may be given you a blessing this day.* This blessing here spoken of is our Urim and Thummim, the blessing of Sacred Order: So bountifully did God reward them who were so forward to be on his side when *Moses* called them, that himself vouchsafed to call them unto his side for ever.

Whence, first, we may learn whom we are chiefly to preferre unto this holy Function, namely, those who are zealous for the Lord of Hosts, who preferre the glory of God above all worldly respects whatsoever: This got *Phinehas* the son of *Eleazar* the High Priesthood; this got all the sons of *Levi* the guerdon of Urim and Thummim, the blessing of holy Orders.

Secondly, we may see by the advancement of this Tribe, how mercifull our God is: We know that *Levi's* fury did once as much offend him, as his sons zeal now pleased him; and yet for this one action he forgot the sin of their Father in the bloody slaughter of the *Sichemites*: He remembered not the curse of *Jacob*, *Into their secretes let not my soul come: My glory be not thou joyned with their assembly. Cursed be their wrath, for it was fierce, and their rage, for it was cruell.* *Gen. 49.6,7.* Nay, he turned the very curse of *Jacob* into a blessing, *By dividing them in Jacob, and scattering them in Israel.* Here mercy and Truth met both together, and Justice and Peace kissed each other. Lastly, here God verified his own description of himself, That though he be a jealous God, and visits the sins of the father upon the children unto the third and

Dent. 33. 8.

fourth generation, yet he is also a mercifull God, and shews mercy even unto the thousandth generation of them that love him and keep his Commandements.

And thus have you seen why of *Levi* *Moses* said this Blessing. And of *Levi* he said. Now I come to the description of this blessed Tribe in these words, Gods holy one: Let thy *Vrim* and thy *Thummim* be with thy holy one. How is *Levi* here called *Holy*? how is this Title given to him above the rest of his Brethren? Are not all the Lords people holy? certainly whatsoever is meant hereby, it is something more specially belonging to *Levi*, then to any other Tribe. Which, that we may the better finde, we must take notice of a threefold holinesse; *Essentiall*, *Habituall*, *Relative*. *Essentiall* holinesse is the holinesse of God, all one with God himself, and this is a glorious holinesse: *Who* (saith *Moses*) *is like unto thee O Lord among the Gods? who is like unto thee, glorious in holinesse?* *Exo.* 15. 11. *Habituall* I call an inherent holinesse, such as is the holinesse of righteous men, integrity of life, or righteous holinesse, whereof *Abraham*, *Job*, *David*, and all the Patriarchs are called Saints and holy men: This is that which the Greeks call *οσιους*, the Latines *Santimonia*. *Relative* holinesse I define a speciall relation, or relation of peculiarity which a thing hath unto God, either in regard of propriety of possession, or speciality of presence: that which is holy after this manner the Greeks call *ιερν*, the Latines, *Sacrum*. The first of these three is proper to God alone, for he only is essentially holy. The second is proper to reasonable creatures; for they are only habitually holy, or endued with holy qualities. But the last is com-

mon

mon to all manner of things, for all things animate or inanimate are capable of relative holiness, or peculiarity towards God: Persons, Things, Times, Places. Persons, so the Nazarites of the Law are called holy; thus was *Sampson*, thus was *Samuel* holy from their Mothers womb. Things, so the Offerings of the Law, yea and of the Gospel too, are holy things: The censers of *Korah* and his company were Holy, because (saith the Text) *they offered them unto the Lord*. Times, so the Sabbath day and other Festivall days are holy days. Places, so the Temple of the Lord is an holy Place; Mount Sion an holy Mount; yea the ground about the bush where God appeared to *Moses* is called *Holy ground*. And of these four, Persons, Things, and Times are holy, because of Gods peculiar propriety in them, in that they are his Persons, his Things, and his Times: But Places are holy in another regard, because of Gods speciall manner of Presence in them.

Now let us see in which of all these three ways, *Levi* may be said to be holy: Essentially holy he cannot be, for he was not God, but the holy one of God. Habitually holy the event shews he was not more then the rest, though he should have been. The Tribe of *Levi* was always *Tribus sacra, holy unto the Lord*, but was not always righteous before the Lord. It was not always true of *Levi*, that he *walked before God in peace and equity, and turned many from iniquity*; but often, yea too often *they were gone out of the way, and caused many to fall by the Law*. *Phinehas* the son of *Eli*, was not like *Phinehas* the son of *Aaron*: *Annas* and *Caiaphas* high Priests, as holy as any for their or-

DEUT. 33. 8.

der, as unholy as any in life and conversation.

It should therefore seem, that *Levi* should be only called holy by a Relative holiness; namely, because he was Gods peculiar one, because his offered one, because his peculiar of peculiars; that is, his peculiar Tribe of his peculiar People; for in this *Levi* had a priviledge above the rest, in the other none: and this *Ezra* gives unto him *cap. 8. 28.* when he delivered unto the Levites the holy Vessels, *Ye are holy* (saith he) *unto the Lord, and these Vessels are holy also*: that is, Ye are holy as the Vessels are; for he saith not, they were holy *before* the Lord, for so he had meant holy in life; but holy *unto* the Lord; קדש ליהוה, which always implies a Relative holiness.

But though this be true that *Levi* was holy after this manner, yet the word which in my Text is turned Holy, seems scarce to admit of this construction: for the word here used is not קדש, but חסד, which signifies favourable and gracious, and in Religion charitable and godly: All which leans to an habituall, not to a respective holiness. But because *Levi* was not in this sort holy above other, as I said before; It may seem therefore it should be thus construed: That חסד is taken actively or passively: Actively it signifies favourable, benigne and gracious. Passively, he that is favoured or graced. And thus *Junius* expounds חסד in this place, *Let thy Thummim and thy Vrim be with thy favoured one*; not ἀνδραγαθὸν σου as the Septuagint, but χαριτωμένον σου which word and sense the Angel useth in his salutation to the blessed Virgin, χαῖρε χαριτωμένη, Hail, thou highly favoured one; Hail thou whom God hath especially graced to be the

the Mother of his only Son : So *Levi* is here described to be one upon whom God bestowed a speciall favour or grace, a speciall לוי , or $\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, the grace of holy Ministry : for so *S. Paul* calls this power of Order, a grace or favour, $\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma$ & $\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, as *Eph. 3. 8.* *Unto me who am lesse then the least of all Saints is this grace given, to preach among the Gentiles, investigabiles divitias Christi.* And of *Timothy* the same Apostle speaketh, *Neglect not that $\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, or grace in thee, which was given by prophecy and imposition of hands.* With this grace was *Levi* graced, with this favour was he highly favoured, and well might be called, לוי דסיד , *Gods highly favoured one.*

And thus the issue will be all one, לוי in this sense will fall out to be Gods holy one in the last sense : for to be specially favoured of God, is to have a speciall relation to God-ward, to be Gods more especially, and this is to be holy with a relative holinesse. Now which soever of these we take to be here meant, we see that that is in speciall given to *Levi*, which otherwise was common to all the other Tribes. If you take it in the first sense for holinesse in life, as it were to put *Levi* in minde, how it behoved him above all to be holy ; were not all the Tribes as holy as *Levi* ? and yet *Levi* alone is called *Gods holy one*. If you take it in the second sense for a relative holinesse ; were not all the Tribes of Israel thus holy unto God ? were not all his own people, his peculiar people, and a chosen Nation ? and yet *Levi* alone is called *Gods holy one*. If you take it in the last sense, for Gods favoured one ; were not all Israel a Nation favoured of God above all Nation ? and yet *Levi* alone is especially called *Gods favoured one*.

We

Deut. 33. 8.

We therefore whom God hath set apart to minister about holy things; we who are holy unto the Lord, and Gods own in a peculiar manner; we who have a speciall relation unto God; we who have received a speciall favour from God; we must remember we owe a speciall thankfulnesse unto him: we who are Gods peculiars, must demean our selves peculiarly both toward God and man: we are unto God as other men are not, and therefore may not always do as other men do; we cannot reason from others to our selves, no not in things of themselves lawful, Why should not we do as every man may do; for all that is lawfull for others, will not be seemly for us; for we are the household servants of the most High, we are speciall men, of whom God requires a speciall demeanour in life and actions.

This was one cause why God injoynd the Jews so many peculiar rites and speciall observations differing from the fashions of other people, because they were his peculiar people, an holy Nation; because they were toward him as no other was, though all the world were his, and therefore would have their manners differ from the fashion of all other Nations, as a badge and acknowledgement of that speciall relation they had to him above other. *Levit. 20. 25. I (saith God) am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people; ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean, unclean fowls and clean, &c. And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the Lord am holy; and have severed you from other people, that you should be mine.* This was also a cause why God restrained the Priests of the Law from that which was lawful for the

rest

rest of the people; They might drink no Wine; they might not mourn for their kin; they might not marry a divorced woman: the reason of all this is given, *because they were holy unto the Lord*; that is, with a relative holinesse, as being Gods men in a speciall manner, and therefore required they should specially demean themselves in their lives. These observations indeed were ceremoniall, but there is something morall in them: And therefore in the Gospel we hear of some speciall things required in a Minister; as that *he should have a good report of those who were without*; this was not required in every one who was to be a Christian. Again, *S. Paul* requires in a Bishop, that *he should be the husband of one wife*; this was not in those times required of every one who was to be a Christian. I shall not need to tell you what speciall demeanour the ancient Church bound her Clergy unto: but it came to passe at last this rule was over practised by them, for hence it was that a Bishop might not marry at all, that Priests and Deacons might not marry being once in Orders, and at last marriage was quite forbidden them all. Thus our Fathers erred on the right hand, but we go aside on the left: they restrained their Clergy from that which was lawfull for, and befeemed all men; we think almost that lawfull for us, which is lawfull for no man, at least we think that which any man may do we may do also: But there is a golden mean between these extremes, happy is he that finds it, for he alone shall demean himself like himself, like a Levite, like Gods holy one.

Secondly, from this speciall title given to *Levi*, we may note how causelesly some are offended to hear those

Dent. 33. 8.

those who minister about holy Things, distinguished from others by names of holinesse and peculiarity; to hear them called *Clerus*, and *Clerici*, as it were the Heritage of God; for so saith S. Hierome, *Clerus dicimur, quia fors Dei sumus*. But say they, are not the People also Gods heritage? Doth not S. Peter call them *κλήρῳ*, when he forbids Presbyters, *κατακυριεύειν τὴν κλήρῳ*, to domineer over Gods heritage? I confesse he doth: But those who reason after this manner come too near the language of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, Num 16. *Moses and Aaron, you take too much upon you; Is not all the Congregation holy, every one of them? and is not the Lord among them? why then lift ye your selves above the Congregation of the Lord?* If this reasoning had been good, wherein had these Rebels offended? It could not be denied them, that all the People were an holy People; for they might have alledged the testimony of God himself, avouching them to be his peculiar People, and an holy People unto the Lord their God; *All the earth* (saith he *Exod. 19.*) *is mine, but you shall be my Segulla, my peculiar people, a Kingdom of Priests, and an holy Nation.*

But it might be answered them, Though all the people were Gods peculiar people, and therefore his holy ones, yet *Levi* was his peculiar Tribe of his peculiar people, and therefore comparatively his only holy one. All the Land of Canaan was the Lords; *The Land is mine*, saith he, and therefore it could not be alienate beyond the year of Jubilee, and yet for all this there were some parts of the Land specially called Holy unto the Lord: All the increase of corn, all the increase of wine, all the fruit of the field was the Lords,

Lords, and yet the offerings alone were called holy unto the Lord. God himself calls them his *אֲדָמָה*, his inheritance, and therefore gave them unto that Tribe alone, which alone he had made his *אֲדָמָה*, the Tribe of his inheritance: So the offered Tribe lived of Gods offerings, the holy Tribe on the holy things. Again, why may we not call our Clergy Gods inheritance, when God himself calls the Levites his Levites? Thou shalt (saith he Num. 8.) *separate the Levites from among the children of Israel, and the Levites shall be my Levites; that is, my אֲדָמָה, my Clergy.* Why may we not call the Ministers of Christ his *אֲדָמָה*, when he himself calls them the gift his Father gave him out of the world: for so he saith Joh. 17. *I have declared thy name unto the men thou gavest me out of the world, thine they were and thou gavest them me: and again, Holy Father, keep them in thy name, even them whom thou hast given me.* If you say he speaks here of all his Elect, the words following prove the contrary; for those (saith he) *whom thou hast given me, I have kept, and none of them is lost but the child of perdition.* Here he plainly affirms, he lost one of those his Father gave him, wherefore he speaks not of his elect ones, for those no man can take out of his hands. Again, ver. 18. *As thou didst send me into the world, saith he, so I send them into the world: but I hope all the Elect are not sent, as Christ was sent by his Father. I conclude therefore, so long as God in the Law says specially of the Levites, They are mine: so long as Christ in the Gospel of his Apostles, They are mine, O Father, which thou hast given me out of the world, it is neither arrogancy, nor injury, to style those who*
mini-

Deut. 33. 8.

minister about holy things with the name of *YHWH*, the inheritance of the Lord.

What *Levi* was, and what is meant by this Title Gods *holy one*, we have now shewed sufficiently. It remains we should come unto the words containing the blessing it self, which is called *Vrim* and *Thummim*; the words themselves signifie *light* and *perfection*, Illumination and Integrity: good endowments certainly, whosoever shall enjoy them.

But because they are not only Appellative words, but also proper names of certain things, we must enquire further what is meant by them; and that in a twofold consideration; First, specially and properly as they are names of certain things belonging in speciall unto the High Priest: Then generally, as they are applied by *Moses* unto the whole Tribe of *Levi*. The first again shall be twofold, what they were in the High Priest personally; or what they signified in him typically, himself being also a Type.

For the first, what is meant by these things, as they belong unto the High Priest personally, is a matter full of controversie; and therefore that we may the better proceed, we will first see the generals wherein all or the most agree; and after come unto the particulars wherein they disagree. The first, wherein all agree is, that this *Vrim* and *Thummim* was some thing put in the Breast-plate, which was fastened to the Ephod over against the heart of the High Priest: And thus much the Scripture witnesseth, *Exod. 28. 30.* where God saith to *Moses*, *And thou shalt put in the Breast-plate of Judgement, the Vrim and the Thummim which shall be on Aarons heart, when he goeth in before the*
the

the Lord. And for this cause, as most think, was the Brest-plate made double, that the *Vrim* and *Thummim* might be enveloped therein.

The second thing wherein all agree, is that this *Vrim* and *Thummim* was a kinde of Oracle whereby God gave answer to those that enquired of him; and from hence the Septuagint call the whole Brest-plate λογειον, which some turn *Rationale*, but might more truly be turned *Orationale*, for an Oracle is as it were λογος & φωνησεις, the Voice of God, though this Voice or Revelation were of divers kinds; for at sundry times, and in divers manners (saith S. Paul) God spake in old time to our Fathers. The Jews therefore make four kinds of Divine Revelation: First, נבואה, or Prophecy, which was by dreams and Visions: The second קדש קדש, *afflatus Spiritus sancti*, as was in Iob, David, and others. The third *Vrim* and *Thummim*, which was the Oracle. The fourth, בר קול, *filia vocis*, which was usuall in the second Temple after the Oracle had ceased; as Mat. 5. at Christs Baptism there came a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my welbeloved son, in whom I am well pleased*: and Iob. 12. when Christ said, *Father glorifie thy name: There came a voice like thunder, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorifie it again.*

But to return again to our purpose; That *Vrim* and *Thummim* was an Oracle of God, besides the consent of Jews and others, it is plain by Scripture, Num. 27. when God had commanded Moses to put his hands upon Ioshua, and to set him over the congregation in his stead; he addes, *And he (that is, Ioshua) shall stand before Eleazar the Priest, who shall ask*

coun-

Deut. 33. 8.

counsell for him by the judgement of Vrim before the Lord. So 1 Sam. 23. when David was to ask counsell of the Lord, he called for the Ephod, wherein the Oracle was: and whereas before he had once or twice asked counsell of the Lord concerning Keilah, to prevent the objection how the Lord answered; it follows in the next by way of a *Prolepsis*, That *Abiathar* then Priest, when he fled to David to Keilah, brought the Ephod with him. ver. 6. Lastly, in the second of *Ezra*, when certain of the Priests which returned from Captivity, could not finde their names written in the genealogies; it is said, that *Ezra* commanded they should not eat of the most holy things, till there rose up a Priest with Vrim and Thummim; that is, till God should by Oracle reveal whether they were Priests or no: whereby it also appears that this Oracle had then ceased.

And for more light to that we have in hand; it will not be amisse to observe, that *Teraphim* among the Idolaters, was answerable to the *Vrim* and *Thummim* of the holy Patriarchs. Both were ancient, for *Rahel* is said to have stollen away her Fathers *Teraphim*: And *Vrim* and *Thummim* seems to have been used among the Patriarchs before the Law was given, because the making of it, is not spoken of among other things of the Ephod: And because God speaks of it to *Moses* demonstratively, חֲזָמִים וְחֻמְמִים, the *Vrim* and the *Thummim*.

Both also were Oracles; for the Jews and others agree, *Teraphim* were small Images made under a certain constellation, whch they used to consult both in things doubtfull, and things future, supposing they had

Deut. 33. 8.

had a power to this effect received from heavenly influence, much like to puppets made of wax and like matter, which our Wizzards still use unto like purpose. And therefore Ezek. 21. 10 we read; that the King of Babel among other divinations, consulted also of Teraphim: And the King of Babel (saith the Text) stood at the head of the two ways, to use divination, consulting with Teraphim, he looked in the liver. And Zac. 10. 2. Surely (saith the Text) תחזיקו ברוח אמת, The Teraphims have spoken vanity, and the Soothsayers have seen a lie, and the Dreamers have told a vain thing.

Besides, from this like use of Teraphim with the holy Vrim and Thummim, we may read Ephod and Teraphim joyned both together as things of like kind, as Hosea 3. The children of Israel, saith the Lord, shall remain many days without a King, and without a Prince, and without an offering, and without an Image, and without an Ephod and Teraphim. Yea, of so near a nature was this Teraphim unto the Vrim and Thummim, that Micah, he that had an house of Gods, when he had made an Ephod, because he had no Vrim and Thummim, he put Teraphims in stead thereof, as we may gather Iudg. 17. 18. where we may see also that when the children of Dan enquired of the Lord concerning their journey, it pleased him to give answer by the Idolish Teraphim. So we may gather likewise that the Hraelites after Jeroboams schism, having no Vrim and Thummim, used Teraphim in the Ephod; and therefore it is that Hosea threatens that they shall be without Ephod and Teraphim.

Having hitherto shewn how far it is agreed about

K k

Vrim

Deut. 33.8.

Vrim and *Thummim*, in the next place the points of difference ought to be considered; which are either about the matter whereof it was made, or in the manner how God answered by it.

For the matter, some will have it to be nothing else but the writing or carving of the great name *Iehovah*, which was put within the folding of the brest-plate; and that it was called *Vrim* and *Thummim*, because by the knowledge of the mystery of *Iehovah* in the Trinity, our minds are enlightned, and understandings made perfect.

Some other there are of the same opinion, but they will have it called *Vrim* and *Thummim*, because by the virtue of that name written, *Sacerdos verba sua illustrabat, & perficiebat*: And moreover they say the brest-plate was called *חושן משפט*, the brest-plate of judgement, because by it the Lord gave as it were sentence and judgement, what was to be done in hard and doubtfull matters. And this is the opinion of Rabbi *Shelomo*.

Some other will have it called the brest-plate of judgement, because that by it the judgement of the Judges, if it were amisse, was hereby as it were pardoned: because the High Priest was to bear the sins of the people: The Authors of this opinion are mentioned by R. *Shelomo*.

Aben Ezra saith, it was so called because by it the judgement and decrees of the Lord were known: And he thinks also that *Vrim* and *Thummim* were something made by the hand of the craftsman.

But *Nehemianides* and R. *Shelomo* say, it was *opus divinum*, and given to Moses in the Mount, as it beareth witness.

Some think it was nothing but the stones in the breast-plate, by the shining whereof God did annuere, by the not shining, *abnuere*. But *Kimchi* confutes this, because it is spoken of as a differing thing in the same place, where the stones are described: But he himself says, it is not certainly known what it was.

Nehemides saith, it was certain sacred names, by the virtue whereof the letters of the breast-plate were enlightned and ordered, so that the Priest might read the answer of God: and that which caused shining was called *Vrim*, & that which made them legible, *Thummim*.

The summe of these Opinions laid together is, That this Oracle was either the stones of the breast-plate themselves, or something in the folding of the breast-plate, which by a divine virtue did cause the stones to shine, and by the letters of the Tribes names in them, as it were to expresse the answer of God.

For concerning the manner of this Oracle, the Talmudists report thus much: First, no private man might consult with *Vrim* and *Thummim*, but either *אב בית דין*, he that was King or chief of the Consistory, or *בית דין*, the Consistory or Judges themselves, and that in matters difficult and of great importance.

Secondly, *שואל*, he that enquired must stand with his face looking full upon *השואל*, the Priest whom he asked; and the Priest stood with his eyes fixed upon his breast where was the *Vrim* and *Thummim*.

Thirdly, the voice was to be a soft still voice, and not above one thing to be asked at one time: But if they asked two things at once, the answer was only unto the first; but in case of extremity, unto both: and such was *Dauids* case, 1 Sam. 30. when he asked

Deut. 31.8

concerning the Amalekites, who had burnt Ziklag, shall I follow the company, saith he, and shall I overtake them? The Lord answers, Follow; for thou shalt surely overtake them, and recover all.

Now if you ask how the Priest knew the answer of the Lord? First, you must remember, there were twelve stones in the breast-plate, and in those stones the twelve names of the sons of Israel, either set or carved; and that there might be a full Alphabet of letters, there was also, say they, written upon the breast-plate, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and these two words *ישראל*, the Tribes of Israel or *Jeshurun*. Now when the Lord answered, the letters expressing the answer, by the divine virtue of the *Vrim* and *Thummim* became *נשמע*, i. *prominentes*; that is, shewed forth themselves with a splendor, that the Priest might read the answer of God: As 2 Sam. 2. when David asked the Lord *נשמע*, Shall I ascend into any of the Cities of Judah? the letter *y* in *Shimeon*, *י* in *Levi*, and *י* in *Iehudah*, put themselves forth, or shone forth with a splendor, that the Priest might read *נשמע*, Ascend: Though some of the Jews say the letters became *נשמע*, that is, joyned themselves together and made a word: which as I cannot conceive how it should be, so I think it lesse probable.

And thus hitherto have you heard the divers opinions of the matter and manner of this Oracle of *Vrim* and *Thummim*: Here is variety enough, I leave to every one to make his own choice which he will beleve; only give me leave to adde thus much in way of censure of them, which is, that all seem against reason and likelihood, to confound *Vrim* with *Thummim*.

mim, in making them one and the same thing called by divers names, in regard of divers effects and uses : which I can the lesse beleieve, because I finde *Vrim* alone used in matter of consultation with God, whereby it seems *Thummim* had some other use. In the 27. of *Numb.* *Moses* commands *Ioshuah* in all businesse to consult the High Priest, by the judgement of *Vrim* before the Lord; but no speech of *Thummim*. Again, 1 *Sam.* 28. it is said, that *Saul* asked counsell of the Lord, when he was to go against the Philistims; but the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by *Vrim*, nor by the Prophets. Here also is *Vrim* spoken of, but no word of *Thummim*.

If I may therefore speak what I think; I would say, that *Vrim* and *Thummim* were a twofold Oracle, and for a twofold use. And that *Vrim* was the Oracle, or part of the Oracle, whereby God gave answer to those who enquired of him in hard and doubtfull cases; therefore called *Vrim*, or lights, because as ignorance is called darknesse; so is all knowledge a kinde of illumination or enlightening; and that which bringeth knowledg is fitly called a light, because it dispels the darknesse of our minds.

But *Thummim* was that Oracle or mean whereby the High Priest knew whether God did accept the Sacrifice or no; therefore called *Thummim*, that is, Integrity; because those whose Sacrifice God accepted, were accounted *Thummim*, that is, just and righteous in the eyes of God; because their Sacrifice was a shadow of Christs Sacrifice, by acceptation whereof we are justified and made righteous before God. For without doubt the Patriarchs and

Deut. 33. 8.

legall Church had some ordinary mean to know when their Sacrifice was accepted, else had they been behinde the Gentiles; for they had a sign to know when they did *Lisare*, that is, when their false Gods accepted their false sacrifice; and as the Devil was Gods Ape in giving Oracles, so I verily beleieve he was in this also. Nay *Iosephus* expressly affirms it of the Jews, though for the particular I suppose he is mistaken: For he saith, that whensoever God did accept the Sacrifice, the Onyx stone on the Priests left shoulder shone with an admirable splendor; but this, saith he, ceased certain hundred years before his time: and no wonder, for when the Sun of righteousness drew near unto his rising, those dimmer *Vrim* and smaller stars must needs lose their light. Now that which *Iosephus* affirms of the Onyx stone on the left shoulder, I suppose was mistaken for the *Thummim* on the left part of the breast-plate.

And lastly, as I said before of *Vrim*, so I think of *Thummim*, that it was in use among the Patriarchs of old, and that by some such means as this *Abel* knew that God accepted his Offering, and *Cain* that his was refused.

And thus much of *Vrim* and *Thummim* considered personally in the High Priest; now I come to consider it typically: for as the High Priest himself was a type of Christ, so must these Adjuncts of his also be types of something in Christ; which we shall not be long a finding out, if we remember again the signification of the words, and the use of the things themselves: *Vrim* is Light and Illumination; *Thummim* Integrity and Perfection. By *Vrim* the Jews were

were ascertained of the counsell and will of God, By *Thummim* of his favour and good will towards them. All this agrees to Christ both in himself, and in regard of us.

In himself, his brest is full of *Vrim*, full of Light and Understanding, *in him dwell all the treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge*, as S. Paul saith; He is the Wisdom of the Father by which the world it self was made. His heart is also endowed with *Thummim*, with all kind of Perfections; He was conceived without Originall sin, lived without Actuell sin; fulfilled the whole Law of God, which is the Law of *Thummim*, the Law of all Perfection.

Thus to Christ himself agrees both *Vrim* and *Thummim*, and so it doth also in regard of us, for he is an *Vrim* and *Thummim* both to us and for us: To us he is *Vrim*, a light which enlightneth every one which cometh unto the world: He is the light which shone in darknesse, but the darknesse could not comprehend it. He was that light by which the people (as it is said in *Matthew 4.*) which sate in darknesse saw great light. And of this Light *Iohn* came to bear witnesse, that all might beleve in him, *Ioh. 1.* In summe, Christ is *λογος & λόγιον Patris*, the Word and Oracle of his Father, by whom we know and learn the Fathers will: for so S. *Iohn* saith, *cap. 1.* No man hath seen God at any time, but the Son who is in the bosome of the Father, he hath revealed him unto us.

Neither is Christ only an *Vrim*, but also a *Thummim* to us: For as by *Thummim* the Jews were ascertained of Gods favour toward them in accepting their Sacrifice: so by Christ comming in the flesh is revealed

Deut. 33. 8.

led the unspeakable mercy of God to mankind, in that he would accept his Sacrifice once offered for the expiation of the sins of the whole world. This is that Good-will toward men, which the Angels sung of as-foön as he was born; *Glory be to God on high, peace on earth, and good-will towards men*: Yea, glory be to God on high for this peace on earth, and for this good will towards men.

Thus we see Christ an *Vrim* and *Thummim* to us: now let us see how he is the same for us; and that is when his wisdom and righteousness is made ours by imputation: So his *Vrim* becomes our *Vrim*, his *Thummim* our *Thummim*, that is, his wisdom is made ours; his righteousness and favour with God made ours; for *this is my welbeloved Son*, said a voice from heaven, *in whom I am well pleased*. In brief, S. Paul comprehends both these together, where he saith, *Christ Iesus is made unto us Wisdom, Sanctification, and Redemption*. And so Lord, let thy *Vrim* and thy *Thummim* be with thy holy one.

And thus much for the speciall consideration of this *Vrim* and *Thummim*, both personally and typically: Now I come unto the generall meaning thereof, as it concerns not the High Priest only, but the whole Tribe of *Levi*, for this is the blessing of that whole Tribe. And in this large respect, the meaning cannot be proper, for so it belongs unto the High Priest to have *Vrim* and *Thummim*; nor typically, because the Priests only, and not the under Levites were types of Christ: but the sense must be analogicall, signifying some endowments common to all Levites, which resemble the *Vrim* and *Thummim* upon the brest of the High Priest.

Now

Deut. 33. 8.

Now what these are, the words themselves import, namely, Light of understanding & knowledge; this is their *Vrim*; and Integrity of life, this is their *Thummim*. The first makes them *Doctores*, the second *Ductores populi*: He that wants either of these two, wants the true ornament of Priesthood, the right character of a Levite.

For though these endowments may well beseeem all the Tribes of Israel; yet Moses specially prays for them in *Levi*, because by him they were to come to all the rest; and the want of them in him, could not but redound to all the rest; *Ita populus, sicut sacerdos*: the Priest cannot erre, but he causeth others to erre also; the Priest cannot sin, but he causeth others to sin also. And this is it that *Malachi* saith from the Lord, unto the Priests of his time, *Ye are gone out of the way, and have caused many to fall by the Law*: But the Levites of old, (saith the same Prophet) *The Law of Truth was in their mouth, and iniquity was not found in their lips: they walked with God in peace and equity, and turned many from iniquity*. Here you see when the Levites erre, the people erre also; when the Levites walk in equity, the people are turned from iniquity.

Mal. 2. 6, 8.

The Ministers of Christ must be *Lux mundi*, the light of the world; *Vos estis lux mundi*, ye are the light of the world; ye are the worlds *Vrim*, saith Christ unto his Apostles; for *the lips of the Priest should preserve knowledge, and they should learn the Law at his mouth*. This light of knowledge, this teaching knowledge is the *Vrim* of every Levite; and therefore Christ when he inspired his Apostles with knowledge of heavenly mysteries, he sent a new *Vrim* from above, even fiery tongues, tongues of *Vrim* from heaven: He sent

no

Deut. 33.8.

no fiery heads, but fiery tongues; for it is not sufficient for a Levite to have his head full of *Vrim*, unless his tongue be a candle to shew it unto others. There came indeed no *Thummim* from heaven, as there came an *Vrim*, for though the Apostles were secured from errors, they were not freed from sin. And yet we who are Levites, must have such a *Thummim* as may be gotten upon earth, for *S. Paul* bid *Titus* in all things to shew himself an example of good works: and this is a *Thummim* of Integrity.

But besides this *Thummim* the Ministers of the Gospel have received from God more especially another *Thummim*, like unto that which was proper to the High Priest; namely, the power of binding and loosing, which is as it were a power of Oracle to declare unto the people the remission of their sins, by the acceptance of Christs Sacrifice: And this directly answers to *Thummim* in the first sense.

ACTS

ACTS 5. 3, 4, 5.

3. But Peter said, *Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart, to lie to the holy Ghost, and to purloin of the price of the Land?*

4. *Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.*

5. And Ananias hearing these words, fell down and gave up, &c.

IN the 110. Psalm, where our Saviour is Prophetically described in the person of a King, advanced to the Throne of Divine Majesty, glorious and victorious; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy foot-stool, &c.* amongst other Kingly Attributes and Graces, it is said, (if it be translated as it should be) *That his people in the day of his power should offer him free-will offerings*; that is, bring him Presents at the day of his Inauguration or investment, as a sign of their Homage. For so was the manner of the East to do unto their Kings; and therefore when Saul was anointed

A^B. 5. 3. 4.

ted King by *Samuel*, it is said of those sons of Belial, which despised and acknowledged him not, that *they brought him no presents*: But of Messiahs people it is said, *Thy people in the day of thy power*, (that is, the day when thou shalt enter upon thy power, or the day of thy Investment) *shall be עַם נְדָבָה, a people of free presents*, or shall bring thee free-will Offerings. It is an Ellipticall speech עַמְךָ נְדָבָה, for עַמְךָ נְדָבָה, or נְדָבָה יִבְאוּ עִיךָ, and rightly expressed in the Translation of our Service Book.

This we see fulfilled in the story of the fore-going Chapter, when after our Saviours ascension into heaven, to sit at the right hand of God, which was the day of his power or inauguration in his Kingdome, as soon as this Investment was published by sending of the Holy Ghost, presently such as beleaved in him, that is, submitted themselves to his power, and acknowledged him to be their King, dedicated their goods and possessions to his service, selling their lands and houses, and laying down the money at the Apostles feet; namely, to be distributed as were the sacred Offerings of the Law, partly to the maintenance and furnishing of the Apostles for the work whereabout they were sent, and partly for the relief of the poor beleivers, which belonged to Christs provision.

According to this example one *Ananias* with *Sapphira* his wife, consecrated also a possession of theirs unto God, and sold the same to that purpose; but having so done, covetousnesse tickling them, they purloyned from the price, and brought but a part of the summe, and laid it down at the Apostles feet:

Then

Then said Peter, according to the words of the Text, why hath Satan filled thine heart (that is, made thee so daring: the like phrase we have *Eph. 7. 5.* מַה לְּךָ מִן הַדָּם, where is he whose heart hath filled him (we read it, *That durst presume*) to do so? and again, *Eccles. 8. 11.* The heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil. In the former the Septuagint hath ἐμβολισεν, emboldened; in the latter, ἐμπροσθεν, is filled) to lie unto the Holy Ghost, and to purloin from the price of the field, &c.

Which words contain two things; *Ananias* his sin, and his punishment therefore: His sin in the third and fourth verses: His punishment in the fifth, *Ananias* hearing these words, fell down and gave up the ghost.

Concerning his sin, it appears by the relation I have already made, it was *Sacriledge*, namely, the purloining of what was become holy and consecrate unto God, not by actuall performance, but by vow and inward purpose of the heart: for as it is well observed by *Ainsworth*, on *Levit. 7. 16.* out of *Maimony* in his Treatise of offering the Sacrifice, *Chap. 14. Sect. 4, 5. &c.* In vows and voluntaries it is not necessary that a man pronounce ought with his lips; but if he shall be fully determined in his heart, though he hath uttered nothing with his lips, he is indebted. And this is no private Opinion of mine, the Fathers so determine it: *S. Augustine*, that *Ananias* was condemned of *Sacriledge*, *Quod Deum in pollicitatione fefellisset*, (*Serm. 25. de verb. Ap.*) And in another Sermon, *Ananiam detraxisse de pecunia quam voverat Deo*. (*Serm. 10. de diversis.*) *S. Chrysostome* in his 12. Homily upon this place; *Pecunia illa*, saith he, *deinceps erant sacra*. Igi-

Act. 5. 3. 4.

tur qui voluerat suum vendere & distribuere, & postea de illis acceperit, sacrilegus fuerat. Again, *Vides quod hoc crimen imputatur, eo quod pecunias suas accepit quas consecraverat*; or, as the Greek, *sacras fecerat*. S. Jerome in his 8. Epistle, *Ananias & Sapphira dispensatores timidi, imò corde duplici; & ideo condemnati, quia post votum obtulerunt, quasi sua, & non ejus cui semel ea voverant; partemque sibi alienæ substantiæ reservaverunt, præsentem meruere vindictam non crudelitatis sententia, sed correctionis exemplo*. *Casarius* brother to *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his fourth Dialogue expreſſeth the sin of *Ananias* thus; *Semel Deo dicatum aurum*, saith he; *sacrilegio vulneratus alienaverat, interrogatus negaverat*: He alienated the money dedicated unto God, being wounded with Sacriledge, and when he was asked thereabout, denied it. Lastly, *Oecumenius*, in whom we have the currant interpretation of the Greek Fathers, thus expounds the words of S. Peter to *Ananias*, *Neque enim invitos vestramus, sed cum ultro necè vobis placuerit offerre Deo victimam, rursus vos ipsos ad proprium usum insumere, Sacrilegium indubiè est*: And then addes, *Ideo & Sacrilegorum pœnasunt percussi: Quanam? morte*. Also *Asterius* Bishop of *Marpurg* in *Germany*, who lived near the time of *Julian*, in his *Hom. in Avaritiam*, calls *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *οἰκίων ἀναθεμάτων ἱεροδύτης*.

I quote these Fathers the more fully, because many of our late Commentators omit the main sin, and dwell upon the circumstances only, as hypocrisie, vain-glory, covetousnesse, and the like. But we must distinguish between *Ananias* his fact, and the manner and circumstance thereof: The fact was Sacriledge:

In

In the manner of doing, other sins attended as hand-
maids. It will be plain, if we ask but these two ques-
tions: First, what *Ananias* did? The Text wil make an-
swer, *ὑποκλοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, He purloined of the holy money.*
This was his fact. Ask secondly, how and in what
manner he purloined? The story will tell us, dissem-
blingly and hypocritically, making an appearance to
the contrary. This then was but the manner and cir-
cumstance of his fact, and so the *species* of the fact not
to be placed therein.

Now this Sacriledge or Sacrilegious act commit-
ted by *Ananias*, is in the words of the Text partly
expressed, partly aggravated from the inexcusable-
ness thereof. In the expression is spent the third
verse; the aggravation is in the fourth. The crime or
fact of *Ananias* is expressed two ways: First, by *ὑποκλοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, purloining of the sacred price.* Se-
condly, by *ψεύσαντες τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, by lying unto, or*
deceiving the Holy Ghost. For both these I suppose to
mean one and the same thing; namely, the same fact
of *Ananias* two ways expressed. The first, *ὑποκλοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος*, I translate by *stealing or purloining*, for so the
word signifies: our English which renders it, *Keeping*
back of the price, doth not sufficiently expresse the
propriety thereof in this place: In another place it
doth, *Tit. 2. 10.* where it renders *ὑποφύλακτους, purloining;*
Exhort servants, saith the Apostle, to be obedient unto
their Masters, and to please them well in all things, μὴ
ὑποφύλακτους, not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity.
The Vulgar in both places useth *Fraudare*, defraud-
ing. In a word, the true signification of *ὑποφύλακτος* is
surripire, assuare, auertere subtiliter in animadum

A. 5. 3. 4.

nostrum convertere: whence *Beza* turns it by *Intervertere*, *Intervertis ex pretio*; and in *Titus*, *Intervertentes*. In the same sense it is used by the Septuagint in two severall places, both pointing at the sin of Sacrilege: One is in *Achans* story, *Josh. 7. 1.* where what we read, *Achan took of the accursed thing*, the Septuagint renders, *ἡλοπλοῦντο ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναθήμενης*, he purloined the accursed thing; that is, the thing that was consecrated to God, as all the silver and gold was, *ch. 6. ver. 19.* for which cause when God relates to *Joshua* *Israels* sin, as the reason of their flying before their enemies, he makes a distinction between *Achans* Sacrilege, and his theft and dissembling, *ver. 11.* of the 7. Chap. saying, *For they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuffe.* The other is, in *2 Mac. 4. 32.* *Menelaus* his Sacrilege (who stole the sacred Vessels) is expressed by it; *Menelaus* (saith the Author) supposing he had got a convenient time, *ἔκρυπτοντο τινὰς ὑποσημαίνοντες*, stole certain vessels of gold out of the Temple, and gave some to *Andronicus*, and some he sold into *Tyrus* and the Cities round about.

The second expression of *Ananias* his Sacrilege is by *ψεύδωντο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, deceiving or lying to the Holy Ghost; or as it is repeated immediately after, *ψεύδοντες τῷ θεῷ*, lying unto God. *ψεύδων* is false, frustrator, mentior, To deceive, tozenlie; (as also the Hebrew word *קָרַן*, which peculiarly signifies Sacrilegious transgression, as *Lev. 25.* and in the story of *Achan*, is in all those places (as elsewhere) rendered in *Targum*, *קָרַן*, to lie, and the substantive *מַעַל, קָרַן*, a lie) and in Oaths and promises, *Non servo, frango*, not to keep, or

or to break them. So *Ananias* his sin, was a lying unto, or breaking of promise with God: for having vowed, or promised unto him in his heart the whole price of the field, he brought him but part thereof. Both expressions point out the same fact; which in regard of the matter, was stealing or purloining: in regard of the Vow and Consecration, a breach of promise or lying unto God. So that when *Peter* says in the third verse, *Why hath Satan filled thine heart, to lie unto the Holy Ghost, and to purloin of the price of the land?* The latter is the explication of the former, and is, as if it had been said, *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie unto the Holy Ghost, in purloining the price of the land.*

But what, will some man say, means this speciall expression of the Deity in the Person of the Holy Ghost? why is *Ananias* said, to have lied to the Holy Ghost, rather then to have lied unto God only? For lying unto God would bear the sense I speak of, should not then lying unto the Holy Ghost, seem to have something else, or something more in it? I answer, *Ananias* his lie or breach of promise is applied thus in speciall to the Holy Ghost, in respect of the prerogative of that Person, as to stir and sanctifie, so to take notice of the motions of the heart: forasmuch therefore as *Ananias* his Vow and Promise which he broke, was not such as men could witnesse or take notice of, but such as his own heart or conscience only was privy to; hence it is said to have been done under the privy of the Holy Ghost, and he in the breach thereof to have lied unto him; because that which none but the inward man knoweth of, and is yet but in the purpose of the heart, is under his privy. There

AB. 134.

is a plain place *Rom. 9.* to this purpose, *I say the truth in Christ*, saith the Apostle, *I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost*: that is, the Holy Ghost, who is privy to my conscience, bearing me witness, or my conscience which the Holy Ghost is privy to. Some other places of Scripture I could name, which may receive light from this notion, but I am loth to meddle with them.

But for their interpretation, who expound this *lying unto the Holy Ghost*, of *Ananias* his hypocrisie, I cannot well see how it can stand; For *Ananias* dissembled not with the Holy Ghost, but with men; the Holy Ghost knew his heart well enough. And the hypocrite properly lies unto men, who guesse only by the outside, and not unto God, who knows the heart.

Others expound *lying unto the Holy Ghost*, as if it were lying to try whether the Holy Ghost in the Apostles could discover him or not: But this is an harsh and forc'd sense. As for that in the 9. verse, whereon it is grounded; *viz. How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* The word *Tempt*, or *mislead*, is mistaken, the notion thereof in Scripture being otherwhile, to provoke God by some presumptuous fact to anger; as: it were to try whether he will punish or not, to dare God. There is an evident place for this sense, *Numb. 14. 22.* *Those men*, saith the Lord, *which have seen my glory and my miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted mee now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice. 23. Surely, they shall not see the land which I swore to their*

their Fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me, see it.

And thus much of the bare description of *Ananias* his sin: Come we now to the aggravation thereof; While it remained, was it not thine? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power? That is, before it was sold, was it not thine? and being sold, was not the money paid thee? was not the price in thine hand? Thou hast therefore no excuse for what thou hast done. For there were two cases which might have excused *Ananias* for bringing but part of the price: If either he had not been *Dominus in solidum*, the full Proprietary of what was sold; or had not received the whole price it was sold for. For, as for the first, it is a rule in Law, *Quoties Dominium transfertur ad alium, tale transfertur, quale apud eum fuit, qui tradit*. A man can sell no more then is his. So that if *Ananias* had been owner but in part, he had power to dispose but in part. Secondly, though he were *Dominus in solidum*, the full Proprietary of the field, and so had right enough to sell it, yet had not the whole price been received, and in his power and possession, he might still have been excused for bringing but part thereof. But *Ananias* could plead neither of these: for saith *S. Peter*, Οὐχὶ μένον, οὐδέ τιδεις; whilest it remained unsold, did it not remain thine? or wer't not thou owner? καὶ οὐχὶ παραδόν ἐν τῇ σὴ ἐξουσίᾳ πωλῆσαι; and when it was sold, was not the money it was sold for in thy possession? The first words, Οὐχὶ μένον, οὐδέ τιδεις; (though there be no such speech again in Scripture) yeeld the sense I speak of plainly enough, nor will they bear any other meaning, unlesse somewhat forsaking the letter,

Act. 5. 3. 4.

we should with others construe them to imply, that *Ananias* was not constrained or urged to sell his possession at all, but might have kept it still: Which sense is most commonly followed, and hath the authority of *Origen* in the words before alledged; *Neque enim* (saith he) *in viros vos trahimus, sed quum ultionem vobis placuerit offerre Deo victimam, rursus vos ipsos ad proprium usum insumere sacrilegium est.* Therefore *Beza* translates the words, *Nonne, si servasses* (so he renders μένον) *manebat tibi?*

True it is, this sense makes as much for the unexcusableness of *Ananias*, as the other: for could he have alledged that what he had done for the sale of his land, was done not *spontè*, but *coactè*, not willingly, but by way of constraint, it might have excused him: because that act only is taken to be of force in Law, which a man consents unto: But that which is done by constraint or compulsion, is not done with full and free consent, and therefore binds not. So this sense agrees well enough with the story, only it may seem somewhat to strain the words: Howsoever if you had rather follow it, because of the authority, I will not contend. Only note thus much, that the Syriack Translator inclines to the first sense; for he translates, *Οὐχὶ μένον, οὐδ' ἔτι;* *Nonne tuus erat antequam venderetur.*

A second plea for the excuse of *Ananias* might have been in case he had not yet received the full price, and so had not the whole money in his hand. But this *S. Peter* also takes from him, *Οὐχὶ πωλῆς* (saith he) *ἐστὶν ὃν ἔτι οὐκ ἔλαβες;* *was it not when it was sold, in thy power?* that is, was not the price it was sold for in thine

thine hands? For *ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ* must here be understood for the price of what was sold; or the field reduced to money: otherwise the contrary would be true to that which *Peter* intimates, namely, that when it was sold, it was now no longer in his power, because he had sold it. But the same words, *ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*, in thy power, I understand to be as much as, in thy possession, or in thine hand; meaning, as I have said, that he had received the price. For not only that which a man hath dominion and propriety in, but that also which he hath but in bare possession, is rightly said to be in his power: for in the Law *ius possessionis* extends farther then *ius domini*, namely, as far as *habere*, to have a thing; *habere autem dicitur, non solum qui rei dominus est, sed qui rei quidem dominus non est, sed rem tenet*; that is, as they speak, *corpore possessioni insistit*. And in this sense the price which *Ananias* had received, is said to have been *ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, in his power, that is, in his possession: which will not seem a forc'd exposition, if we consider that *ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ* hath the same sense with *בְּיָד*, or *in manu* in the Hebrew; which implies not dominion only, but also bare possession. As it is said of *Abraham's* servant, *Gen. 24. 10.* That all the goods of his Master were in his hand; as well as of the rich misers son, *Eccles. 5. 14.* That there was nothing in his hand; that is, he was a begger. Both which might be expressed by *ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*, as *manus* in Hebrew, yea and in Latine too, is well enough known to be put for *ἐξουσία*.

I confesse there is another exposition usually given of these words, but it is such an one as directly contradicts the story; namely, that *Was it not in thy*

Act. 5. 3. 4.

power? Should be, was it not in thy power to have kept the price when it was sold? But first there is no such word in the Text as to keep it, and so we are not bound to understand it. It is only said, *was it not in thy power?* And if any verb be to be understood to supply the sense, why should it not as well be the contrary? *was it not in thy power,* to dispose it according to thy Vow? intimating there might be some just impediment after the sale, whereby he could not; especially he could not get the money. But to expound, *was it not in thy power?* to be, was it not in thy power to have kept it? is directly against the drift of the story: For how did *Ananias* sin in bringing but part of the price, if he might have kept all? Is not his sin expressly placed in that he purloined of the price? what other fact of his is mentioned save only this? Nay, if this should be the meaning of the words, it would follow, a man might vow a thing unto God, and yet be at liberty when he had done, whether he would perform it or not: He might lie unto God, and yet be guiltlesse. Without doubt this exposition was it that so obscured the whole narration, that it could not appear, wherein *Ananias* his sin consisted: But his sin as I have already shewed out of the Fathers, was Sacrilege, and of that kinde whereof *Solomon* speaks, *Prov. 29. It is a snare to the man who devours that which is holy, and after vows to enquire.* He had dedicated the whole value of the field in his conscience, and the purpose of his heart was evident by the sale thereof to that end; and yet when he had done, he repented him, and brought but part thereof. This meaning is evidently contained in the body

body of the narration, and therefore such a sense of any part as cannot stand with this, is in no wise to be admitted. He that considers it, will perceive the necessity of what I say.

Having thus cleared the words of the Text where there was any doubt or obscurity: Let us come to the Observations to be deduced thence; whereof the Relation affords us three evident ones: First, that Sacriledge is a sin against God, and not against men. Secondly, that that which is consecrate to God; must not be alienated to other uses. Thirdly, that it is an hainous sin which God thus severely punished. For the first, that Sacriledge is a sin against God, and not against men, is plain by the Text, *Thou hast not kept* said Peter, *unto a man, but unto God.* For whatsoever is sacred is his; yea, to be sacred is nothing else but to be set apart from mans interest to be Gods in a peculiar propriety and relation. To steal then or alienate that which is sacred, is to rob God and not man; for he is robbed whose the propriety is, but of sacred things God is the Proprietary and not man. It is an error therefore to be observed among the Expositors of the Decalogue, who rank Sacriledge as a sin of the eighth Commandement, when Sacriledge as Sacriledge is a sin of the first Table, and not of the second: A breach of the loialty we immediately owe to God, and not of the duty we owe to our neighbour. True it is, he that committeth Sacriledge, indirectly and by consequent, robbeth men too; namely, those who live of Gods provision; but Sacriledge it self is the robbing of God. This is evident by that of the Prophet *Malachi*, *Mal. 3.8. Will a man rob God? yet ye*

AB. 1. 3. 4.

have robbed me; (saith the Prophet in the person of God) But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In Tithes and Offerings. *ver. 9.* Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole Nation. *10.* Bring ye all the Tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it; &c.

The observation of this would be usefull in the question of the due of Tithes; for the state thereof is not rightly framed, when the *Quare* is made, Whether Tithes are due to the Ministers of the Gospel, meaning as a duty of the people unto them: we should say rather, Tithes are due unto God; for so is the style of the Scripture, *All the Tithes are mine*: these I give to *Levi*, and not you. God maintains not his Ministers at others charges, but out of his own Revenue which he hath reserved to himself: As was well observed by *Philo* the Jew, in his Book *de Sacerdotum honoribus*, where speaking of that *σμενότερον τέκνον καὶ ἀποιώτερον*, that honorable maintenance, & without bodily toil, which God had provided for his Priesthood; to take away from them out of whose labours this maintenance did accrue, all occasion of upbraiding those who by Gods assignment were to receive it, he saith, *καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀποδέχεται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκτελεσθέντα τὸν λειτουργικὸν ὅλον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκτελεσθέντα, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱερεὺς λαμβάνειν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ δεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐκτελεσθέντα, καὶ οὐκ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκτελεσθέντα, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱερεὺς λαμβάνειν.* *ἡμεῖς γὰρ δεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐκτελεσθέντα, καὶ οὐκ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκτελεσθέντα, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱερεὺς λαμβάνειν.* &c.

The people were commanded to bring their offerings first to the Temple, that thence the Priests might fetch them: It being not unworthy God himself, in token of gratitude for

for his infinite bounty and benefits, so take some part back again from him upon whom he had conferred so great benefits, and seeing himself the giver of all good gifts, stood in need of nothing, it pleased him to transfer that honourable maintenance, which was so returned him by way of thankfulness, upon those that served at his Altar, and ministred about holy things: τὸ δὲ μὴ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, (as he gives the reason) ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάντων ἐν ἐργάτῳ δοξαῖν λαμβάνειν, ἀδυσώπῃσιν ἔχει διαφορά· because they (the Priests) might take that their provision without being ashamed, as not comming from men, but from God the giver of all good gifts to every one. For they are his Ministers, and not the peoples, and therefore to receive their wages from their own Master who employs them, and not from them. The stating of the question thus, would make the way to the resolution of the controversie more easie, and lesse invidious, whilst we should plead for God and not for our selves: for it is not needfull that all which is given unto God should be spent upon his Ministers, though it be true that their maintenance should be out of his Revenue, and that honorable & competent. But there are many other uses for the imploiment of *bona sacra*, if there be more then is competent for them and theirs, building of Churches, defraying of such as are sent to Synods, and imploied upon other occasions of the Church, furnishing of treasures for a Holy War, the relief of the poor, the Orphan, the Widow, the Captive, and the distressed: All which belong to Christs provision.

The second Observation is, That that which is consecrated to God, may not be alienated to other Uses.

AA. 4. 14.

uses. The reasons whereof are; First, because none can alienate but he that hath the propriety, and is owner: *Dominium transferre non potest, qui ipse Dominus non est*: But in things consecrate to God, none hath the propriety but God. For certainly, a man cannot be said to have given that unto God, wherein he still reserves the Title to himself as the Owner: he that gives, transferres the *Dominium* from himself, unto him to whom the gift is made. If therefore that which is given to God, be Gods, then must those who go about to alienate it, dispose of that which is none of theirs: which, whether it be just or not, let any man judge.

Secondly, to alienate that which is given unto God, is a breach of vow or promise made unto him; *A lying unto him*, as my Text speaks. And if it be a sin not to perform what was vowed in the purpose of the heart only, as we see it was in this story of *Ananias*, much more is it to revoke a vow already performed. Nor will it serve turn to say, This reason may indeed concern the person himself that vowed, that he should not revoke again what he hath vowed; but doth not take away from the Common-wealth, or publike Magistrate their power to dispose of things subject to them. For howsoever it be true that every private person and his goods are under the tuition of the Publike, and the interest the Publike hath in either, cannot be given away by the sole act of a private person: yet in this case that rule hath place which is given by Almighty God, *Numb. 30.* concerning a Maidens vow in her Fathers house, or a womans vow under covert; That if the Father or the Husband hear the

the Vow, and she hand wherewith she bound her soul, and disallow it not, but shall hold his peace, then the vow shall stand: So when the Common-wealth or public Magistrate consents to and allows what is done, as in this case it is supposed they do, the vow and dedication is also irrevocable on their part.

Hence in Scripture it is made an inseparable property of that which is sacred or Gods, not to be alienable: As in *Ezek. 48. 14.* it is said of the portion of land to be laid out for the Levites, *They shall not sell it, neither exchange, nor alienate the first-fruits of the land;* (mark the reason;) *for it is holy unto the Lord.* This was the reason likewise, why a Jew might not sell outright his possession in the land of Canaan, but only for fifty years term, or untill the year of Jubilee, because the whole land was holy, and Gods land, and they but usufructuaries: So saith God, *Lev. 25. 23.* *The land shall not be sold for ever, or outright; for the land is mine, for you are but strangers and sojourners with me:* therefore in all the land of your possession, ye shall grant a redemption for the land. Where he saith, *ye are strangers and sojourners with me;* the meaning is, that as the Gentiles who became Profelytes, had no inheritance in the land, but dwelt therein as sojourners; so was all Israel in the sight of God, who would have none accounted Proprietaries of that land but himself, having acquired it by his own powerfull conquest from the Canaanite. For although in the same land, some part were yet in a more special manner the Lords land, yet comparatively, & secundum quid, the whole land was sacred and His: As all Israel was a peculiar and holy people, though the
Tribe

A^B. 5. 34.

Tribe of *Levi* were in a more speciall sort the holy Tribe. Now if that which was but in a more generall sense holy and the Lords, might not be alienated; what shall we say of that which is holy and His in the most speciall manner of all? I speak all this while of that which is dedicate unto God absolutely, and not with limitation or for term of time only, for such Dedications I suppose there may be.

Now if any shall ask me, whether this assertion, That things dedicate to God are unalienable, admits not of some limitations? I answer, It may be; and that in two cases; If either it can be proved, that the donation made unto God were a nullity; or shewed, that God hath relinquished the right which once he had. But here the water begins to grow too deep for my wading; yet I hope I may say thus much, That whosoever he be that shall plead either of these two cases to acquit himself of Sacriledge, had need be sure in a point of such moment, that his evidence be good, and such as he can shew good warrant for out of Gods own book: To go upon bare conjectures will not be safe. And for direction and caution in this case, I will adde further, That not every sinfulnessse of the person who is the Donor, nor every default or blemish in the consecration, makes the act itself void. It appears in the story of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, in that oblation of Incense made by the two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation, whose service though it were so displeasing unto the Lord, that he sent fire from heaven to consume them; yet when all was done, he gave this commandment to *Moses*, *Speak* (saith he) *unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the Priest, that*
he

he take up the censers out of the burning, and scatter
thou the fire powder, for they are hallowed. The censers of
these sinners against their souls; Let them make of them
broad plates for a covering of the Altar: For they offered
them before the Lord; therefore they are hallowed;
Num. 16 37, 38. Mark here; though they were offered
by sinfull men; and in a sinfull manner, yet must they be
applied to some other holy use, because they were be-
come sacred by having been offered unto the Lord.
So Rabbi Solomo Farbi, שדך כל קדש ומקדש
הוא קדש, Unlawfull for common use, because they
had made them vessels of Ministry.

My last observation is raised from the judgement
which befell *Ananias*; That it must needs be a hainous
sin which God so severely punished, namely, with
death: For there is no example to be found again in
the whole New Testament, of so severe a punishment
inflicted by the mouth of the Apostles, for any sin
whatsoever. But this was the first consecration of
goods that ever was made unto Christ our Lord, af-
ter he was invested to sit at the right hand of God:
And this transgression of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, the
first Sacrilege that ever was committed against him;
wherefore it was requisite that by the severity of the
punishment thereof, he should now manifest unto
men, what account he made, and how hainous he
esteemed that sin; that it might be for an example to
the worlds end unto all that should afterward beleeve
in his name to beware thereof. So saith S. Hierome,
*Ananias & Sapphira quia post votum obsecraverant quasi
sua & non ejus: cui semel ea voverant, praesentem mane-*

re

Act. 5. 4. 5.

re vindictam, non crudelitate Sententia sed correctionis exemplo. For the first in every kinde is the measure of that which follows; & though Sacriledge be not since punished by God as often as it is committed, by such a visible death, yet was it his purpose that by this first punishment we should take notice how great that sin was, and how displeasing in his sight, which was a punishment by the greatest visible judgement that could be.

The like severe example to this, and for the like end, was that upon him who at first profaned the Sabbath day in the Wilder nesse by gathering sticks, *Num. 15. 32, &c.* who by the sentence of God himself was put to death, and stoned by the whole Congregation: That the Jews hereby might know, that howsoever the like were not ordinarily afterward to be inflicted for the like sin, yet that the gravity thereof in the eyes of God was still the same, which that first severity intimated.

Furthermore, it is worthy to be noted, that we finde three examples of such a kinde of coactive jurisdiction, (if I may so term it) exercised either by our Saviour when he was here on earth, or by his Apostles; and all three for the profanation of that which was sacred. The first two by our Saviour himself against those that profaned his Temple, by buying and selling therein as a common place: For which at the first Passeeover after his beginning to Preach the Gospel, he made him a whip and whipped such profaners out of it, saying, *Make not my Fathers house a house of Merchandise, Joh. 2. 13.* Another time, which was at his last Passeeover, *He overthrew the Tables of the*

the Money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves, and would not suffer any to carry a Vessel through the Temple, selling them, that his house was made for an house of prayer, but they had made it a den of Thieves; Mat. 21. 12. Mark. 11. 15. Luk. 19. 45. The third example is this which the Apostle Peter exercised upon Ananias and Sapphira for Sacriledge. Whereby it should appear that how small account soever we are now adays wont to make of these two sins, yet in Gods esteem they are other manner of ones then we take them for.

Another argument of the hainousnesse of the sin of Sacriledge is, that there was no sacrifice appointed in the Law to make atonement for the same, if it were committed willingly and wittingly; but onely if it were ignorantly done: For so we have it, *Levit. 5. 15. If a soul commit a trespass, and sin through ignorance in the holy things of the Lord, he shall bring for his trespass unto the Lord, a ram without blemish out of the flock. — And he shall make amends for the harm that he hath done in the holy thing, and adde the fifth part thereunto. — And the Priest shall make an atonement for him, and it shall be forgiven him.* Thus if it were done ignorantly; but if wittingly and presumptuously, there was no atonement appointed for it: though for other sins there be, even to perjury it self: For, as it is in *Mal. 3. 4. Will a man rob his God?*

Another proof and testimony of the hainousnesse of this sin, is that so ancient a custome in Dedications to lade it with a curse; which to be no late custom (as some may suppose) taken up among Christians, but used both by Jew and Gentile before Christ was born,

At. 5. 4, 5.

Ab. 3. 3. 4.

born, may appear by that Decree of K. *Darius* for the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, which concludes with this execration; *The God that hath caused his name to dwell there, destroy all Kings and People, that shall put to their hand to destroy this house of God, which is at Jerusalem. I Darius have made a Decree, let it be done with speed. EZRA 6. 12.*

From this custome it came, that *Anathema* signifies such a Donary given unto a Temple, and an accursed thing, or that which hath a curse with it. So *ḥām* in Hebrew, a thing cursed and destined to destruction, and also a kinde of offering or consecration which had a curse laid upon it, namely, a curse to him that should meddle with it. Which kinde of consecration had this peculiar, that even the very individuall might never be altered, changed, or redeemed upon any terms, *Levit. 27. 28.* whereas other offerings might, so that a valuable thing or better were given for them. Such a consecration (I mean a *Cherem*, or consecration under pain of a curse in the very individuall) was that of the City *Jericho*, as the First-fruits of the conquests of *Canaan*.

To these Arguments I will adde two or three examples to this of *Ananias*, of the punishment of this sin, and so conclude. To begin then with the beginning of all: Was not the first sin of Mankind, for which himself, his posterity, and the whole earth was accursed, a great and capitall sin? But this if we look well into it, was no other for the *species* and kind of the Fact, then Sacriledge: Such the ancient Jews conceived *Adams* sin to have been; namely, a *species* of theft; as may be gathered out of the Book *Dé*

morte

morte Moses, where *Moses* is brought in deprecating death, and answering God that his case was not such as *Adams*; for he transgressed by stealing, and eating what God forbade him to meddle with, and so was justly condemned, עֵבֶר אָדָם הָרָאשׁוֹן גֵּיב וְאָכַל מִמֶּה שֶׁלֹּא דָבָר;
But who could *Adam* steal from, save from God only? And therefore I say the first sin of mankind for the Fact, was the sin of Sacriledge: For whereas among all the trees of the Garden, which God gave man freely to enjoy, there was one *Noli me tangere*, which he had reserved unto himself as holy, in token he was Lord of the Garden; Man by eating of this as common, violated the sign of his Fealty unto the great Landlord of the whole Earth, and committed Sacriledge: for which he was cast out of Paradise, and the whole earth accursed for his sake. Might I now say, that to this day many a son of *Adam* is cast out of his Paradise, and the labours of his hands accursed for meddling with this forbidden fruit? But to go on:

Achan for nimming a wedge of gold, and a Babylonish garment of the devoted thing of *Iericho* aforementioned, brought a curse both upon himself, and the whole Congregation of Israel.

For the Sacriledge of *Eli's* sons, who not content with those offerings which God allowed them for their maintenance, robbed him of his Sacrifices to furnish their own Tables; God gave not only his people, but even the Ark of his Covenant into the hands of the Philistines.

For the Sacriledge of the seventh or Sabbaticall year, God caused his people to be carried captive,

M m

and

AR. 1.4.5.

A^B. 1. 4. 5.

and the land lie waste 70. years. By the Law of *Moses* every seventh year the whole land was sacred unto the Lord; so that no man that year might challenge any right of propriety, either to sow his field, or prune his vineyard, or reap that which grew of it self, or gather the fruits of his vineyard undressed, only he might eat thereof in the field, as at other times any might of that which was none of his, as he travelled by, otherwise every mans field and vineyard was that year free as well to the Servant as the Master, to the Stranger as the Owner, to beasts as well as to men. The same year also were all servants and all debts sacred unto the Lord, and so to be released; whence that year was called *The Lords Release*. See *Exod. 21. Levit. 25. Deut. 15*. This consecration, being as much as the forgoing of the seventh part of every mans profits, the covetous Jews for many years neglected the observation thereof; For which sin the Lord, as himself professeth, caused them to be carried captive, and the land to lie waste seventy years without Inhabitant, till it had fulfilled the years of Sabbath which they observed not. For their Idolatry he gave them into the hands of the Gentiles their enemies: for their Sabbaticall Sacrilege, hee added this unto it, that they should beside their bondage, be carried captives into a strange Countrey, and their land lie desolate 70. years.

For the Sacrilegious profanation of *Belsazzar*, in causing the *Vessels of Gods House* to be made his Quaffing-bowls for himself and his Lords, his Wives and his Concubines to carouse in, was the hand writing upon the wall sent, which did so affright him, that the

Text

Text says, *His countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him so, that the joynts of his loyns were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.* And the same night Gods vengeance light upon him, Dan. 5.

Act. 5. 4. 5

Lastly, in the days of the Greek Kings, God gave his own Temple and worship to be profaned, and his people to be trodden under foot by *Antiochus Epiphanes* a Gentile King, because they themselves had a little before profaned the same with sacrilegious hands, having betraid the Treasures and Offerings of the same unto a Gentiles coffers, and sold the sacred Vessels to the Cities round about them. 2 Mac. 3. 4.

2. 5. cap.

M m 2

Jo s l



JOEL 2. 17.

Let the Priests, the Ministers of the Lord, weep between the Porch and the Altar, and say, Spare thy people, ô Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach.



Hese words are part of a description of a Fast, as the Context before and after will tell you; and they contain a Rite or Custome wont to be used in such solemne deprecations, namely, for the Priests of the Lord, (who are to be the Intercessors and Mouth of the Congregation) not then, as at other times, to enter into the Temple, to offer and sanctifie with Incense the prayers of the people at the Golden Altar before the vail, but to prostrate themselves without the door, between the Porch and the Altar of burnt-offering, as unworthy to approach the Throne of the Divine Majesty, or come over his Threshold, and therefore keeping a distance; as it is said also of the Publicane in the Gospel, that when he came into the Temple or Courts thereof to pray, he stood, *μακρὸν ἄσταν*, *afarre off*, saying, *God be mercifull to me a sinner*. For ye are to know, that the great or brasen Altar, called the Altar of burnt-offering, whereon the

Luk. 18. 13

the sacrifices were offered, stood not within or under the roof of the Temple, but *sub dio*, over against the door or Porch thereof in the middle of the Priests Court. For at the entrance into the Temple or House of God, *Solomon* built a large *vestibulum*, or Porch, on each side whereof stood those two famous Pillars of brasse, the one called *Jachin*, and the other *Boaz*: Between this Porch and the great brazen Altar (which stood without it) *the Priests the Ministers of the Lord* are here commanded to weep, and say, *Spare thy people, ô Lord, and give not thine heritage to Reproach.*

Joel 2. 17.
2 Chr. 15. 8
Ezek. 8. 16.

This Rite of humiliation, we finde mentioned in two other places of the Book of Scripture: As first, in that humiliation of *Ezra* for the peoples marrying of strange wives, *Ezra 9. & Chap. 10. 1.* where having rent his garment and mantle, *he cast himself down* (saith the Text) *before the House of the Lord*, (*viz.* before the door or Porch thereof,) *weeping, and confessing, and said, Lord, I am ashamed to lift up my face to thee my God, for our iniquities are encreased over our head, and our trespass is grown up unto the heavens.* Another mention we have thereof in *1 Mac. 7. 38.* when *Nicanor* proudly threatned, that unlessse *Judas Maccabeus* and his host were delivered into his hand, *if ever he returned in safety, he would burn up the House of God: Then the Priests*, saith the Text, *entred in* (namely, into the Courts of Gods House) *and stood between the Altar and the Temple, weeping and praying.* Which passage the Greek Interpreter of that Book, did not well understand, when he rendred it, *and stood* before the Altar and the

M m 3 Tem-

Joel 2. 17.

Temple. For *Joſeph Ben Gorion* hath expreſſly in the Hebrew, בין המזבח והמזבח, the very words of *Joel* in my Text, *between the Porch and the Altar.*

A like cuſtome whereunto, and as is probable taken up in imitation thereof, is that of ours, To read the Letany (or our *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo*) kneeling at a low deſk in the body of the Church before the Chancell door, (as was ordered by the firſt Injunctions of our Reformation when Proceſſion was taken away) or at the bottome of the ſteps or aſcent unto the Altar, as is uſed in the Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches.

And this may ſuffice for explication of the Rite which the Prophet here deſcribeth: Now the Leſſon we are to learn from hence is, That the nature of a right and religious Faſt conſiſts in an humble demiffion and abjection of our ſelves before Almighty God, out of the apprehenſion of the greatneſſe of his Majeſty, and our unworthineſſe to finde any favour at his hands, whom we have ſo much provoked by our ſins. For this to have been the meaning of that Ceremony, beſides the naturall ſignification of the deportment it ſelf, appeareth by the *Exordium* I but now quoted of *Ezra's* confeſſion, when he thus caſt himſelf down before the Porch of the Houſe of the Lord, weeping; *Lord, I am aſhamed* (ſaith he) *and bluſh to liſt up my face to thee, my God: For our iniquities are increaſed over our head, and our triſpaſſe is grown up to the heavens.* Beſides, thus to humble and bring us down, is the end why God ſendeth his judgments of Plague, Famine, or the like, for the averſion whereof theſe ſolemn ſuppliations and aſſemblics

blies are ordained. And therefore rightly at the beginning of our publique worshipping of God are we admonished to be humble, by some of the first words we are to utter; *O come let us humble our selves, and fall down before the Lord with reverence and fear.* Hence fasting and humbling a mans self go in Scripture for equipollent terms: *My cloathing was sackcloth;* (saith David, *Psal. 35. 13.*) *I humbled my self with fasting.* So *Ahab* humbled himself; and thereby deferred his judgement, *1 King. 21. 29.* *Hezekiah* humbled himself, both he and all the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, *2 Chron. 32. 26.* *Manasseh* is said likewise to have besought the Lord and *humbled himself greatly before the God of his Fathers,* *2 Chr. 33.*

No disposition fit so and apt for devotion as humility; no more powerfull means to prevail with God and appease his wrath, then this abjection of our selves; *Satis est prostrasse Leoni;* Let me with reverence apply it unto the Majesty of God.

For all Eminency is worshipped with humility, reverence, and submission, that is, as we are wont and rightly to speak, *by keeping a distance.* Therefore the sovereign or supreme Excellency of God must be adored with the lowest demission and greatest stoop the soul can make. We finde by experience that that disposition of the eye, which fitteth us to behold the visible Sun, maketh a man blinde when he looketh down upon himself: So here, the apprehension of the transcendent excellency of God, ten thousand times brighter then the Sun, if truly admitted into our hearts, will darken all our overweening conceit of any worthinesse in our selves. The greater we would

Joa 3. 17.

apprehend his power, the more sensible must we be of our own weaknesse; The greater we acknowledge his goodnesse, the lesse goodnesse must we see in our selves: The more we would apprehend his wisdom, the lesse we are to be puffed up with our own knowledge: As in a pair of scales, the higher we would raise one skale, the lower we pull down the other; so the higher we raise God in our hearts, the lower we must deresse our selves.

Hence we find the humblest natures, and the most humbled condition, to be the fittest for devotion; I say, the humblest natures are the most pliable and aptest to Religion: whereas those which the world is wont to commend for brave spirits, of all others buckle the worst thereto: But let the world fancy what it will, God seeth not as man seeth; It is not the tallest *Eliab*, but the humblest *David* who is the *man after Gods own heart*; He that humbleth himself as a *little childe*, the same is the tallest and goodliest soul for the Kingdome of God: The Stars in the Firmament howsoever they here seem small to us, yet are bigger then the earth; so he that is despicable and small here in the eyes of men, is there a great one in the eyes of God. Let those therefore that think all worth resides in a lofty and brave spirit, remember, that the Devil was a braver fellow then any of them all, and that his high and lofty spirit, was the cause of his downfall and Apostasie from his Creator, and so of that damnation to everlasting fire prepared for him and his Angels:

And as the humblest nature, so the humblest or most humbled state and condition, is the fittest also
for

for the exercise of devotion, as the poor and mean, rather than the rich and full. Wherefore *Agur* desired of God, *not to give him more then food convenient for him, lest being full he should deny him, and say, Who is the Lord?* Such likewise is the state of adversity and affliction, whence it is that God useth this discipline of his corrections and judgements, to make us crouch and bow down unto him, when he seeth us ready to forget him. Whence *David*, *Psal. 94. 12.* pronounceth *the man blessed whom the Lord chastiseth;* and *Psal. 119. ver. 67, 71.* *Before I was afflicted, saith he, I went astray, but now I have kept thy word. It is good for me that I have been afflicted.* For diseases, say the Physicians, must be cured by contraries: It was pride that caused the disloyalty and rebellion both of men and Angels against their God and Maker; Whence it is that *Syracides* saith, *Ecclus. 10. 12.* *The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker. 13. For pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it, shall pour out abomination.* If pride be the beginning of our rebellion against God, then must lowliness be the proper disposition of those who fear and worship him; And *so Tanto quisque est vilior Deo, quanto est pretiosior sibi.*

Now then to return to our Argument of Fasting; we may observe beside the ceremony specified in my Text, that all other Rites or Ceremonies used by the Ancients in this solemn devotion, or yet continued by us, imply nothing else but lowliness and humility, partly to work and beget it, partly to expresse and signify it. They are reducible to three heads: 1. of habit.

Joel 2. 17.

bit; 2. of gesture; 3. of diet. For habit, it was anciently *sackcloth and ashes*, by the courtesie of the sackcloth they ranked themselves, as it were, amongst the meanest and lowest condition of men; by ashes, and sometimes earth upon their heads, they made themselves lower then the lowest of the creatures of God: For the lowest of the elements is the earth, then which we use to say a man cannot fall lower; *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat*. For gesture, they sate or lay upon the ground, which in the Primitive Church was called, *κακουρία, humicubatio*; a naturall ceremony both to expresse, and ingenerate or encrease this disposition of lowlinesse and abjection of our selves; and as frequently practised by our devout Fore-fathers, as it is seldome or never used amongst us. It were a thing most comely, and undoubtedly most profitable, if either these ceremonies, or some other answerable to them, were revived amongst us at such times as these. If we were all of us this day attired, if not in sackcloth, (which perhaps suites not so well with the custome of our Nation) yet in the dolefullest habit of mourners; if we lay all groveling upon the ground; would not such a rufull spectacle, would not the very sight of so uncouth an assembly, much afflict and move us? The mournfull hue of Funerall solemnities, we know by experience, will often make them to weep, who otherwise have no particular cause of sorrow; how much more when they have?

But the principall ceremony, and which we still retain, is abstinence from meate and drink, whence this kinde of supplication hath the name of Fasting: the end

end thereof being as to bring down our bodies, thereby the better to humble our souls, so to expresse and testifie the same. *Mores animi sequuntur temperamentum corporis*: If the body be full and lusty, the minde will be lofty and refractory, and most unfit and uncomposed to approach the Divine Majesty with reverence and fear. How uncomposed is that heart to sue to God for mercy, and aversion of his judgements, which is fraught with rebellious, unclean and lustfull thoughts, like so many dogges barking within it? But these are all ingendred and cherished by full feeding, and cannot be easily quelled unlesse they be starved: *When I fed Israel to the full* (saith the Lord Jer. 5. 7, 8.) *then they committed adultery and assembled by troops in harlots houses, &c. Ieshurun* (saith Moses in his Prophecticall song Deut. 32. 15.) *waxed fat and kicked, and forsook the Lord that made him, and lightly esteemed of the Rock of his salvation.*

Wherefore S. Paul was faine to pinch his body, and bring it down with Fasting; *I keep under my body* (saith he 1 Cor. 9. ult.) *and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means when I have preached unto others, I my self should be a cast-away.* Hilarion a religious young man, when after much abstinence and course diet he felt his flesh still unruly and rebellious; *Ego, inquit, Afelle, faciam ut non Calcisres, nec te hordeo alam, sed paleis; Fame & siti te conficiam*: such is the danger of a pampered body, and such the necessity of keeping it under.

But as Fasting is a Physicall means (if it be used to purpose) to take down the loftinesse of our minds and affections, by subtracting the fuell and foment of our lusts, which is full feeding; so is it a ceremony chosen

Joel 2.17.

chosen for that naturall effect it hath to signifie and testifie, that by reflection upon our vilenesse and unworthinesse, we strike the sail of our high flying affections, and humble our selves before the Majesty of Almighty God upon such occasions as these. For as we use fasting not only to beget, but also to expresse and testifie our erection and chearfulnesse of heart in times of joyfulnessse, (whence in the Old Testament, *to rejoyce before the Lord*, is put for *to feast before him*;) So is fasting, when we would intend our devotions, used, not only as a means to further, but also as a ceremony, whereby we testifie our sorrowfull dejection and humiliation of minde before God.

Well then, you see what is the chief end we are to aim at in this our solemne abstinence, namely, to take down our proud hearts, and bring them to a state of lowlinessse and humility, a disposition so acceptable and prevailing with God; to check our high-mountain passions, and allay the smoaking flames of our unruly lusts; which as it is at all times requisite in some measure, whensoever we approach the Majesty of God to sue for mercy and forgivenessse; so then especially, and in a more then usuall manner, when God shakes the rod of his judgements over our heads, and biddeth us down and prostrate both soul and body before him, lest his wrath break us in pieces if we will not bow.

He that hath attained this, hath fasted well; he that hath not, may hereby know, he hath not done enough, or not as he should do. If the boiling of our lusts be cooled and calmed; if the swelling conceits of worth in our selves be taken down, with a true and feeling appre-

apprehension of our vilenesse and wretchednesse through sin, which maketh us the most unworthy creatures in the world; if those ramping weeds of contempt and despising of others, be cropped and withered, (and these I can tell you will quite spoil a garden where many good flowers grow;) If after this manner we be affected, then are we humbled. If not, we are not sufficiently taken down; all our service is hypocrisie, nor will our devotions be accepted of that all-seeing Majesty who *resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.*

Jost 2. 17.

G E N.

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.



GEN. 3. 13, 14, 15.

13. And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

14. And the Lord God said unto the Serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattell, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.

15. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.



THE Story, whereof the words I have read are part, is so well known to all, that it would be needles to spend time in any long preface thereof; Who knows not the story of *Adams* fall? who hath not heard of the sin of *Eve* our Mother? If there were no Scripture, yet the unsampled irregularity of our whole nature, which all the time of our life runs counter to all order and right reason, the wofull misery of our condition be-

ing

ing a scene of sorrow without any rest or contentment: This might breed some generall suspection, that *Ab initio non fuit ita*, but that he who made us Lords of his creatures, made us not so worthless and vile as now we are, but that some common Father to us all, had drunken some strange and devillish poyson, wherewith the whole race is infected. This poyson saith the Scripture, was the breach of Gods commandement in Paradise, by eating of the forbidden fruit: for which *Adam* being called to an account by the great Judge, and laying the fault upon the woman which God had given him for an helper, God vouchsafes, as ye hear in my Text, to examine the Woman, saying, *What is this that thou hast done?* And she answers, *The Serpent beguiled me and I did eat.*

These words contain in them two parts; First, Gods Inquisition accusing. Secondly, the womans Confession excusing her fact. The first in the first words, *And the Lord said unto the woman, &c.* The second in the last words, *And the woman said, The Serpent, &c.* For the first words which God speaks being considered absolutely, are an indictment for some crime; as they are interrogative, they are an inquisition concerning the same, and therefore I call them an Inquisition accusing. So the second are a Confession, as the woman says, *I have eaten*; but with an excuse when she says, *The Serpent beguiled me*; and therefore I call them, a Confession excusing.

In the Inquisition are two things to be considered, First, the Author and Person who makes it, which is the Lord God himself; So saith my Text, *And the Lord God said unto the woman.* Secondly, the Inquisition

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

tion it self, *What is this that thou hast done?* In the Person who comes and makes this Inquest, being the Lord God himself, we may observe and behold his *φιλανθρωπία*, his wonderfull goodnesse, and unspeakable love to mankinde, which here reveals it self in four most remarkable circumstances: First, in his forbearance; *And the Lord said;* When said the Lord? namely, not till *Adam* had accused her; she who was first in the sin, was last questioned for the same; and that too because her husband had appealed her. God knew and observed well enough the first degree, and every progresse of her sin, he needed no information from another, yet as though he were loth to take notice thereof, as though he were loth to finde her guilty, yea as though he were loth to denounce the punishment which his Justice required, he comes not against her untill now; and that as though he were unwilling to come at all.

If we look back into the story, we shall yet finde a further confirmation thereof: How long did God hold his hand before he stripped the woman especially, of that glorious beauty of her integrity, and made her with opened cies to see her shamefull nakednesse? She had at the first onset of her conference with the Serpent, sinned a sin of unbeleef of God, and yet God spared her: In the progresse she sinned more in her proud ambition of being like to God himself, and to be wise above what was given her; and God yet spared her: She sinned when she coveted and longed once to eat of the forbidden fruit, when it began to seem more pleasing and desirable unto her then obedience to Gods Commandement; and God yet spared

red her; At last she takes and eats thereof, and so came to the height and consummation of her sin, and yet behold and see the clemency and longanimity of our good God, he paused yet a while untill she had given unto her husband also, and then, and not till then, he opened their eyes to see their wofull misery.

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

A lesson first to us men, if so be we think the example of God worthy our imitation, to bear long with our brother as God bears with us; to admonish him, as it is in the Gospel, the first, second and third time, before we use him like an Heathen or a Publican; *to forgive him seven times*, yea, (as Christ says to Peter) if he repent and ask forgiveness, *seventy times seven times*.

Secondly, this may be a cordiall of spirituall comfort unto us sinners, though we make a shift to keep our selves from the execution of sin, yet we finde our hearts full of sinfull thoughts, ungodly desires, and unclean lusts, and such like sinfull motions from the infirmity of our flesh: which notwithstanding we cannot ever expell or be rid of, yet let us hope that God out of his mercy will bear with our weaknesse, and passe by our infirmities, who bore with the sin of our first Parents untill it came to execution.

The second circumstance is the temper of his Justice; in that he vouchsafes first to enquire of the offence, and examine the fact, before he gives sentence or proceeds to execution. The like example we have Gen. 11. where it is said, *The Lord came down to see the City and Tower which the children of men had builded*, afore he would confound their language, or scatter

N n

them

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

them abroad from that ambitious *Babel*, upon the face of the earth. Again, *Gen. 18.* the Lord says, *I will go down, and see whether they of Sodom have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know.* He from whom no secrets are hid, he that formed the heart of man, and knows all the works we do; he that trieth and searcheth the heart and reins, even he will first examine the fact, will first hear what miserable man can say for himself, before his sentence shall passe upon him: not out of ignorance of what was done, for how should the omniscient God be ignorant? but out of his wonderfull clemency, and unspeakable moderation towards man: I say, towards man, for to him alone he shews this favour; for as for the Serpent, we see, he vouchsafes not to ask him one question, nor to expect what he could say for himself, but presently without examination proceeds to judgement against him.

Doth the great God, the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth, deal with so unspeakable a temper with his creature, and is vile man, a base earth-worm, so austere unto his brother? It was the height of *Eves* whole ambition to be like unto God, but her off-springs ambition is to be most unlike unto him; He glories in mercy and clemency, we in rage and rash austerity: He hears his creature speak before he condemns him, we condemn our brother before we hear him speak. Be wise and learned ye Judges of the earth, let this great example of God be the pattern of your imitation; yea let no private man condemn another rashly, untill he hath heard what he may say for himself, as God himself here vouchsafed to go before us.

The

Gen. 3. 13.
14, 15.

The third circumstance is Gods condescent unto man, in that he sends neither Angels nor Ministers to examine our first Parents, and to make inquisition of their offence, but he comes himself in person to take notice thereof. When men are offended, especially great men, they will not deign to look upon, or to admit into their presence those that have offended them: How great therefore is this indulgence of Almighty God, who deigns here his presence to our most wretched and most naked Parents, who had so grievously sinned against him? How happily graced would a poor offender think himself, if he might be admitted to the presence of his Prince, there to say what he could either for his defence or excuse, or else to sue for mercy and move compassion? By how much therefore God is greater then the greatest Monarch of the world, even as much as they are greater then nothing, so much is this indulgence of God here expressed in my Text to *Eve*, as before to her husband, surpassing all the favour and condescent of men, who sent not for man, but came himself unto him; yea, who vouchsafed then to seek them out, when they ran away from him.

Now all this is spoken *ἀνθρωποφιλῶς*, after the fashion of men, and therefore not so much to expresse what God himself did, as what men ought to do: Let it be a lesson therefore to those who are set over others, not to be too hard of access to such as are obnoxious unto them. If God himself vouchsafed so far unto his creature so wretched, much more should man unto his brother.

The fourth circumstance is the manner of his speech

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

to Eve, in that he that was the Lord God should so mildly speak unto her, *What is this thou hast done?* The Lord God said it, saith my Text, but who would not think it rather the speech of a familiar and condoling friend, then of so great a Judge, so greatly offended: here is no word of asperity, but of lenity, no menacing, no upbraiding terms, but only, *What is this thou hast done?*

And should not we learn hence not to insult over such, whose offences make them liable either to us or others? should we upbraid, rail, triumph, and vomit our impotency upon them? certainly we seem not to remember what a gentle and commiserating Judge God is, or that our selves are men, and have to deal with humane frailty, and mans miserable condition, which we ought to behold with pity, and not handle with bitterness.

THE next thing is, the inquisition it self; *What is this thou hast done?* Some reade, *Why hast thou done this?* expounding למה עשית for למה עשית. But Eves answer following where she saith, *I have eaten*, plainly argues the question was *what* she had done, and not *why* she had done it: And therefore I take the words as our Translation hath them, and understand this manner of asking by God to be a scheme of admiration, and to imply an exaggeration of the womans sin, as if he had said, O what an horrible sin is this thou hast committed? How grievously hast thou transgressed? O what hast thou done? And therefore, God enquiring of her sin with exaggeration, she makes answer with diminution; Indeed, she had offended because she had eaten, but yet the offence was the lesse, for the Serpent had deceived her.

This

This then being the meaning of the words, let us behold in them the greatnesse of the sin of our first Parents, which made the Lord God himself to say, *What is this thou hast done?* The greatnesse of this sin I will first consider as it concerns them both in generall, and then as in particular: The greatnesse of the sin in generall appears in these four considerations.

First, it was a transgression of such a Law, as was given only to prove man whether he would be under God or no: For the morall Law which was written and engraven in the hearts of our first Parents, and was for the doing of things simply good, and abstaining from things simply evil, such things as a good man would do, were there no commandment, and such things as he would not do, were there no prohibition; so that in these there was no triall whether man would obey God or no, only because he commanded him, and meerly for obedience sake. And therefore had God ordained this Symbolicall Law, prohibiting a thing in it self neither good nor evil, neither pleasing nor displeasing unto God, but indifferent, that mans observance thereof might be a profession and testimony, that he was willing to submit himself to Gods pleasure, only because it was his pleasure. And that it might yet the more appear, God made not choice of such a thing as man cared not for, but of a pleasant and desirable thing, whereunto the more his inclination was carried, the more by his abstaining might his willing subjection be approved: The violating therefore of this Law, was an open profession, that he would not be under God, and renouncing of him to be his Lord. And this is the

*Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.*

first respect, wherein appears the greatnesse of *Adam's* sin.

The second consideration arguing the same is, that he on whom God had bestowed so many glorious endowments, whom he had as it were stuffed with so many excellent abilities, and adorned with so many precious graces, that he should sin against him, and set so light by his commandment: for of those to whom God had given so much, he might justly require and expect much: Therefore those whom God hath furnished with the best gifts, either of knowledge or other abilities, they, if they sin, sin most grievously: so that in this respect the sin of *Adam* and *Eve* exceeded the sins of their posterity, as much as their integrity did our corruption. The greater the person, the greater his sin: The sin of a Prince greater then the sin of a vulgar person, and therefore in the Law there was a greater Sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the Prince and Priest, then of the people.

The third circumstance aggravating his sin, was the easinesse of the commandment, and the easinesse man had to keep the same, both in regard of himself, whom no itching concupiscence urged, as being altogether free therefrom, and not as we his off-spring are continually vexed with the boiling thereof: Secondly, in regard of the thing it self he was to abstain from, being onely one fruit, in so great a liberty of all the garden besides. How easily might he have abstain'd from one, to whom God had given the use of all saving this one: he wanted not to feed him, he wanted no variety of food, he had even enough to surfeit on; only to approve his obedience to Him who had

had given all the rest unto him, he was to abstain from one, and yet he would not: *Quanta fuit* (saith S. Aug.) *iniquitas in peccando, ubi tanta erat non peccandi facilitas?*

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

The fourth circumstance aggravating this sin, was the place, which was Paradise, as it were in Gods own presence, even afore his face: for as heaven above other parts of the world, is the place of Gods speciall presence, so was Paradise above other parts of the earth, as it were an heaven upon earth: the place wherein he singularly revealed himself, and therefore an holy place and the Temple of God. Do not men, otherwise giving the loose rein to wickednesse, yet abhorre to commit it in Gods Temple? How impudently contumelious was this sin therefore which was committed in Gods very Presence-chamber?

All these aggravations are common to both our Parents, which all laid together makes their sin as great as ever any was, saving the sin against the holy Ghost, for so the best Divines do think. But Eve addes one aggravation more to her weight, in that she was not content to sin her self alone, but she allured and drew her husband also into the like horrible transgression with her, whereby she was not only guilty of her own personall sin, but of her husbands also. And this added so much unto her former summe, that S. Paul, 1 Tim. 2. 14. speaks of her as if she had been the only transgressor; *Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression:* So great and horrible a thing it is in the Eye of God, to be cause or mover of anothers sin: woe be unto them, who by any means are the cause of others fall:

Gen. 3. 13.
14. 15.

fall : And justly might God say to *Eve* for this respect though there had been no more, *What is this that thou hast done ?*

Now I come to the womans excuse, *The Serpent beguiled me.* In which words are three things considerable : The author, *the Serpent.* The action, *Gaile.* The object, *Me.*

Concerning the author, the Serpent ; two things are inquirable : first, what the Serpent was indeed ? secondly, what *Eve* supposed him to be ? For the first ; I think none so unreasonable as to beleieve, it was the unreasonable and brute Serpent : for whence should he learn, or how should he understand Gods commandment to our first Parents ? Or how is it possible a Serpent should speak, and not only so, but speak the language which *Eve* understood ? For though some there be who think that beasts and birds have some speech-like utterings of themselves, yet none that a beast should speak the language of man. It remains therefore, that according unto the Scriptures, it was that old deceiver the Devil and Satan, who abused the brute Serpent, either by entering into him, or taking his shape upon him. The last of which I rather incline unto, supposing it (as you shall hear presently) to be the law of spirits, when they have intercourse or commerce with men, to take some visible shape upon them, as the Devil here the Serpents, whence he becomes styled in Scripture, *The old Serpent.*

Now for the second question, what *Eve* took him to be, whether the Serpent or Satan ? If we say she thought him to be the brute Serpent, how will this stand

Gen. 3. 13;
14, 15.

stand with the perfection of mans knowledge in his integrity, to think a Serpent could speak like a reasonable creature: who would not judge her a silly woman now that should think so; and yet the wisest of us all is far short of *Eve* in regard of her knowledge then. Again, if we say she knew him to be the Devil; I will not ask why she would converse at all with a wicked spirit, who she knew had fallen from his Maker; but I would know, how we should construe the meaning of the Holy Ghost in the beginning of this Chapter, where he saith, *The Serpent was the subtillest of all the beasts of the field which God had made*; and so implies the womans opinion of the Serpents wisdom was the occasion why she was so beguiled: otherwise to what end are those words spoken, unlesse to shew that Satan chose the Serpents shape, that through the opinion and colour of his well-known wisdom and sagacity he might beguile the woman.

For the assolling of which difficulty I offer these propositions following: First, I will suppose there is a law in the commerce of spirits and men, that a spirit must present himself under the shape of some visible thing: For as in naturall and bodily things there is no entercourse of action and passion, unlesse the things have some proportion each to other, and unlesse they communicate in some common matter; so it seems God hath ordained a Law that invisible things should converse with things visible, in a shape, as they are, visible: which is so true, that the conversing presence of a spirit is called a Vision or Apparition. And experience with the Scriptures will shew us, that not only evil Angels, but good, yea God himself converseth

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

in this manner with men. And all this I suppose *Eve* knew.

Secondly, I suppose further, that as spirits are to converse with men under some visible shape, so is there a law given them, that it must be under the shape of some such thing as may lesse or more resemble their condition: For as in nature we see every severall thing hath a severall and sutable physiognomy or figure, as a badge of the inward nature, whereby it is known as by a habit of distinction; so it seems to be in the shapes and apparitions of Spirits. And as in a well governed Common-wealth, every sort and condition of men is known by some differing habit, agreeable to his quality, so it seems it should be in Gods great Commonwealth, concerning the shapes which spirits take upon them. And he that gave the law, that a man should not wear the habit of a woman, nor a woman the habit of a man, because as he had made them divers, so would he have them so known by their habits; so it seems, he will not suffer a good and a bad spirit, a noble and ignoble one to appear unto men after the same fashion. And this also I suppose *Eve* knew.

Now from these grounds it will follow, that good Angels can take upon them no other shape but the shape of man, because their glorious excellency is resembled only in the most excellent of visible creatures; the shape of an inferiour creature would be unsutable, no other shape becomming those who are called the sons of God, but his only who was created after Gods own image. And yet not his neither according as now it is, but according as he was before
his

his fall in that glorious beauty of his integrity. Age and deformity are the fruits of sin; and the Angel in the Gospel appears like a young man, *his countenance like lightning, and his raiment white as snow* as it were resembling the beauty of glorified bodies in immutability, sublimity and purity.

Hence also it follows on the contrary, that the Devil could not appear in humane shape, whilst man was in his integrity, because he was a spirit fallen from his first glorious perfection and therefore must appear in such shape which might argue his imperfection and abasement, which was the shape of a beast: otherwise no reason can be given, why he should not rather have appeared unto *Eve* in the shape of a woman then of a Serpent; for so he might have gained an opinion with her both of more excellency and knowledge. But since the fall of man the case is altered, now we know he can take upon him the shape of man, and no wonder, since one falling star may well resemble another: And therefore he appears it seems in the shape of mans imperfection, either for eyes or deformity, as like an old man, (for so the Witches say;) and perhaps it is not altogether false, which is vulgarly affirmed, that the Devil appearing in humane shape, hath always a deformity of some uncouth member or other; as though he could not yet take upon him humane shape entirely, for that man himself is not entirely and utterly fallen as he is.

By this time you see the difficulty of the question is eased: now it appears why *Eve* wondred not to see a spirit speak unto her in the shape of a Serpent, because she knew the law of spirits apparitions better then

Gen. 3. 13.
14. 15.

Mat. 16. 5.
Mat. 28. 3.

Gen. 3. 13;
14. 15.

then we do. Again, when she saw the spirit who talked with her to have taken upon him the shape though of a beast, yet of the most sagacious beast of the field, she concluded according to our forelaid suppositions, that though he were one of the abused spirits, yet the shape he had taken resembling his nature, he must needs be a most crafty and sagacious one, and so might pry farther into Gods meaning then she was aware of. And thus you may see at last, how the opinion of the Serpents subtilty occasioned *Eves* fall; as also why the Devil, of all other beasts of the field, took the shape of a Serpent, namely, to gain this opinion of sagacity with the woman as one who knew the principles aforesaid.

Here I observe that overmuch dotage upon a conceived excellency, whether of wisdom or whatsoever else, without a speciall eye to Gods commandment, hath ever been the occasion of greatest errors in the world, and the Devil under this mask, useth to blear our eyes, and with this bait to inveigle our hearts, that he may securely bring us to his lure. It was the mask of the Serpents wisdom and sagacity, above the rest of the beasts of the field, whereby he brought to passe our first Parents ruine. The admired wisdom of the long living Fathers of the elder world, having been for so many ages as Oracles to their off-spring, grown even to a people and Nation while they yet lived, was the ground of the ancient Idolatry of mankind, whilest they supposed that those to whom for wisdom they had recourse being living, could not but help them when they were dead. This we may learn out of *Hesiod*, The men, saith he,
of

of the golden age being once dead, became *δαίμονες*,
καὶ φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, *οἱ ἐν φυλάξεσσι δίκαι καὶ ἁγίους ἔχοντες*
 they became godlings and Patrons of mortall men,
 &c. So the opinion of the blessed Martyrs superlati-
 tive glory in heaven, was made the occasion of the
 new-found Idolatry of the Christian Churches,
 wherewith they are for the greater part yet overwhel-
 med. And the esteem which *Peter* had above the rest
 of the Apostles in regard of chiefdome, even in the
 Apostles times was abused by the old Deceiver to in-
 stall the man of sin: This made *S. Paul* to say, *the*
mystery of iniquity was even then working; and there-
 fore laboured as far as he could to prevent it, by as
 much depressing *Peter* as others exalted him. Nay, he
 puts the Churches in minde of this story of the Ser-
 pents beguiling *Eve*, that her mis-hap might be a war-
 ning to them; *2 Cor. 11. 2, 3. I am jealous over you*
(saith he) with a godly jealousy, for I have espoused you
to one husband, that I might present you as a chaste Vir-
gin to Christ. But I fear lest by any means as the Serpent
beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should
be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. And
 to come a little nearer home, have not our Adversa-
 ries when they would get Disciples, learned this of
 the Devil, to possesse them first with an opinion of
 superlative learning in their Doctors surpassing any
 of ours? I will say no more in this point, but that we
 ought so to prize and admire the gifts and abilities of
 learning which God hath bestowed upon men, that
 the pole-starre of his sacred word may ever be in
 our eye.

THE next thing to be spoken of is, the action,
Guile:

Gen. 3. 13.
 14. 15.

2 Thes. 2. 7.

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

Guile : and first, I shall shew what it is: To *beguile* is through a false faith and perswasion wrought by some argument of seeming good, to bereave a man of some good he had or hoped for, or to bring upon him some evill he expected not. Practice hath made it so well known, that I should not need to have given any definition or description thereof, but only for a more distinct consideration: whereas therefore I said, that guile wrought by forelaying a false perswasion or beleef, I would intimate, that it was nothing else but a practicall sophism, the premisses whereof are counterfeited motives; the conclusion an erroneous execution. Now as all practice or action consists in these two; The choice of our end; and the execution of means to attain thereunto: so is this practicall sophism we call Guile found in them both, either when an evil end is presented unto us in the counterfeited of a good, and so we are made to embrace *Nubem pro Funere*, and find our selves deceiv'd in the event whatsoever the means were we have used: or else we apply such means as are either unlawfull or insufficient to attain our end, as being so mask'd that they appear unto us far otherwise then they are. With both these sorts or parts of guile the Devil wrought our first Parents ruine; first, by making it seem a thing desirable, and by all means to be laboured for, to *be like unto God*: which was an ambition of that whereof man was not only not capable, but such as little beseemed him to aspire unto, upon whom God had bestowed so great a measure of glorious perfections, as he seem'd a God amongst the rest of the creatures. What unthankfulness was this, that he upon whom God bestowed so much,

much, as he was the glory of his workmanship, should yet think that God should envy him any degree of excellency fit for him? for this was the mask where-with the Devil covered both the unfitnessse and impossibility of the end he insinuated; but he beguiled them. Secondly, he puts the same trick upon them in the choice of the means to be used, which was to transgresse the severe commandement of Almighty God: Had the aim been allowable, yet could not the means have been taken for good, but only of such as were beguiled, in that the Devil made the woman believe with his questioning the truth of Gods commandement, that the danger was not great, nor so certain as it seemed; or that evil which might be in the action, would be countervailed with the excellency to be attained thereby; the gloriousnesse of which end the Devil so strongly sounded, that it drowned in her imagination the least conceit of evil in the means. And as a man which always looks upward, sees not the danger in the path and way he walks in, untill he tumbles into a pit; so was it here with our first Mother, when thus the Devil beguiled her.

This first act of the Devil is that wherein we may behold as in a glasse, the art he still useth to tempt us unto sin, and bring us to utter destruction: All his method is nothing else but guile; he presents all things fair unto our face, and suffers not evil to appear before us in its own ugly shape, for so every man would fly from it: when he would tempt a man to covetousnesse, he calls it thrift; when to bribes, he calls them gratuities; when to intemperance, forsooth it is good fellowship; when to cruelty, it must be called

*Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.*

Eph. 6. 11.

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

led justice; when to prodigality, it must be taken for no other but liberality, and such like. This is that which the Scripture saith, *The Devil transforms himself into an Angel of light*: when he draws to vice, he would seem to mean nothing but virtue; when he tempts to works of darknesse, he presents them as the works of light; when he plots our ruine and everlasting undoing, he bears us in hand, that all aims at our welfare and felicity.

This is that which is meant in the following verse, where it is said, *The seed of the woman should bruise the Serpents head, but the Serpent should bruise his heel*; as though the Serpent should love to assault at unawares, and so as he might not be seen to intend any such matter before he had done the feat, and therefore his fashion should be to come behinde a man, and as it were to catch him by the heel. For that this was the embleme of guile and deceitfull dealing, it may be gathered from the story of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, when as *Eſau* being beguiled of the blessing by the craft of his brother *Jacob*, makes an allusion to his name; *Well*, saith he, *may he be called Jacob, for he hath beguiled me now these two times*: Now *Iacob* had his name in the beginning because he caught his brother by the heel, when he came out of the womb; for אקק signifies the heel, and אקק, is as much to say, as an Heeler, whence the allusion of *Eſau* hath this sense, if we take it *verbatim*, My brother may well be called an Heeler, for he hath heeled me these two times: Now because to come behinde a man, and take him by the heel was foul play, therefore of אקק an heel comes אקק, (*dolus, fallacia*) guile, and אקק, a verb signifying to

to deceive or beguile, which is the second sense that *Eſau* would imply by his alluſion, that his brother might well be called a Beguiler, becauſe he had beguiled him now theſe two times. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter.

Gen. 3. 13.
14. 15.

Since therefore we have ſeen the Devils practice, and learned that he works altogether by deceit, how wary ſhould the conſideration hereof make us to be in all the ways of our life? If we knew we had to deal with a man that uſed to beguile all that came into his fingers, in what continuall jealousie and ſuſpition would we be? how would we caſt about to find which way he might not circumvent us? how wary would we be to entertain any proffer from him? there could be nothing made ſeem ſo fair, but we would ſuſpect ſome foul meaning to be in it. If we would be thus diſpoſed in matters of leſſer moment, how careful ſhould we be in greater? if where the ability of deceiving is leſſer, what manner of men ſhould we be when we know the Arch-deceiver of the world is continually attending upon us, labouring to beguile us? ſhould we here adventure upon any action rashly? No ſurely; but be firſt well adviſed. We ſhould not be too confident in our own perſwaſions, leſt they may prove the Devils ſuggeſtions: and though the reaſons we apprehend be never ſo good, and the caſe ſeem never ſo clear, and the way we are to walk in never ſo ſecure, yet ought we to make ſome pauſe, and aſt a fit of jealousie afore we adventure.

And thus much of the Serpents action, *Guile*: Now I come to the object, *Me*. *Me*, that is, the weaker of the two. *Me*, ſo much endeared in the affection

O o

of

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

of my Lord, that he could not but do any thing at my request. Of these two respects I will speak in order, and first of the first. The Devil assaults us there where he finds us weakest, as here in this first sin he attempts the woman the weaker vessel. *The Serpent beguiled me*: for he knows this is the readiest way to overcome. A skilfull Commander being to take a City, will not make his battery on that part of the wall, which is strongly fortified, (for so he might make his shot in vain;) but will assault it there where it is least defensible, where a breach will be easily made, and yet entring he becomes Master of the whole, how well fortified soever: even so the Devil will be sure to force us there where we are least able to resist, if he finds any part not well bulwark'd with resolution, there he plants the Cannon of his temptation, and with an easie breach becomes Master of the whole piece.

Hence we may learn what to esteem of those imperfect courses concerning the Commandements of God, too frequent among the sons of men: There are many who resolve firmly against divers kinds of sins, that they will never be drawn by any means to commit them, but they have always some one wherein they demurre whether they should resolve to yield to or not, if occasion should be offered. Many will fortify themselves very strongly against the assaults of bribery, of covetousnesse, of theft, of promise-breaking, of drunkennesse; but as concerning their lust they are unresolved what to do, if a temptation should assault them, & so in others, there is some other inclination but slenderly guarded, when for the rest they

could

could glory how strongly they are fortified. But we must know, that when the Devil comes to assault us, he will passe by us where we are strength, and attempt us only there where our weaknesse lies; and then we shall find all our labour lost, and all our other strength to have stood us in little stead. For what wil it boot to guard the wals of our City never so strongly, if but one part be left unguarded for the enemies to enter? Is not all the enemies? A Ship though in other parts never so sound, will sink, if but one leaking hole be left unstopped. Let us therefore survey our hearts diligently, and finding where we lie exposed to danger, there most to strengthen our selves with resolution.

And thus I come to the second respect, why the Devil made choice of the woman, namely, because of the vehemency of her husbands affection towards her; so that to have gained her was to have gotten him also: for he seemed to think that her strength in her husbands affection was more powerfull to prevail with him, then his subtile motives were to overcome him; and indeed the event prov'd he was not much deceiv'd. Herie we are to observe that the Devil taketh advantage of the vehemency of our passions, to work our overthrow, if he once finde these to fasten his hold by, he then thinks he may lead us whither he list. To have gained our affections is as it were to have gotten a party within, which is a dangerous advantage to further the invasion of an enemy; especially when most of our passions are our favorites, which we can deny nothing they ask; and if they be once bribed, will work us wholly to the dispose of our arch-enemy.

O O 2

That

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

Eph. 4. 27.

Gen. 3. 13,
14. 15.

That we may not therefore afford the Devil this advantage, and as it were reach him a rope to hang us withall, it behoves us so to govern and temper our passions and affections, that they transport us not into the Devils jurisdiction: which that we may the better do, it will not be unfit to set down some rules for performance thereof,

First, therefore it is best to resist our passions at the beginning, and to use the same policy which *Pharaoh* did with the *Israelites*, that they might not over-run his Country, in killing all their infants as soon as they were born. While the sore is green Surgeons seldom despair, but festered once, they hardly cure it: So it is with the passions of our minde, when they are first growing, they are soon curbed, but being a little entertained, they will hardly be subdued.

The second means is, to inure our selves to crosse our passions when there is no danger, and to bridle our selves sometimes from ordinary and lawfull desires, that we may do it with more ease when we are in danger; for how can he hope to be able to master his passions when dangerous temptations assault him, who never used them to it in the time of his security? We know that men who would fit themselves for the Wars, will practice in the time of peace when there is no enemy near, and will toil and labour when they might be at rest, will lie hard when they may command a soft bed, will watch when they might sleep, and all to make them able to indure the like when they shall have need: the like must we do, that we may get an habit to crosse and subdue our passions when we shall have need.

The

The third means is, to fly occasions which may incense the passions whereunto we are inclined: *Occasionēs faciunt latrones*, saith the Proverb, Occasion makes him a thief, which else might have been an honest man; wherefore he that commits himself to Sea in a boisterous tempest is worthy to suffer shipwrack; and he that willingly puts himself in the company of infected persons, may blame himself if he fall into their diseases.

Lastly, but chiefly, when thy passions are most vehement, then seek for succour from heaven, fly under the wings of Christ as the chickens under the hen, when the kite seeks to devour them: beat at the gates of mercy, and crave grace to overcome thy misery: He is thy Father and will not give thee a Serpent, if thou ask him Fish: humble thy self before him, open thy sores and wounds unto him, and the good Samaritan will pour in both wine and oyl, and thy passions shall melt and fall away as clouds are dispelled and consumed by the Sun.

Gen. 3. 13
14. 15.

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

VERSE 14.

And the Lord said unto the Serpent, &c.

THese words contain in them the Serpents doom and destiny, pronounced upon him by the great Lord of Heaven and Earth; They contain in them two parts: First, the reason of this sentence in the words, *Because thou hast done this*: Secondly, the sentence it self in the words following, *Thou art cursed above all cattell, &c.* The reason of this heavy doom is, *Because he had done this*: What *This*? namely, because he had beguiled the man and woman, which God had made, and caused them to transgresse his great commandment. He therefore that is the cause and occasion of anothers sin, is as hateful to God as the doer, and is liable to as great, or rather a greater punishment then he: for the Serpent here for causing hath this doom, as well as the man and woman for doing. Nay, which is to be observed, his doom is the first read unto him, as if he were the arch-offender, and not to the man or woman till he was done with: What should this mean, but that his fault being the mover, was more grievous in the eyes of God then theirs? which is the reason also, why the woman comes in the next place to have her sentence, because she had been a sin-maker, and was guilty not only of her own personal sin, but of her husbands also; whence the man who had sinn'd only himself, and not caused others to sin, had his judgement last of all. I might also confirm the same from the quality

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

lity of their severall judgements, in that the Serpent alone is doom'd to be accursed, and no such word spoken either of the man or the woman.

But I shall not need to tarry here to prove how horrible and fearfull a thing it is to be the author of anothers sin: We know they are the words of our Saviour, *Mat. 18. 6, 7. Wo unto the world because of scandals, and woe unto the man by whom a scandal cometh; it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the Sea.* And *S. Paul (1 Cor. 8.) would eat no meat as long as the world lasteth, rather then make his brother to offend.* Would they would consider this, who are not content alone to sin themselves, but play the Devil in corrupting others. It seems they long to be double damn'd. I would also they would think of this, who make no conscience at all by extremities and vexations, and other grievances, to drive a man to perjury, and other grievous sins, and yet think themselves free, when they should know, that he that is the author of anothers sin, makes anothers guilt his own, and shall share in the punishment every whit as deep as he.

But this shall suffice to have observed in the first part, the reason of the Serpents doom. Now I come to the second, the doom it self: wherein the words as you see have all relation to the Serpent, for *the Lord said unto the Serpent, Thou art cursed, &c. Thou shalt go upon thy brest, &c.* But because this Serpent was more then a brute Serpent, the Devil himself being the chief agent in this his instrument, it is a thing much controverted; upon which of these this curse is

Gen. 3. 13,
14. 15.

here pronounced. Some would have it spoken only of the brute Serpent, because here is a comparison made with cattell and beasts of the field, thereby accounting the Serpent one of that number. Besides, Satan they say was accursed before this time, and some of the words in this curse cannot well be applied to any but the brute Serpent, as that *he should eat the dust of the earth, &c.* Others would have this curse pronounced only upon the spirituall Serpent the Devil, because the brute Serpent was only an instrument abused by the Devil, and neither knew what was done, nor could do withall; and why should it therefore be punished? Others would divide the controversie, applying the first part of the curse in the 14. verse, to the brute Serpent, the latter in the 15. verse, to the Devil or spirituall Serpent; because as the latter of the promised seed of the woman, which should destroy the Serpent and his seed, must needs be meant of Christ and Satan, so the former words are most fitly applicable to the brute Serpent only: But against this may be said, that the same *Thou* and *Thee* spoken of in the first part of the curse, is all one with the *Thou* and *Thee* in the latter; and therefore of whatsoever the first is meant, of the same is also meant the latter. There is therefore a fourth opinion, that this curse is throughout pronounced upon both, both upon the Serpent and the Devil: In which, though there be some difference about the manner how, yet I embrace it as the truest, as not only conceiving it may be so; by the fitnessse of all the parts so applied to both; but think moreover that this only ought to be the meaning and no other, if it be conceived as I am now to shew.

For

For in the first place, the Devil when he beguiled man, came not as a naked spirit, but in the shape and figure of a Serpent, (as I have shew'd heretofore;) and therefore that his punishment in the manner might be sutable and answerable to his offence, he was to receive his doom likewise under the figure of a Serpent, and the style thereof framed unto a Serpents condition: for it is the constant method of the all-wise God to brand the punishment with the stamp of the sin, that the offender thereby might not only know what he felt, but also read why he suffered. Why was *Adonibezeks* thumbs and great toes cut off, but that he might read therein, as he did, his former cruelty: *Threescore and ten Kings having their thumbs and toes cut off, gathered meat under my Table. As I have done, so God hath requited me.* Why was *Pharaoh* with his Host rather drowned in the Sea, then slain in the field, but that all the world might read it was for his cruell Edict to drown all the male children of the Hebrews? Why did *Absalom* lie with *Dauids* Concubines, but to put *David* in minde that he had lien with *Vriahs* wife? And why was the curse of the Devil shaped here in and unto the condition of the Serpent, but because he had beguiled man in a Serpents shape?

Secondly, for the Serpent; The fashion, excellency and subtilty of the Serpent above all the beasts which God had made, the Devil had abused to gain credit with the woman, that he was an excellent and a most sagacious spirit, and therefore might be able to pry farther into Gods meaning then she could, which was the cause of her attention, and so of her ruine. For

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

I have shewed heretofore that the woman in the state of integrity knew well enough, that as it was the law of spirits in their commerce with men, to present themselves under the shape of some visible thing: so it must be likewise under the shape of some such thing, as may more or lesse resemble their condition: And that as the glorious spirits might take no other shape but of man, the glory of visible creatures: so the fallen spirits could not then asore mans fall, take any other shape but of a beast, thereby to bewray his abasement: yet because the Devil here took upon him the shape of the most wise and most excellent of beasts, he so bleared the womans eyes with an opinion of his excellency and sagacity, that in a manner she forgot, or regarded not, that he was one of the evil and abased spirits, which was the ground of her miserable ruine and overthrow.

Now because the excellency and sagacity of the Serpent had thus been the occasion of mans confusion, by being made the lying counterfeit of the Devils excellency and wisdom, and the mask whereby he so covered his vilenesse, that the woman took him not to be as he was indeed: Therefore God in his wisdom thought good to change the copy, and henceforth to blurre and deface that unhappy physiognomicall letter, and by abasing the Serpent for the time to come, to make him an everlasting embleme and monument, wherein man might hieroglyphically read the malice, vilenesse and execrable basenesse of that wicked spirit which had beguiled him, to hate him (as now we do the Serpent) with mortall hatred, and by his unlucky and brained fortune, to expect the Devils

Gen. 3. 23,
14. 15.

Devils destiny : In a word, that which was once used for a mask to cover the Devils knavery, should for the future be a glasse wherein to behold his villany.

These being the reasons which have led me to understand this curse in an equall sense, both of the brute Serpent and the Devil, and in the literall applied unto the Serpent, yet therein shaping out the malediction of the Devil, as truly as the Devil had taken upon him the Serpents shape : Let us now come to the particular handling of the words ; and first consider them, as they are the curse of the unreasonable Serpent. Secondly, as they include the Devils malediction.

But for the better understanding thereof, before we can proceed, two things are to be resolv'd : First, how it could be just with God to punish the brute Serpent, who was *Instrumentum dei* ^{instrument of God}, and had neither will to sin, nor yet knowledge of what the Devill had done ; especially, if we suppose as I have hitherto, that the Devil took only the shape of a Serpent, which the Serpent could not do withall : for this argument hath driven some to affirm, that the whole curse was to be understood only of the spirituall Serpent, and not at all of the naturall. But why should this stumble them more as concerning the justnesse of God, then that in Adams censure in the 17. ver. where the whole earth is cursed for Adams sake, *Cursed be the earth for thy sake, &c.* But what had the earth done : or how was it guilty of Adams transgression : Again, in the sixth Chapter following it is expressely said, *That because God saw the wickednesse of man was great in the earth, he said, I will destroy both*
man

Gen. 1. 13,
14, 15.

man and beast, and the creeping things, and the fowls of the aire. But how were the beasts, the creeping things, and the fowls of the air partakers of mans wickedness? what had they done more then been abused by him? which they could not avoid he being their Lord and Master. And should not we think that Law of God just, *Levit.* 20. where if a man commit abomination with a beast, the beast is commanded to be slain as well as the man, who only had sinned? This proves that objection to be wholly insufficient: But yet the difficulty of the resolution, How this may stand with Gods justice, remains as before; which therefore comes now to be resolved.

First, we know that all the beasts of the field, all the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the Sea were made for the use and service of man in one kinde or other, as he should have occasion to use them. Secondly, if man had stood in his first creation, the service of the creatures should have been sutable to his excellency and integrity, and so far more noble then now it is, that even the creatures might be partakers of his happiness then, that since they yet look for the glorious liberty of the sons of God to come. Thirdly, but when man was once fallen, the service of the creature was altered, and became a bondage of corruption, as *S. Paul* terms it, that is, ignoble & sutable to the corrupt condition of man under sin: those which should have been imploied excellently for the use of his integrity, are now to serve him ignominiously according to his sin and misery; namely, either to be the means to punish him for his sin, or to relieve him in his misery. To punish him, all the creatures for his

*Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.*

his use are become base, corrupt and unworthy, and so nothing so usefull for him as they had been: The earth will not bring forth for him, but with his labour and toil, and then too when it should bear him corn, it brings forth thorns and thistles: The creatures which should serve and honour him, do often seise upon him, and destroy him. And thus are the creatures imploied for mans use, indeed but a wofull use to afflict and punish him for his sin all the days of his life. Another way notwithstanding they are usefull and serviceable for his good, as helps to relieve and better him in this his condition of sin; as to be made documents of the wrath of God to move him to repentance, and emblemes to know the condition of his most deadly enemy the Devil, and how he ought to abhorre and hate him, and the hope and expectation of conquering and triumphing over him in the blessed seed of the woman. And for this use and service was the Serpent abased and made vile, according to his curse in my Text; that as he was made excellent to serve him in integrity, so he was now abased, to be made fit to do him the best service in his misery. And what injustice could this be in God? when he made him at first so as he made him for the service of man, and now when he marr'd him, he marr'd him likewise for mans service.

The second thing to be resolved is, Whether this curse were pronounced only upon one individuall Serpent; or whether upon all Serpents in generall; or upon some one only kind which the Devil had thus abused? Of one individuall Serpent it cannot be, because there is mention here of the seed of the Serpent,

Gen. 3. 13.
14, 15.

pent, and seed of the woman, which implies a generation of many Serpents; and besides, this curse was to be a monument not only to him but to all his posterity, as long as the world lasted, but one individuall Serpent lived not so long. Neither is it credible to be spoken of all kinds of Serpents in generall, because there is almost as great a variety of Serpents as of four footed beasts of severall kinds and species, and why should any kind suffer, save that only which had been abused to offend? Besides, I make no doubt but divers kinds of Serpents went at the first Creation upon their breasts as now they do, and were every whit as base as now they are, excepting the generall decay of all creatures since the fall. It remains therefore that it was only one kind of Serpent which bore this speciall malediction; and that such a kind as was not only the noblest of all the kinds of Serpents, but as it seems far excelling all the Creation besides (man only except) for beauty, wisdom and sagacity, but afterward by this curse became not only baser then the rest of the beasts of the field, but even as base and vile as the vilest kind of Serpent. And therefore it could not be the Basilisk, as some have held, though it be the most poisonfull of all others; and as it were a King among Serpents, as the name imports; for if *Plinie* and *Solinus*, who report the former, say true, this Serpent here accursed, should rather be any other kind then that, because the Basilisk (upon their report) goes with his breast and fore-part of his body advanced, (*erectus à medio incedens*, saith *Plinie*, or as *Solinus*, *med: à corporis parte setpit, mediâ arduus est & excel sus*) but this Serpent here was from the hour of his doom,

doom, to go for ever upon his brest, which I wonder they considered not, who from the advanced posture of the Basilisks body have conceived the clean contrary: For as by this example we may beleieve that the Serpent now accursed, did so before his curse; so that he should still do so, it is a most direct gain saying of Scripture to imagine.

But to come to the words of the doom; which, as you see, are first generall; then particular. Generall in these, *Thou art cursed above all cattell, and above, &c.* What it is to be accursed, we shall know, if we first understand what it is to be blessed. To be blessed or happy, is nothing else, but an all-fruition of good, or to have a sufficient provision and furniture of good, both for being and well-being: So therefore that creature is happy and blessed which hath a sufficiency of all good for the being and preservation of it self; which wants neither endowments inward, nor means outward for the attaining of that end, whereof it is by nature capable. To be accursed is to have the contrary of this; to be despoiled either of indowments internall or inherent, without which it hath no dignity among the creatures; or externall, without which it cannot live or preserve it self, but with much penury, difficulty, toil and danger. Whatsoever therefore among the beasts of the field, (for with such only is the comparison made) is for inherent perfections of all the most unworthy and base; or for the outward furniture of means for the preservation of that ignoble being by unprovision of all others the most wretched and miserable; this is that which is accursed above all cattell, and above every beast of the field.

And

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

And such was the Serpents condition to be for the generall.

And now for the particulars; Let us go on and see how they are exprested, and that is in three things: First, *To go upon the brest*, or to have the posture of the body groveling on the earth; whereby (as I shall shew presently) is implied the abasement of the creature. Secondly, to have for meat *the dust of the earth*; wherein is shewn its unprovision of food for the maintenance of its life, being of all beasts of the field to have the basest and courtest fare. Thirdly, to be in continuall, mortall, and irreconcilable enmity with man, both his Lord and the Lord of the rest of the creatures: from whom it should be in continuall danger and fear of its life, and once espied be sure to have its brains dash'd out by him. And which makes the misery so much the greater, to be no way able to be revenged of his enemy other then to come unawares behind him, and then neither not able to reach above his heel; as being most unequally matched, he walking aloft with his head and whole body advanced, while the miserable Serpent shall lie groveling on the ground, ready to be trodden apieces under his feet.

Of these three particulars let us speak severally; and first of the first, *Vpon thy brest shalt thou go*. In the Hebrew it is על גביתך, which some turn, upon thy belly: which interpretation hath been one great cause of the difficulty to understand the meaning of this malediction: For if the shape of the Serpent were after the fashion it is now, it is not possible to imagine how it could ever have gone otherwise then
upon

Gen. 3. 13.
14. 15.

upon the belly ; for to think that ever it went an end, were a conceit more worthy to be derided then to be beleev'd. By which means there appeared no other way of evasion out of this difficulty, but to affirm that the Serpent indeed went upon his belly from the beginning ; but either it was not so toilsome to him, or not for a curse unto him till now, which for my part, it being so far from the letter of the Text, I could never yet beleev'e. I had much rather in this follow the Vulgar, or *Jeromes* Translation, which reads, *super pectus tuum gradietur* ; for upon the belly I beleev'e the Serpent went from the first Creation, but not upon the brest untill this present malediction. The brest of the Serpent I call the upper part of the Serpents body, from the navell to the head ; the other part of the other half downward, with which though at the first he walked prone to and upon the earth, yet was the other part, his brest and head, reared up and advanced, untill for having been abused to the ruine of mankind, he was now with his whole body to creep groveling upon the earth. And perhaps thus much the Septuagint meant to insinuate by their Translation, which is ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει, καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτοῦ, upon *thy brest, and thy belly* ; where it may seem that they rendred two words for one in the Text, for illustration, and for intimation of this, that whereas the Serpent before went only upon his belly, ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ, now he should from henceforth walk ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ upon his brest and belly too.

As for the Hebrew *בטן* here used, there is no necessity at all to translate it, *the belly*, but rather some probability of the contrary in the etymology of the

Gen. 3. 13,
14. 15.

word: for though in the Hebrew the theme be not used, yet in the Chaldee *נָחַ*, which signifies *incurvatus fuit*, to bow downward, and seems to mean the inclination of the head and breast, or upper part of the body, to the earth, as may be gathered from that of *Elisha*, 1 *King* 18. 42. where it is said, that *Elisha* went up to the top of *Carmel*, & *pronus se abiecit in terram*, and put his face between his knees; for here the Targum useth this word *נָחַ*, the radix of *נָחַ*. Again *Mark* 1. 7. in those words of *John Baptist*, *There is one cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose*; here for the Greek word *κατακύβητος*, stoop down, the Syriack hath *נָחַ*, of as near a kin to *נָחַ* as is the Syriack to the Chaldee. The word *נָחַ* it self is of rare use in the Bible besides in this place, and therefore we can receive no great help from the comparing of places. It is read again *Levitic* 11. 42. and that with a singular mark, as the Masorites have observed, for the *Van cholem* in the last syllable is *וָנְחֹלֶם*, a great *Van*, and exactly the middlemost letter of all the Law of *Moses*, if their Arithmerick failed them not. But no particularity of signification can from that place be gathered, the speech being of creeping things, which go as well upon the breast as the belly, and the belly as the breast.

Since therefore the word here used neither hindreth our opinion, nor much furthereth it, we will come to such other grounds as may prove our assertion, for the Serpents going with breast advanced afore the fall of man, and not groveling till his malediction. And first let it be considered there is no impossibility of it in regard of the frame of the Serpent, which appears

Gen. 3. 13
14, 15

pears both by their advancing themselves when they assault a man, (which the Painters expresse in their Pictures) and also when they swim through the water, which is with their head and some part of their brest raised above water, even as a Swan holdeth up her neck, as I have heard affirmed by such as have been eye-witnesses: and lastly, *Plinie* and *Solinus* report of the Basilisk, that the Basilisk walks so still; as I shewed a little before. And it may be as when the Giant-like stature of mankind was diminished after the flood in a manner throughout the world, and for many ages, yet was there by Gods disposition, still a race of Giants left even till the time of *David*, for a monument and witnesse of the truth of a far bigger stature in former times, which else could not so easily have been beleaved or imagined. Such were the *Zan-zumims* in *Abrahams* time, the sons of *Anak* in *Moses*, and *Goliath* in the time of *David*; and it may be there are yet some in some part of the world to be found. So I say, as these seem to have been preserved by God, as a memoriall unto men, that they were not now as at the first; so it may be it was the will of God and is, amongst so many kinds of Serpents to preserve this one, that it should not as the rest go groveling upon the earth, but might be as a monument of the truth of the malediction of the rest to all posterity. Thus much of the possibility, which would be far greater, if we should with *S. Basil*, *Ephrem*, *Bar Cephas*, and many others affirm that the Serpent had feet, namely, some short ones beneath the navell: for feet are not essentiall to the nature of a thing, as appears by the lame, who can live without them, and

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

by others, sometimes by the defect of nature born without them. And those who can beleve the wonderfull change of man by his fall, of an immortall creature to become mortall; of one to have been born with all glorious endowments both of body and soul, now to be brought into the world the most unfurnished of the creatures. Those who beleve the great alteration of the earth it self, when it was accursed for mans sin; the diminution of the time of mans life, and of his stature, even since the flood. Can any who believe these things, think it so incredible for the Serpent once to have had some small feet, and afterward to have had none, being a creature wherein God intended to leave a monument for ever? But of this I will determine nothing, neither doth my assertion simply depend upon it, but may well enough consist without it.

But because possibility is not sufficient of it self alone to infer a probability, I have therefore one thing to adde more thereto, namely, the reason and cause even in nature (supposing still Gods abasing of the Serpents first creation) of this alteration of the posture of the Serpents gate from that it was at the beginning.

First, we know the more excellent and sublime the nature of a creature is, the more it raiseth it self upward, the more ignoble and baser, the more it falls downward. This we see in the elements themselves; the fire the most excellent and operative of the four, raiseth it self above the rest: The earth the basest and most unactive of all, is also of all the most dejected.

Second-

Gen. 3. 13.
14, 15.

Secondly, as there is this difference in the elements, so there is in the mixed bodies; some consisting of a more sublime and excellent temper, others of a more base and ignoble mixture: and that as in other, so amongst such creatures as live and move upon the earth.

Thirdly, this their noblenesse within discovereth it self in the body without, by advancing them naturally in their gate and gesture; whence man being of all creatures living upon the earth of the most excellent temper and sublimed condition of nature, is therefore of all other the most advanced in body:

Pronaque cum spectant animalia cetera terram,

Os homini sublime dedit, &c. Yea, experience will tell us, that even amongst men themselves, those who are of a more exalted nature, either by heroick temper, or predominancy of heat, are also more advanced in the posture of their bodies. Among beasts themselves, the basest is the most creeping, the noble Lion advanceth his head and brest so far as the frame of his body is thereof capable, and so the rest: and of all creatures we may observe besides, that such creatures have the most sagacity, who come most near to walk upright as a man doth.

If therefore the Serpent were of so sublime a nature at the first, as thereby it was more subtle then any beast of the field which God had made, how could so excellent a temper, the ground of so much sagacity, but advance the body thereof, as far as the frame and shape thereof could admit? On the contrary, if afterward the Serpent became the most abased and accursed of all the beasts of the field, how should

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

not this alteration of his former temper and disposition of nature, make the gesture of his body also suitable, by stooping and groveling upon the earth? Who knows not that the naturall position of man is erected agreeable to his excellency above other creatures having life and motion? and yet notwithstanding so much hath the dejection of his primitive nature for sin weakned in him this propension, that were it not for education, it is supposed, yea and by experience confirmed, that he would walk upon all four like a beast. And shall we wonder that the malediction of the Serpent, exceeding that of mans, should produce as much as this?

So then to conclude this first particular of the Serpents curse; I understand it, from the ground afore-said, as insinuating the cause by the outward and sensible effect, according to the manner of the Scripture; namely, the abasement and fall of the Serpents whole nature from his primitive perfection, discovered by the fall of his once advanced body, thenceforth to go groveling upon the earth: Even as the despoiling of the nature of man, of the inward indowments of perfection, is by the same sacred trope, insinuated by his outward nakednesse; that is, the obscuration of that glorious and celestially beauty, which he had before his sin: The difference whereof was so great, that he could not endure afterward to behold himself any more, but sought for a covering, even to hide himself from himself.

And now I come to the second particular; *Dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.* The courtest diet that any living creature hath allowed him: None of the

the beasts of the field with whom he is compared, are thus poorly provided for; nay, not any other, unlesse the base earthworm, not worthy to be named among the creatures. Even with this vilest of creatures is now ranked that once so noble a creature, the Serpent. Which yet is not so to be understood, as though the Serpent did not sometime eat something else, for they sometime devour birds, frogs, and such like; but that this is the ordinary fare which God hath provided him, and if at any time he getteth any other, he goeth beyond his limits. Whence *Esay 65.* among the blessings of the new Jerusalem, this is reckoned for one, That *the Serpent should eat dust*; that is, be made contented with the diet God had appointed him, and not to encroach upon the food appointed for others.

But why did God appoint him this food? I answer, even to continue him in that accursed and vile condition to which he had dejected him: For food is for the repairing and preservation of nature, and the goodnesse and badnesse thereof doth make the temper of the body better or worse. Hence according to the degrees of excellency in the creatures, their food is finer or courser: Plants suck the moisture of the earth; beasts live most upon plants, but man of the flesh of cattell, fowl, and fishes: Since therefore the Serpent was to have no better fare then the dust of the earth, as it argues the basenesse of his nature, which can with such food be nourished; so doth it necessarily imply his continuance in that his dejection and vilenesse: whereas otherwise it were not impossible, because his nature for the essence is still the same it was, if his diet were as it had been, for him to improve

Gen. 3. 13,
14. 15.

himself more near to his primitive temper then now he is. But God who had decreed he should ever remain under this malediction, appointed also the means to retain him therein.

VERSE 15.

And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, &c.

THE third and last particular remains to be treated of; *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, &c.* This no doubt intendeth in some things, more directly the spirituall Serpent then the brute; yet for the generall it may and ought as well as the rest, to be expounded of the brute Serpent, as a glasse wherein to behold the malice and destiny of the other the Devil. It containeth two parts; The Enmity, and the Event and managing thereof. For the enmity, how it is verified concerning the brute Serpent, experience telleth: It is some part of the happinesse of the creature, to be the favourite of man who is the Lord thereof; what honour could betide it greater then this? But between the Serpent and Man is the most deadly enmity, and the strongest antipathy that is amongst the beasts of the field: Such an one as discovereth it self both in the *naturall* and *sensitive* faculties of them both: For the first, their humours are poison each to other; the gall of a Serpent is mans deadly poison; and so is the spittle of man affirmed to poison the Serpent. For the sensitive antipathy, it appears in that the one doth so much abhorre

Gen. 3. 13,
14. 15.

horre the sight and presence of the other ; mans nature is at nothing so much astonished, as at the sight of a Serpent ; and like enough the Serpent is in like manner affected at the sight of man ; And that more especially, as the Naturalists affirm, of a naked man, then otherwise. As though his instinct even remembered the time of his malediction, when he and naked man stood before God to receive this sentence of everlasting enmity.

And whereas the words of the Text do in speciall point out the woman in this sentence of enmity ; the Naturalists do observe, that is greater and more vehemement with that sex, then with the male of mankind : Infomuch that *Rupertus* affirmeth, that if but the naked foot of a woman doth never so little presse the head of a Serpent before he can sting her, both the head and body presently dieth, which no cudgell, or other weapon will do, but that some life and motion will still remain behinde : *Hoc* (saith he) *ita est, ipsorum, qui per industriam exploraverunt, fide relatione comperimus. Lib. 3. de Trin. c. 20.* You know my Author.

The remaining words of my Text do expresse the managing and event of this enmity, which is far more dangerous and unlikely on the Serpents part then on Mans ; for man is able to reach the Serpents head, where his life chiefly resideth, and where a blow is deadly : but as for the Serpent he shall not be able to prevail against man otherwise then privily and unawares, and that but in his lowest part, namely, when he shall passe him unseen, to sting him by the heel. And that this is the nature of a Serpent it appeareth

in

Gen. 3. 13;
14, 15.

in the words of *Dans* blessing, *Gen. 49. Dan shall be a Serpent by the way, an Adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.* And to make an end of this discourse also, it is a thing to be observed in the nature of a Serpent, that as soon as he perceiveth man ready to throw or strike at him, he will presently roul his body for a buckler to save his head; even as though he had some impression of that doctrine, which God here read him in my Text, *Ipsæ conterat tibi caput;* Beware thy head.

And thus hitherto I have considered these words as they are the curse of the brute Serpent; now I am to go over with them again, to shew how they are propounded unto us by God, as a glasse wherein to behold the Devils malediction: the Serpent being made now the discovery of his vilenesse, which once he abused for a mask to hide it from the woman. As therefore the Serpent is the most accursed of all the cattell and beasts of the field; so is the Devil the most accursed spirit amongst all orders and degrees of spirits; namely, of the highest of Angels become the abjectest of spirits, more base & accursed then the most cursed damned soul, having little or nothing left him of that good which was furable to a spirituall condition: and this is the state of the Devil for the generall, answerable to that of the Serpent.

Now for the particulars: The first is, *Vpon thy brest shalt thou go:* How doth this besit the Devil? The Devil hath no bodily brest to go upon: But as I shewed in the Serpent, that this groveling signified the abasement of his whole nature from his primitive excellency; so in the Devil it signifies, his stooping down
and

and falling from his most sublime and glorious condition. A wonderfull stoop this was, when that which had been advanced as high as heaven, was made to fall down as low, yea lower then the earth it self; This is the Devils going upon his brest; this the groveling of that once so highly reared posture; according to that description of *Isaie* ver. 6. who calls them *the Angels that kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation*: agreeable to that of *S. Peter 2 Ep. c. 2. v. 4.* *God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell.*

The second particular is, *The dust of the earth shall thou eat all the days of thy life.* The food wherewith spirits are fed, is analogicall, spirituall and not corporall, we must therefore here seek out that, which in them hath the fittest resemblance with corporall food. The life of Angels consists in the continuall contemplation of the excellent greatnesse, wonderfull goodnesse, and glorious beauty of the essence of God, both as it is in it self, and as it is communicated unto his creatures. This is that which our Saviour intimates, *Mat. 18. 10. Their Angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.* The food of Angels whereby this their intellectuall life and vegetation is strengthened and continued, is that unspeakable joy and delight which accompanies this contemplation of God, and which they finde in the beholding of whatsoever else hath any conformity or similitude with him, his power, his wisdom, his glory, his goodness: According to that in the Gospel, *There is joy in heaven, and in the presence of the Angels of God, for one sinner that repenteth.* This is that Manna which feeds

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

feeds the blessed Angels, and which makes them unwearable and unsatiable in their contemplation, and imitation of God, as corporall food enableth the body for the continuance of corporall works.

And such as this had been the Devils fare, had he not fallen from his first estate by sin: whereas now in stead of that Manna, he is fain with the Serpent to feed of a food as course and as base as the dust of the earth; for as of a glorious Angel he is fallen to be a damned spirit; so is his diet answerable to continue him in that damnable estate; namely, a food clean contrary to that of the blessed Angels, and a very earth to their heaven; A most execrable joy, and a malicious delight in whatsoever is opposite to the power, the wisdom, the goodnesse, the glory of God his Creator: this is that he hungeth and hunteth after, and nothing but this. If there were no sin, no confusion, no misery of creatures in the world, the Devil would be soon starved; for this is that he preys after, this is that carrion he seeks for, when he goeth about, as *S. Peter saith, like a roaring Lion seeking whom he may devour.* I have read of a people of *America*, that will eat no flesh before it be stinking rotten, and then it seems to them most tender and delicate: These are of a diet like unto the Devil, for nothing but garbage and carrion are his dainties, the more rotten with sin, the more pleasing to his palate, that which stinks most in Gods nostrils, that smells the sweetest in his.

The last part of this curse remains, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed, &c.* In which we will first consider the parties who are to be at this deadly feud: Secondly, the event and success

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

cesse, they have one against the other: For the first, the parties are on one side said to be the *Serpent and his seed*: on the other side, *The woman and her seed*. By the *Serpent* we are to understand Satan the Prince of darknesse and Father of Devils: This Serpents seed in the first place are the whole crue of Devils and damned spirits, who are fallen from their first estate and condition. These are the Serpents first-born, begotten by him not by corporall generation, nor as they are spirits, but by spirituall deformation, as they are Devils: For it is the opinion of Divines, that Satan fell first himself, and afterward propagated his Apostasie by drawing others after him, over whom therefore he worthily deserveth to have the principality and chiefdome; in which respect also were there no other, yet he might be called their Father, and they his sons or seed, as we know the use of the Scripture is, to call Princes Fathers, and Subjects sons. The latter off-spring of the Devil being a second brood, are the whole company of wicked and reprobate worldlings: for that such as these are the spawn of that foul fiend, it appears clearly by the words of our Saviour to the Pharisees, *Joh. 8. 44. Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the lusts of your Father ye will do.* And again, *1 Joh. 3. 10. The children of God are opposed to the children of the Devil*: Therefore Christ calls *Judas a Devil, Joh. 6.* And Paul *Act. 13. 10. calls Elymas the Sorcerer, A child of the Devil.* The case is plain: And as the Vanguard consisted of the first crue, so these latter are the Rere of Satans Army.

Now on the other side against this Army of Hell-hounds, stand *the Woman and the Womans seed*. The
woman

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

woman though only named, excludes not the man, who was to be at enmity with the Devil as well as the woman: But the reason of this usuall Trope, which calls the kind by the name of the weaker and inferiour sex, is because of the words following, *of the seed*, wherein is contained the great mystery of Christs Incarnation, under whose colours, and in whose power alone this Army is both to march and overcome: for this great Captain was to be, as you know, the seed of the woman only, and not of the man; *A Virgin should conceive a Son, whose name is called Emmanuel.* Whence it comes to passe, that some by seed, will have no other seed to be understood, but the person of Christ only; both because he is alone that seed of the woman, which is not the seed of man; and because S. Paul, Gal. 3. 16. in those words, *In thy seed shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed*, expoundeth seed singularly and individually of Christ himself alone. But if it be well observed, the case here is not the like; for the seed of the woman, is opposed to the seed of the Serpent, which seed cannot chuse but be taken collectively for Satan and all his regiments of Devils and hell-hounds. And why should not also the seed of the woman be understood of Christ mysticall, that is, of Christ the Head with all his members, who are incorporate into him by faith into one mysticall body: For although they are naturally the seed of man as well as of the woman, yet spiritually by this incorporation, they are the seed of the woman only, as is their Head with whom they are one: And this it is which makes them of the party against the Serpent, for till they once became the seed of the woman only, there was no enmity betwixt them. The

Gen. 3. 13.
1. 15.

The seed therefore of the woman, I expound to be Christ and his Members: He ^{is} ~~the~~ seed of the woman by nature, they ^{are} ~~are~~ by their spirituall engraftment into him. Hence appears the difference of these two Armies, First in Satans Army all march under their Father, who begot them; but Christs Army fighteth under the Colours of their elder brother, the first begotten seed of the woman. Secondly, in their ranging Christ and his Army are as one body informed by one Spirit; the Devil is far more disunited. Thirdly, in their fighting, for in Satans Army every Souldier useth his own strength, and fights with his own weapons; but in Christs Army the whole strength lies in Christ their Generall: All our Armour is on his back, and our weapons guided by the power of his hand. So we may learn out of S. Paul, Ephes. 6. 11, 12. Put on (saith he) the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darknesse in this world, against spirituall wickednesse in high places.

Thus when having seen the marshalling of these two Armies, which are at so deadly an enmity, let us at last see the successe of their skirmishes, and of the stratagems which they practise one against the other: these are described on the Devils part very terrible, that his head should be mauled. But on Christs side the losse should be very small, the Devil prevailing but to the wounding or bruising of his heel.

But what is this Head of the Serpent? and what the Heel of the womans seed? Those who understand the

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

the seed of the woman singularly of the person of Christ only, make his head to be the Godhead, against which the Serpent could prevail nothing, but his heel to be the manhood, which the Serpent so bruised at his Passion, that the grave became his bed for three days together: This indeed is true, and no marvell, for the head is as it were the whole bodies epitome. But we who have expounded *the seed of the woman* collectively, of Christ and his Members, must also in this mysticall body find a mysticall head, and a mysticall heel: and so in like manner for the Serpent and his seed.

The Head therefore, or if you had rather, *Headship*, is nothing else but Sovereignty: The *Serpents head* is the Devils Sovereignty, which is called *Principatus mortis*, the Sovereignty of death; namely, both *objective* and *effective*; that is, such a Sovereignty as under which are only such as are liable to death both temporall and eternall; and such a Sovereignty whose power consists not in saving and giving of life, but in destroying, and bringeth unto death both of body and soul. Under the name also of death understand, as the Scripture doth, all other miseries of mankind, which are the companions of this double death I speak of: This is that damnable head of the Serpent, the Devilish Sovereignty of Satan. Now the Sword whereby this Sovereignty was obtained, the Scepter whereby it is maintained, or as *S. Paul* speaks, *the sting* of this Serpents head, is *Sin*: This is that which got him this Kingdome at the first, and this is still the right whereby he holds the greatest part thereof: *Imperium iisdem artibus conservatur, quibus acquiritur.*

This

This Sovereignty of the Devil, which once overwhelmed nigh all the world, the womans seed should break in pieces and destroy, which according to this Prophecy, we see already performed in a great measure, and the grounds laid long ago for the destruction of all that remaineth. As saith S. *John Ep. 1. c. 3. v. 8. The Son of God is revealed for this purpose, that he might destroy the works of the Devil.* And Christ himself said, *that the time was come that the Prince of this world should be cast out; and bade his Disciples be of good chear, for he had overcome the world.* If you would see what a wonderfull victory he hath long ago gotten of the Serpent, when after a terrible battell he overcame and destroid the Sovereignty of the Serpent in the Romane Empire, see it described in the 12. of the Revelation, *where a Michael (that is, Christ) and his Angels, fought against the great Dragon and his Angels, till the Dragon with all his Army was discomfited, and their place found no more in heaven, that is, he utterly lost his Sovereignty in that state; whence there was a voice in heaven, Now is come salvation, strength, and the Kingdome of our God, and the power of his Christ.* And what he will at the length do with the remainder yet of the Devils Sovereignty, you may finde in the 19. and 20 of the Revelation, *For he must reign, as S. Paul saith, untill he hath put all his enemies under his feet, untill he hath destroyed all power, rule, and authority adverse unto him: And then, last of all destroying death by giving immortality to our raised bodies, shall surrender up his Kingdome unto his Father, as it is 1 Cor. 15.*

But Satan, saith my Text, shall prevail something

Q^q

against

Gen. 3. 13.
14, 15.

Gen. 3. 13,
14. 15.

against him, for the *Serpent shall bruise his heel*. What is this *heel*? Those who understood the seed of the woman singularly, as I told you, made it Christs Manhood. But now we expound the seed Christs mysticall body, what shall we make the heel thereof? I could say that by it were only meant a light wound, or the Devils assaulting the Body of Christ *ex insidiis*, at unawares, for that is his fashion since the great overthrow, which our *Michael* gave him, to work his feats underhand, and to undermine our Lord in his members: But this though true is not full enough. It may seem therefore the fittest, to make hypocritical Christians, who professe Christ outwardly, but inwardly are not his, to make these the heel of his mysticall body: for against such the Devil we know prevaieth somewhat, and by them annoyeth the rest of the Body with his venome, though he be far enough yet from impeaching our Lords Headship, and Sovereignty. But will you give me leave to utter another conceit? If the blessed souls in heaven be the upper part of Christs mysticall Body, the Saints on earth the lower part of the same, may not the bodies of the Saints deceased, which lye in the earth, be accounted for the heel? for I cannot beleve, but they have relation to this mysticall Body, though their souls be severed from them, and yet must that relation be as of the lowest and most postick members of all. If you will admit this, then it will appear presently, what was this hurt upon the heel, when Christ had once mauled the Devils head; for the Text seems to intimate that the Devil should give this wound after his head was broken.

I will hold you in suspense no longer ; read the 13. of the *Revelation*, and see what follows upon *Michaels* Victory over the Dragon, what the Devil did when he was down : He forms a new instrument of the wounded Roman Empire, by whose means under a pretence of the honour given to the precious reliques of the Saints and Martyrs, he conveyed the poison of Saint-worship, and Saint-invocation into the Kingdome of Christ, with which wound of the heel, the Devil comming on the blinde side, the true Church had been long annoyed and limpeth still.

Gen. 3. 13,
14, 15.

Qq 2

Th 3

I will hold forth the banner of the
of the Kingdom of Christ, and I will
the Victory over the Dragon, when the Devil shall
when he was down: he forms a new instrument of
the wounded Roman Empire, by whose means under
a picture of the Son of God, the picture of
figures of the saints and virtues, he conveyed the
point of saint-worship, and saint-imitation into
the Kingdom of Christ, with which word of the
fact, the Devil continued on the whole till the true
Church had been long weary and almost full.

It is

202

THE
Christian Sacrifice,
OR,
The Solemne VVorship in the
EVCHARIST:

Foretold by the Prophet *Malachi*,
Taught by our blessed SAVIOUR,
AND
Practised by the Primitive CHVRCH.

BY
JOSEPH MEDE, B.D. and late Fel-
low of *Christs Colledge* in CAMBRIDGE.



LONDON,
Printed by M. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. *Peters* Church in Cornhill.
MDCXLVIII.

THE
Christian Sacrifice

OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

EVCHARIST

AS CELEBRATED BY THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREPARED BY THE PRINCIPAL OF THE

LOW OF THE



THE



THE Christian Sacrifice.

MALACHI I. II.

Ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, magnum erit nomen meum in Gentibus, & in omni loco offeretur Incensum Nomini meo, & Munus purum, quia magnum erit nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus exercituum.



THIS place of Scripture, howsoever now in a manner silenced and forgotten, was once, and that in the eldest and purest times of the Church, a Text of eminent note, and familiarly known to every Christian, being allowed by their Pastours and Teachers, as an express & undoubted Prophecie of the *Christian Sacrifice* or solemne worship in the Eucharist, taught by our blessed Saviour unto his Disciples to be observed of all, that

Mal. 1. 11.

should beleieve in his Name : And this so generally and grantedly, as could never have been, at least so early, unlesse they had learned thus to apply it by tradition from the Apostles.

For, in the age immediately succeeding them, being the second 100 year after Christ, we find it alledged to this purpose by *Iustin Martyr*, and *Irenaeus*, the Pillars of that Age: The former of them flourishing within little more then 30 years after the death of *S. Iohn*, and the latter a Disciple of *Polycarp S. Iohns* Scholar. In the Age following, or third *Seculum* it is alledged by *Tertullian*, *Zeno Veronensis*, and *Cyprian* : In the fourth *Seculum* by *Eusebius*, *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, and *Augustine*, and in the after ages by whom not ? Nor is it alledged by them, as some singular opinion or private conceit of their own, but as the received Tradition of the Church ; whence in some Liturgies, (as that of the Church of *Alexandria*, commonly called the Liturgy of *S. Mark*) it is inserted into the Hymne, or Preface, which begins *Dignum & justum est*, the conclusion of the Hymne or Laud there being, *Gratias agentes offerimus rationalem & incruentam, patriam, seu, oblationem hanc, quam offerunt tibi Domine, omnes Gentes, ab ortu solis ad occasum, quoniam magnum Nomen tuum in omnibus Gentibus, & in omni loco incensum offertur Nomini tuo, & sacrificium purum.*

Thus you see the antiquity of Tradition, for the meaning and application of this Prophecy.

But for the *Christian Sacrifice* it self, whereunto it is applied, what the ancient Church understood thereby, what, and wherein the nature of this Sacrifice consisted,

listed, is a point, though most needfull to be known, yet, beyond belief obscure, intricate, and perplext. He that shall make tryall, will finde I say true. A reverend and learned Prelate of ours acknowledges as much: *Apud veteres Patres* (saith he) *(ut quod res est liberè fateamur)* *de sacrificio corporis Christi in Eucharistia incremento, frequens est mentio, quæ dici vix potest quantopere quorundam, alioqui doctorum hominum, ingenia exercuerit, torserit, vexaverit.* The reason of this obscurity hath grown partly from the changing of the notion of the Church thereabout in following times; partly by the violence of the controversies of this last Age; whilest each party finding the knot, and studying not so much the right way of untying it, as how to give the least advantage to the adverse party, have infinitely intangled the same, and made it more indissoluble then before.

I have acquainted my self long with this Argument, and spent many a thought thereabout; using the best means I could conceive to be inform'd. Namely, Not so much to relye upon the opinions of modern writers, as to peruse and compare the passages of the Ancients themselves, and their Forms of Liturgies, out of which I was assur'd the truth might be learned, if I were but able to understand them.

What I have found and learned, I desire to give an account of in this place, as I shall have occasion; the Argument being such as befits no other Auditorie, but the Schools of the Prophets. Nor will the discourse be unprofitable for such, as mean to be acquainted with the writings of the Fathers and Antiqui-

Mal. i. 11.

triquities of the Church : there being nothing in them so like to stumble the reader as this.

To come then to the matter : where I will chalk out my discourse in this order.

First, I shall premise, as the ground thereof, a Definition of the *Christian sacrifice*, as the ancient Church meant it.

Secondly, Explain the meaning of my Text, by application thereto.

Thirdly, Prove each part of the Definition, I shall give ; by the Testimonies of the Fathers, Councils, and Liturgies of the first and best Ages, interlacing therewith such passages, as may make for the better understanding either of the Testimonies I bring, or of the matter it self, for which they are brought.

SECTION I.

TO begin with the first ; The definition of the Christian sacrifice ; under which name first know, That the ancient Church understood not, as many suppose, the meer Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, but the whole sacred Action or solemn Service of the Church assembled, whereof this sacred Myserie was then a prime and principall part, and as it were the Pearl or Jewel of this Ring ; no publike service of the Church being without it. This observed and remembered, I define the Christian sacrifice, *ex mente antiqua Ecclesia*, in this manner :

An oblation of Thanksgiving and Prayer to God
the

the Father through Jesus Christ, and his Sacrifice commemorated in the Creatures of Bread and Wine, wherewith God had first been agniz'd. So that this sacrifice as you see hath a double object, or matter. First, Praise and Prayer, which you may call *Sacrificium quod*. Secondly, The commemoration of Christs sacrifice on the Crosse, which is *Sacrificium quo*, the sacrifice whereby the other is accepted. For all the Prayers, Thankgivings, and Devotions of a Christian, are tendered up unto God in the name of Jesus Christ crucified. According whereunto, we are wont to conclude our Prayers with *Through Jesus Christ our Lord*. And this is the specification, whereby the worship of a Christian is distinguished from that of the Jew. Now that which we in all our Prayers and Thankgivings do *verally*, when we say *Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum*, the ancient Church, in her publick and solemn Service, did *visibly*, by representing him according as he commanded, in the symbols of his Body and Blood. For there he is commemorated and received by us for the same end, for which he was given and suffered for us, that through him we receiving forgiveness of our sins, God our Father might accept our service and hear our prayers we make unto him.

What time then so fit and seasonable to commend our devotions unto God, as when the Lamb of God lies slain upon the Holy Table, and we receive visibly, though mystically, those gracious Pledges of his blessed Body and Blood? This was that sacrifice of the ancient Church, the Fathers so much ring in our ears. The sacrifice of praise and prayer

Mal 1.11.

prayer through Jesus Christ, mystically represented in the Creatures of Bread and Wine.

But yet, there is one thing more my definition intimates, when I say *through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ commemorated in the Creatures of Bread and Wine, wherewith God had first been agniz'd.* The Body and Blood of Christ were not made of common Bread and common Wine, but of Bread and Wine first sanctified, by being offer'd and set before God as a present to agnize him the Lord and giver of all: according to that, *Domini est terra & plenitudo ejus*: And, *Let no man appear before the Lord empty.* Therefore as this sacrifice consisted of two parts, as I told you, of Praise and Prayer, which in respect of the other I call *sacrificium quod*: and of the commemoration of Christ crucified, which I call *sacrificium quo*: so the symbols of Bread and Wine traversed both; being first presented as symbols of Praise and Thanksgiving to agnize God the Lord of the creature, in the *sacrificium quod*: Then by invocation of the Holy Ghost, made the symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, in the *sacrificium quo*. So that the whole service throughout consisted of a reasonable part, and of a material part; as of a Soul and a Body of which I shall speak more fully hereafter; when I come to prove this I have said, by the testimonies of the Ancients.

SECT.

SECTION 2.

ANd this is that Sacrifice which *Malachi* foretold, the Gentiles should one day offer unto God; *In omni loco offeretur incensum Nomini meo & Mincha purum, quoniam magnum erit Nomen meum in Gentibus, dicit Dominus exercituum.* Which words I am now, according to the order I propounded, to explicate and apply to my Definition.

Know therefore, that the Prophet, in the foregoing Words, upbraids the Jews with despising and disesteeming their God; forasmuch as they offered unto him for sacrifice, not the best, but the lame, the torn and the sick; as though he had not been the great King, Creator, and Lord of the whole World; but some petty god, and of an inferior rank, for whom any thing were good enough. *If I be a Father, where is mine honour? If I be Dominus, where is my fear? saith the Lord of Hosts unto you, O Priests that despise my name! and ye say wherein have we despised it? Ye offer polluted bread upon mine Altar, and ye say, Wherein have we polluted thee? In that ye say, The Table of the Lord is contemptible; or, not so much to be regarded: that is, you think so; as appears by the baseness of your offering: For the Present shewes what esteem the giver hath of him he honoureth therewith. But you offer that to me, which ye would not think fit to offer to your Prærex, or Governour, under the King of Persia: which shewes you have but a mean esteem of me in your hearts, and that you beleeve not, I am He that I am; because you see*

Mal. i. iii.

me acknowledged of no other Nation, but yours; and that ye have been subdued by the Gentiles, and brought into this miserable and despicable condition, wherein you now are; you imagine me to be some Topical god, and as of small jurisdiction, so of little power. But know, that howsoever I now seem to be but the Lord of a poor Nation; yet the days are coming, *When from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place, incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts;* it follows, though you have prophesied it, in that ye say, *the Table of the Lord is contemptible;* whereas I am a great King, and my Name shall be dreadfull among the Heathen.

This is the dependence and coherence of the words. Now to apply them: *Incense* (as the Scripture it self tels) notes the *Prayers of the Saints*. It was also that, wherewith the remembrance was made in the sacrifices, or God put in minde: *Mincha* which we turn *Munus*, is *oblatio farrea*, an offering made of meal or flower baked, or fryed, or dried, or parched corn. We, in our English, when we make distinction call it a *meat-offering*; but might call it a *bread-offering*, of which the *Libamen*, or the *drink-offering*, being an indivisible concomitant, both are implied under the name *Mincha*, where it alone is named.

The Application then is easie; *Incense* here notes the rationall part of our Christian sacrifice, which is Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Commemoration: *Mincha* the materiall part thereof, which is *oblatio farrea*, or a present of Bread and Wine.

B U T

BUT this *Mincha* is characterised, in the Text, with an attribute not to be overpast; *Mincha purum: in omni loco offeretur incensum nomini meo* & *Mincha purum*; The meat-offering, which the Gentiles should one day present the God of Israel with, should be *minius purum*, or as the Septuagint *θυσία καθαρά*; Let us learn if we can, what this *Purity* is, and wherein it consisteth, or in what respect the Gentiles oblation is so styled. Some of the Fathers take this *Pure* offering, to be an offering, that is purely or spiritually offered: The old sacrifices both of the Jew and Gentile, were offered *modo corporali*, by slaughter, fire, and incense: but this of Christians should be offered onely *ἀγία θυσις ὁ ὑψίστης*, as *Iustin Martyr* expresses it; whence it is usually called *λομὴ καὶ ἀναιμακτος θυσία*, a reasonable and unbloody sacrifice; namely, of the * manner of offering it; Not that there was no materiall thing used therein, as some mistake, (for we know there was *Bread and Wine*) but because it is offered unto God immaterially or *λομῶς* onely; which the Fathers in the first Councell of *Nice* call *ἀθύτως θύσασθαι*, to be sacrificed without sacrificing rites: This sense of *Pure* sacrifice is followed by *Tertullian*, as may appear by his words *ad Scapulam*; where speaking of the Christian Liturgie, *Sacramentum* (saith he) *pro Imperatore, sed quomodo praecepit Deus, pura prece; Non enim eget Deus, Conditor Universitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicujus*. Also in his third Book against *Marcion*, cap. 22. *In omni loco offertur incensum Nomini meo* — & *sacrificium mundum*; that is, (saith he) *gloria relatio, benedictio, & hymni*, which he presently calls *munditias sacrificiorum*. The same

* Καὶ τοιαύτη τις εὐχαριστίας θυσία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀσπεριεῖται, ἀγνή μὲ ἀμακτος, ἀγνή ὁ πάσης βίας, ἐδὲ μὲ ὁσμὴ λιβάνων ἐσιπτοῦνται, ὅ δὲ σιμυαῖα, καθαρόν δὲ φῶς, &c. Conf. in Orat. ad Sallor. cap. c. 12.

Mal 1. 11.

same way go some others: But this sense, though it fitly serves to difference our Christian sacrifice, from the old sacrifices of the Jews and Gentiles, and the thing it self be most true; yet, I cannot see how it can agree with the context of our Prophet, where the word *Incense* (though I confesse mystically understood) is expressed together with *Munus purum*: For it would make the literall sense of our Prophet to be this; *In every place Incense is offered to my Name, and an offering without Incense.* And yet this would be the literall meaning, if *Pure* here signified *without Incense*.

Let us hear therefore a second Interpretation, of this Puritie of the Christian *Mincha*, more agreeable to the dependence of the words; and that is a *conscientia offerantis*, from the disposition and affection of the offerer, according to that of the Apostle, *Tit. 1. 15. To the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, is nothing pure, but even their minde and conscience is defiled: They professe they know God, but in their works they deny him.* The Jews offering was prophane and polluted, because it proceeded not out of a due beleef, and a conscience thoroughly perswaded of the greatnesse of their God; that he was the Creator and Lord of the whole earth, but rather some petty and particular god, like the gods of other Nations: But the Gentiles, who should see him not onely the God of one Nation, but universally acknowledged over all the earth, should have no such reason to doubt, but firmly beleieve him to be the Great God, Creator of heaven and earth, and worship him as such, and so their

their offering be a *pure offering*, not polluted with unbelief. And it is to be observed, that all the ancient Christian Liturgies begin with this acknowledgement: For the summe of the Eucharisticall Doxologie, when the Bread and Wine is first presented before God, is comprehended in that of the Apocalypse, *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glorie, honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.*

And to this way of interpreting the *purity* of the *Christian sacrifice*; to wit, from the conscience, and affection of the offerers, the Fathers mostly bend: *Irenaeus, lib. 4. cap. 34. Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem (non enim indiget Deus sacrificio) sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens. Quoniam igitur cum simplicitate Ecclesia offert, iuste munus ejus purum sacrificium apud Deum deputatum est.* And a little after, *Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere, & in omnibus gratos inveniri fabricateri Deo, in sententia pura & fide sine hypocrisi, &c.* Neither is *Tertullian*, whom I alledged before for the other interpretation, averse from this; for in his fourth Book *Con. Marc. c. 1. Sacrificium mundum*, that is, saith he, *simplex oratio de conscientia pura*. But this conscientious purity they seem to restrain, at least chiefly, to freedom from malice; as that *singular puritie* whereby this Christian sacrifice is differenced from that of the Jew; because none can offer it, but he that is in charity with his brother; according to that in the Gospel, *When thou bringest thy gift unto the Altar, and remembrest thy brother hath ought against thee — go first and be, &c.* And therefore

Mal. 1. 11.

in the beginning of this Christian service, the Deacon was anciently wont to cry, *Mē nē xamē nos*, *Let no man have ought against his brother*; and then followed *osculum sanctum*, the kisse of reconciliation. Thus the Fathers of the first Council of Nice, took *Sacrificium purum*, as appears *Can. 5.* where they expound *δῶρον καθαρὸν*, that which is offered *omni similitudine deposita*.

But according to this exposition, the *puritie* of the Christian sacrifice will not be opposite to the pollution of the Jewish, in the same kinde, as it would, if more generally taken, but in another kinde, and so the sense stands thus: *You will not offer me a pure offering, but the Gentiles one day shall, and that with a puritie of another manner of stamp, then that my Law requires of you.* And thus I have told you the two wayes, according to which the ancients understood this puritie; and I prefer the latter, as I think they did.

But there is a third Interpretation, were it backt by their Authority, (which I confesse it is not) which I would prefer before them both: and I think, you will wonder with me, they should be so silent therein: Namely, that the title of *Puritie* is given to the Christian *Mincha*, in respect of Christ whom it signifies, and represents; who is a sacrifice without all spot, blemish, and imperfection. This the Antithesis of this sacrifice, to that of the Jews, might seem to imply: For the Jews are charged with offering polluted Bread upon Gods Altar; whereby what is meant the words following tell us: *If you offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if you offer*

for the lame and sick, is it not evil? And in the end of the Chapter, *Cursed be the deceiver, who bush in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth to the Lord a corrupt thing.* Now, if the sacrifice of the Gentiles be called *pure*, in opposition to this, is it not so called, in respect of that most perfect, unblemish, and invaluable sacrifice it represents, Jesus Christ the Lamb of God? I leave it to your consideration.

SECTION 3.

HAVING absolved the two first things I propounded; given you a definition of the Christian sacrifice, and explained the words of my Text: I come to the third, and longest part of my task, to prove each particular contained in my Definition, by the testimonies and authorities of the Fathers, and writers of the first Ages of the Church. The Particulars I am to prove are in number six.

First, That this Christian service is an Oblation, and expressed under that Notion by the utmost Antiquity.

Secondly, That it is an Oblation of *Thanksgiving* and *Prayer*.

Thirdly, An Oblation *through Jesus Christ commemorated in the creatures of Bread and Wine.*

Fourthly, That this Commemoration of Christ, according to the style of the ancient Church, is also a *Sacrifice*.

Fifthly, That the Body and Blood of Christ, in this

Mal. i. 41.

mysticall Service, was made of Bread and Wine; which had first been offered unto God, to agnize him the Lord of the Creature.

Sixtly, That this Sacrifice was placed in Commemoration onely of Christs sacrifice upon the Crosse, and not in a reall offering of his Body and Blood anew.

When I shall have proved all these by sufficient Authority, I hope you will give me leave to conclude my Definition for true; *That the Christian sacrifice, ex mente antiqua Ecclesie, was, An Oblation of Thanksgiving and Prayer to God the Father, through Jesus Christ and his sacrifice, Commemorated in the creatures of Bread and Wine, wherewith God had first been agnized.*

SECT. I.

2.

LEt us begin then with the first: That this Christian service is an *Oblation*, and under that Notion expressed by all Antiquitie. The names whereby the Ancient Church called this Service are; *προσφορά, θυσία, (i. Oblatio, Sacrificium) ευχαείσια*, (a word if rightly understood of æquipolent sense) *θυσία διενεσως, θυσία λογική & αγαμιακός; Sacrificium Mediatoris, sacrificium Altaris, sacrificium precis, sacrificium Corporis & sanguinis Christi*. It would be infinite to note all the Places, and Authors, where and by whom it is thus called. The four last are *S. Augustins*; *προσφορά* and *θυσία* are to be found with

with *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenaus*; whose antiquitie is the Age next the Apostles. But, you will say, the Fathers even so early had swarved from the style of the Apostolick Age, during which these kinde of terms were not used; as appears, by that we finde them not any where in their Epistles and writings: But what if the contrary may be evinced? that this language was used even while the Apostles yet lived: For grant they are neither found in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in *S. Paul* and *S. Peters* writings; yet this proves not they were not used in the Apostles times, no more then that *εὐχαριστία* was not; whose case in this point is the same with the other. But to confine the Apostles Age, within the limits of Saint *Pauls* and *S. Peters* lines, is a generall mistake: For the Apostles Aage ended not till *S. Johns* death *Anno Christi 99.* and so lasted as long within a year or thereabouts, after *S. Paul* and *S. Peters* suffering, as it was from our Saviours Ascension to their Deaths; that is, one and thirty years. And this too for the most part, was after the *Excidium* of *Ierusalem*; in which time, it is likely the Church received no little improvement in Ecclesiasticall Rites, and Expressions; both because it was the time of her greatest increase, and because, whilst the Iews Polity stood, her Polity, for its full establishment, stood in some sort suspended. This appears by *S. Johns* writings, which are the onely Scripture written after that time, and in which we finde two Ecclesiastick terms of *λόγος*, for the Deitie of Christ; and *Κυριακή ημέρα*, for the first day of the week; neither of both seeming to have been in use in *S. Paul* and *S. Peters* time; and

Mal. 1. 11.

why may we not beleeve the like happened in others, and by name in these now questioned?

Which, that I may not seem onely to guesse, I think, I can prove by two witnesses, which then lived; the one *Clemens*, he whose name, *S. Paul* says, was written in the Book of life; and the other *Ignatius*. *Clemens* in his undoubted Epistle *ad Corinthias* (a long time missing, but now of late come again to light,) In this Epistle the word *προσφορὰ* is three times used of the Christian service, pag. 52. *Debemus omnia* (saith he) *rite & ordine facere, quæ Dominus nos peragere iussit*, κατὰ καθεστὸς τάξεως τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖν; *prestitis temporibus Oblationes & λειτουργίας obire*: And a little after; *Qui igitur prestitis temporibus oblationes suas faciunt, accepti & beati sunt, Domini enim mandata sequentes, non aberrant*. The other, *Ignatius* in his Epistle *Ad Smyrnenas*, hath both *προσφορὰ* and *Θυσία*; *Non licet* (saith he) *absque Episcopo* οὐτε βαπτίζειν, ἢ προσφέρειν, ἢ θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὐτε δοχλὸν ἐπιτελεῖν; where *προσφορὰ* he calls, in a stricter sense, the first part of this sacred and mysticall Service; to wit, *the Thanksgiving*, wherein the Bread and the Wine, as I told you, were offered unto God, to agnize his Dominion. *Θυσία*, he calls *the mysticall Commemoration* of Christs Body and Blood; and *δοχὴ* *the receiving*, and participation of the same. For *Θυσία* and *προσφορὰ* are sometimes used for the whole Action, and sometimes thus distinguished: Of this Epistle the learned doubt not; but if any one do, I suppose they will grant, that *Theodoret* had his genuine Epistles. Let them hear then a passage which he, in his third Dialogue, cites out of the

the

the Epistles of *Ignatius*, against some Hereticks; *Eucharistias & oblationes non admittunt, quod non confiteantur Eucharistiam esse carnem Servatoris nostri Iesu Christi, quæ passæ est pro peccatis nostris.* Here you see *oblationes & Eucharistias* exegetically join together. And so, I think, I have proved these terms of *Προσφορά* and *Θυσία*, to have been in use in the Church, in the latter part of the Apostles Age.

But what if one of them, namely *Θυσία*, were used sooner even in *S. Pauls* and *S. Peters* time? In the first Epistle of *Peter* 2. 5. You are (saith he, speaking to the Body of the Church) *a holy Priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices unto God by Iesus Christ.* In the Epistle to the *Heb.* 13. 15. By him (that is, through Christ our Altar) let us offer *Θυσίαν ἀειπνῶνς ἀμωμῆτος τῷ Θεῷ, the Sacrifice of praise to God continually.* Why should I not think, *S. Paul* and *S. Peter* speak here, of the solemn and publick Service of Christians, wherein the Passion of Christ was commemorated? I am sure the Fathers frequently call this sacrifice *Θυσίαν ἀειπνῶνς*. And in some ancient Liturgies, immediately before the Consecration, the Church gives thanks unto God for choosing them, *to be an holy Priesthood to offer sacrifices unto him*, as it were alluding to *S. Peter*. Thus you see, first or last, or both, the words *Προσφορά* and *Θυσία*, were no strangers to the Apostles Age.

I will now make but one Quære, and answer it, and so conclude this point: Whether these words were used (seeing they were used) properly, or improperly (*καταχρηστικῶς*) of the subject we speak of. I answer briefly. This Christian service; as we have de-

Mal. i. 11.

fined it, is an Oblation *properly*; for wheresoever any thing is tendred or pretended unto God, there is truly and properly an Oblation; be it spirituall or visiblie, it matters not. For *oblatio* is the *Genus*; And *Irenaeus* tels me here, *Non Genus oblationum reprobatur est; oblationes enim & illic, oblationes autem & hic, sacrificia in populo, sacrificia & in Ecclesia, sed species immutata est tantum.* But as for *θυσία*, or Sacrifice, according to its prime signification, it signifies a *slaughter-offering* as in the *Hebrew*, so in *Greek*, of *θύω, μακτο*. As the Angel in the *Acts* sayes to *S. Peter*, *Πέτρος θύσον & φάγε, Peter, kill and eat.* Now we in our Christian sacrifice, slay no offering, but commemorate him onely that was slain, and offered upon the Crosse. Therefore our Service is called *θυσία*, *improperly*, and metaphorically. But if *θυσία* be synecdochically taken, for an offering in generall, as it is, both in the New Testament and elsewhere, then the Christian sacrifice is as truly called *θυσία* as *Πεγοφός*, OR *Ευχαισία*.



SECT. II.

NOW I come to the second particular contained in my Definition; to prove that the *Christian sacrifice* according to the meaning of the ancient Church is an *Oblation of Thanksgiving and Prayer*.

My first Author shall be *Iustin Martyr* in his Dialogue

logue with Tryphon the Jew ; where, to the evasion of the Jews, labouring to bereave the Christians of this Text (by saying it was meant of the Prayers which the dispersed Jews at that time offered unto God in all places, where they lived among the Gentiles ; which Sacrifices, though they wanted the materiall Rite, yet were more acceptable unto God, in regard of their sincerity, then those prophaned ones at Jerusalem ; and not that here was meant any Sacrifice which the Gentiles should offer to the God of Israel ; to this evasion) *Iustin* replies, *Supplicationes, & gratiarum actiones, quæ à dignis peraguntur, solas perfectas esse, & Deo charas* *ὁμοίαι, ipse quoq. affirmaverim ;* *Hæc verò solas facere Christiani traditione acceperunt.* If you ask, where, and how ? he tels you, *Nempe in commemoratione Alimonia sue aride juxta & liquide, in qua & passionis, quam per seipsum pertulit Dei filius, memoria celebratur :* It is a description of the *Eucharist*, wherein, as I have already told you, the Bread and Wine were first presented unto God, as the *Primitia* to agnize him, the Giver of our food, both dry and liquid ; and then consecrated to be the Symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ.

My next Author shall be *Tertullian ad Scap.* in the place before alledged, *Sacrificamus* (saith he) *pro salute Imperatoris ;* — *sed, quomodo præcepit Deus, purâ prece : Non enim eget Deus, Conditor Vniuersitatis, odoris & sanguinis alicujus : Hæc enim Damoniorum pabula sunt.* The Gentiles so thought, that their Gods were refreshed and nourisht with the smell and savour of their Sacrifices : Besides, in his third Book *contra Marcionem* cap. 22. *In omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offer-*

Mal. 1. 11. *

offerat, & sacrificium mundum, (to wit, saith he) *Gloria relatio, benedictio & hymni*; And Lib. 4. ca. 1. *Sacrificium mundum, scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura.*

Thirdly, *Clemens Alexandrinus Lib. 7. Stromat.* *ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦτον τιμῶμεν καὶ θεῶν.* We (Christians) honour God by Prayer; *καὶ ταύτην καὶ θυσίαν ἀέθλου καὶ ἀνοστήν ἡρα-
νυμώμεν.* And this we send up unto him, as the best and holiest sacrifice, honouring him by that most sacred Word, whereby we receive knowledge; that is, by Christ. Again, *ἡ θυσία καὶ ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀνα-
θυμῶμεν.* The sacrifice of the Church is an oration exhaled from sanctified souls: He speaks not of the private Prayer of every Christian, but the publick Prayer of the Church, as a Body, as will be evident to him that reads the place, and appears by the words quoted; *θυσία καὶ ἐκκλησίας,* The Sacrifice of the Church; and *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀναθυμῶμεν,* exhaled, not from a sanctified soul, but, from sanctified souls. For to private prayer was not given this title of the Christian Sacrifice, but unto the publick, which the Church offered unto God, when She presented her self before him, as one Body in Christ, by the mysticall communion of his Body and Blood.

This my next Author, Cyprian, will make plain in his 16 Epist. ad *Mosē & Maximum.* *Nos quidem (saith he) vestri diebus & noctibus memores, & quando in sacrificiis precem cum pluribus facimus, & cum in secessu privatis precibus oramus;* where we see the sacrifice of prayer to be, *cum precem cum pluribus facimus;* and distinguish from that we do, *cum in secessu privatis precibus oramus.*

These

These Authorities are all within the first three hundred years: to which I will add one of the fourth; *Optatus Milevitanus Lib. 6. contra Parmenianum*, where he thus expostulates with the Donatists for breaking and defacing the Altars of the Catholics: *Quid est enim tam sacrilegum* (saith he) *quam Altaria Dei* (in quibus & vos aliquando obtulistis) *frangere, radere, removere? in quibus Vota populi, & membra Christi portata sunt; quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit.* Gather hence what parts the Christian Sacrifice consisted of; *Vota populi*, are the Prayers of the Church, *Membra Christi*, the Body and Blood of Christ, which the Prayers were offered with; both of them upon the Altar; For it is worthy your notice, that the ancient Church had no other place whereat she offered her publick Prayers and Orisons; but that, whereon the memory of the Body and Blood of Christ was celebrated; that as they were joyned in their Use, so might they not be severed in their Place.

According to which use, and agreeable to this passage of *Optatus*, speaks the Councell of *Rhemes*, commanding the Table of Christ to be revered and honoured, *Quia Corpus Domini ibi consecratur; & sanguis ejus hauritur; Preces quoque & Vota populi in conspectu Dei à Sacerdote offeruntur.*

Furthermore, that the Christian Sacrifice was an Oblation of Prayer, and consisted in Invocation, is also another way to be evinc'd; Namely, because the Fathers, when they speak thereof, use the terms of Prayer, Oblation, and Sacrifice promiscuously, and interchangeably one for the other, as words importing the same thing.

Ter-

Mal. i. ii.

Tertullian Exhort. ad Cast. dissuading a Widower from marrying again, because it would be uncomely in the Sacrifice of the Church, to make mention (as the manner then was) of more Wives then one, speaks thus; *Etiam repere apud Deum pro cuius spiritu postules; pro qua oblationes annuas reddas; stabis ergo ad Deum cum tot uxoribus, quot illas oratione commemoras; & offerres pro duabus, & commemorabis illas duas per Sacerdotem de monogamia, ob pristinum de virginitate sancitum, circumdatum virginibus & univiris; & ascendet sacrificium tuum cum libera fronte?* Here *postulatio* and *oblatio*; *oratio* and *offerre*; *oratio* and *sacrificium* are interchangeably put one for the other. So also in his Book *De Oratione*, are *Oratio* and *Sacrificium*; where he speaks of the kisse of Peace, and Reconcilement, used at the Eucharist; *Qua oratio* (saith he) *cum divortio sancti osculi integra? quale sacrificium, à quo sine pace receditur?*

Augustine De Civit. Dei Lib. 8. cap. 27. speaking of the honour of Martyrs; *Nec Martyribus* (saith he) *sacrificia constituimus* — *quis audiuit aliquando fidelem stantem ad Altare (etiam super sanctum corpus Martyris) ad Dei honorem cultumq. constructum, dicere in Precibus; Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule, &c.* Here *Sacrificium* is expounded by *Preces*, and *Preces* put for *Sacrificium*.

And *Lib. 22. cap. 8.* concerning one *Hesperius*, a man of quality in the City whereof *Austin* was Bishop, who, by the affliction of his cattell, and servants, perceiving his Country-Grange liable to some malignant power of evil spirits, *Rogavit nostros* (saith *S. Austin*) *me absente, Presbyteres, ut aliquis eorum illo per-*

pergeret, cuius orationibus cederent; Perrexerit unus, obtulit ibi sacrificium corporis Christi, orans, quantum potuit, ut cessaret illa vexatio; Deo protinus miserante cessavit. The Priest was intreated to pray there, he went, and offered sacrifice and so prayed.

For this reason the Christian Sacrifice is among the Fathers, by way of distinction, called *Θυσια δαίμονος*, *Sacrificium laudis*; that is, of Confession and Invocation of God; to difference it from those of Blood and Incense. *Augustine Lib. 1. contra Adversarios Legis & Prophetarum cap. 20. Ecclesia immolat in corpore Christi sacrificium laudis, ex quo Deus Deorum licutus vocavit terram à solis ortu usq. ad occasum*; Again *Epist. 86. Sacrificium laudis, ad Ecclesia toto orbe diffusa, diebus omnibus immolatur*; and elsewhere. And amongst the Greek Fathers this term is so frequent as I shall not need to quote any of them.

Now this joining of the Prayers of the Church, with the mysticall commemoration of Christ in the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, was no after-Invention of the Fathers, but took its originall from the Apostles times, and the very beginning of Christianity: For so we read of the first beleevers *Acts 11. 24.* that they were *μεγαλτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ, & Ἀποστόλων, & τῇ κοινῇ, & τῇ χάριτι, & ταῖς μετευχαῖς* which the Vulgar Latine turns, *Erant autem perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum, & communicatione fractionis panis, & orationibus*; But the Syriack, *Perseverantes erant in doctrina Apostolorum, & communicebant in Precatione, & fractione Eucharistie, hoc est, Assidui erant in audiendis Apostolis, & sacrificio Christiano celebrando.* Both which Translations teach us, that

Mal. i. ii.

that *κλῆσις* & *ἄγρυπναι*, and *προσευχαί*, Breaking of Bread, and Prayers, are to be referred to *κοινωνία*, as the Exegetes thereof; namely, that this Communion of the Church, consisted in the breaking of Bread and Prayers; and so the conjunction, &, to be exegetically taken, as if the Greek were rendered thus, *Erant perseverantes in (audienda) doctrina Apostolorum, & in communicatione, videlicet fractione panis, & orationibus*: And who knows not that the Synaxis of the ancient Christians, consisted of these three parts, Of hearing the Word of God; of Prayers; and commemoration of Christ in the Eucharist. Our Translation therefore here is not so right, which refers *κοινωνία* to *Ἀποστολῶν*, and translates it, *The fellowship of the Apostles*.

The Antiquity also of this conjunction we speak of, appears out of Ignatius in his Epistles to the Ephesians, where speaking of the damage which Schismatics incur, by dividing themselves from the communion of the Church, he utters it in this manner: *Let no man (saith he) deceive himself; unless a man be within the Altar, he is deprived of the Bread of God: And if the prayer of one or two be of that force, as to set Christ in the midst of them, how much more shall the joynt prayer of the Bishop and whole Church, sent up unto God, prevail with him, so grant us all our requests in Christ.* These words of Ignatius directly imply, that the Altar was the place, as of the Bread of God, so of the public Prayers of the Church; and that they were so nearly linked together, that he that was not within the Altar, (that is, who should be divided therefrom) had no benefit of either.

SECT. III.

THE second Particular thus proved, the third comes next in place, which is, *That this oblation of thanksgiving and Prayer was made through Iesus Christ commemorated in the creatures of Bread and Wine*: Namely, they beleeve, that our blessed Saviour ordained this Sacrament of his Body and Blood, as a Rite to bless and invoke his Father by, in stead of the manifold and bloody Sacrifices of the Law; For that those bloody Sacrifices of the Law were Rites to invoke God by, is a truth, though not so vulgarly known, yet undeniable; and may, on the Gentiles behalf, be proved out of *Homer* and other Authors; * on the Jews, by that speech of *Saul*, 1 Sam. 13. 12. when *Samuel* expostulated with him, for having offered a burnt-offering; I said, saith he, *The Philistims will come down upon me to Gilgal, and I have not made supplication to the Lord; I forced my self therefore, and offered a burnt-offering*: upon which place *Kimchi* notes, that אֶת הַחֹלֶק הַזֶּה הִקְדִּישְׁתָּ לַיהוָה (hoc est) *Per manus holocaustorum precatio eorum, ut plurimum, vel preces suas, ut plurimum per holocausta Deo offerebant*. The same is likewise true of their Hymns & Doxologies, as is to be seen 2 Chro. 29. 27. and by the words of the Chaldee Paraphrast *Jonathan*, upon *Exod.* 38. 8. concerning the women that assembled at the doore of the Tabernacle. *Stabant* (saith he) *muli-eres qua veniebant ad orandum, in Porta Tabernaculi* juxta

See 1. Sam.
7. 9. Ezra
6. 10. Psal.
116. 13.
Prov. 15.
8. Barnab.
1. 10. 11.
1 Mac. 12.
11.
2 Chro. 7.
12.

Mat 1. 11.

juxta oblationem elevationis suae, & laudabant, & confitebantur, deinde revertebantur ad viros suos, & pariebant filios justos.

It is further confirmed for Invocation in generall, by that which the Scripture so often reports of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, *That they built Altars where they called upon the Name of the Lord*: The Altar was a place for Sacrifice.

In stead therefore of the slaying of Beasts, and burning of Incense, whereby they called upon the Name of God in the Old Testament; the Fathers, I say, beleeved our Saviour ordained this Sacrament of Bread and Wine, as a Rite whereby to give thanks, and make supplication to his Father in his Name.

The mystery of which Rite they took to be this; That as Christ by presenting his Death and satisfaction to his Father, continually intercedes for us in Heaven; so the Church on Earth semblably, approaches the Throne of Grace, by representing Christ unto his Father, in these holy Mysteries of his Death and Passion. *Veteres enim (saith Cassander) in hoc mystico sacrificio, non tam perfecta semel in cruce oblationis, cujus hic memoria celebratur, quam perpetui Sacerdotii & jugis sacrificii, quod in Caelis sempiternus Sacerdos offert, rationem habuerunt; cujus hic Imago per solennes Ministrorum preces exprimitur.*

This a Reverend and famous Divine of blessed memory, once of this Society, and interr'd in this place, saw more clearly, or exprest more plainly, then any other Reformed Writer I have yet seen; in his *Demonstratio Problematis*, and title *de Sacrificio Missae*: where he speaks thus: *Veteres Carnam Domini, seu to-*

tam

tam cœna actionem & formulam, vocarunt Sacrificium; tum aliis de causis, tum quia est commemoratio, adeoque representatio Deo Patri, sacrificii Christi in cruce immolati: He goes on, Hoc modo fideles, etiam interorandum, Christum offerunt Deo Patri victimam, dum scilicet mente affectuque ad sacrificium ejus unicum feruntur, ut Deum sibi habeant faciuntque propitium: that which every Christian doth mentally and vocally, when he commends his prayers to God the Father, through Jesus Christ; making mention of his death and satisfaction: that in the publick service of the Church, was done by that Rite, which our Saviour commanded to be used in Commemoration of him.

These things thus explained, Let us now see, by what testimonies and authorities, it may be proved, the ancient Church had this meaning. I will begin with Saint *Ambrose*, because his testimony is punctual to our explication. *Offic. lib. i. mo cap. 48.º Ante* (saith he) *Agnus offerebatur; offerebatur & vitulus; nunc Christus offertur, sed offertur quasi homo, quasi recipiens passionem, & offert se ipse quasi sacerdos, ut peccata nostra dimittat; hic in imagine, ibi in Veritate, ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit.* And in his *Missæ* or *Liturgie* after the *confractorium*, the Priest prays in this manner; *Ipsius præceptum est Domine quod agimus, in cujus nunc te præsentia postulamus; Da sacrificio Authorem suum, ut impleatur fides rei in sublimitate mysterii; ut sicuti veritatem cælestis sacrificii exequimur, sic veritatem Dominici corporis & sanguinis hauriamus.*

An Author, which *Cassander* in his Consultations

S f

quotes

Mal. 1. 11.

quotes without name, expresse this mystery fully ; *Non impiè à nobis* (saith he) *Christus occiditur ; sed piè sacrificatur ; & hoc modo mortem Domini annunciamus donec veniat : hoc enim hic per eum humiliter agimus in terris , quod pro nobis ipse potenter (sicut filius pro sua reuerentia exaudiendus) agit in Cælis ; ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit ; cui est pro nobis intervenire , carnem quam pro nobis & de nobis sumpsit, Deo Patri quodammodo pro nobis ingerere.*

My next Author shall be Eusebius ; *Demonstrat. Euangel. lib. 1. cap. 10.* where mentioning that of the 23 Psalm, *Thou hast prepared a Table before me, &c. Thou anointest my head with oyl : Palam,* saith he, *in his mysticam significat unctiorem :* *ἡ τὰ σμυνὰ τῆς Χερσὺ τραπέζης θύματα :* *veneranda mensa Christi sacrificia ;* (he means the Symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ) *οἱ δὲ ὧν καλλιερούντες, hoc est, per que litantes, aut propitiates, supremo Deo rationales, incruentas, eique suaves victimas, in tota vita per eminentissimum ipsius Pontificem , offerre edocti sumus.* Here Eusebius affirms , that Christians are taught to offer unto God reasonable and unbloody sacrifices ; that is, *Prayer and Thanksgiving :* *διὰ σμυνῶν τῆς Χερσὺ τραπέζης θυματων καλλιερούντες, propitiating, or finding favor with God, through the venerable mysteries of Christs Table ;* For *καλλιερεῖν* is, *litare, propitiare , or placare Numen, votum impetrare, evapereῖν, gratum facere.*

Next I produce Cyrill of Ierusalem (or more likely John his successour) Author of those five *Catecheses Mystagogica ;* In the last of which , relating and expounding the meaning of that , which was said or done in the celebration of the Eucharist , according

to the use of his time, amongst other things he sayes thus; *Post absolutum spiritale illud sacrificium & incrementum cultum*, after the thanksgiving and invocation of the Holy Ghost, upon the Bread and Wine, to make it the Body and Blood of Christ (of which he was speaking before) was done, ἐν τῇς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, *Super illa propitiationis hostia obsecramus Deum*
 * *pro communi Ecclesiarum pace, pro tranquillitate mundi, pro Regibus, pro militibus, pro sociis, pro agrotis & afflictis, & in summa, pro omnibus iis qui egent auxilio*; And this is the manner of the Greek Liturgies, immediately upon the consecration of the *Dona*, to be the Symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the commemoration thereon of his Passion, Resur-

Mal. 1.11.

* 1 Mac.
12.11.

rection, and Ascension, * to offer to the Divine Majestie, as it were over the Lamb of God then lying upon the Table, their supplications and prayers, * for the whole state of Christs Church and all sorts and degrees therein, together with all other their suits and requests; and that ever and anon interposing the word προσφερομεν *we offer unto thee, for these and these*; that is, we commemorate Christ, in this mystical Rite for them. This Prayer therefore our Au-

* Προσάχας ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα σύμβολα χριστοὶ δὲς ἐπιλέγειν: Dionys. Areop. Ep. ad Demoph. Therapeutam.

* Θυσίας ἀνέμεναι καὶ μυσταῖς ἱερουργίας τὸ θεῖον ἱλάσκοτο, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτὰς βασιλέας, ὑπὲρ τῶν τιστοῦν αὐτῶν, παιδων' αὐτῶν θεοσίων ἱκετηρὸς εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσαναφέροντες. Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 4. c. 45.

thor Cyrill in the place aforequoted calls δέησιν τῆς ἀλῆς καὶ ὀρκαδεσμένης προκειμένης θυσίας, *supplicationem sancti & tremendi prajacentis sacrificii*; and faith, that it is a most powerfull prayer, as that wherein we offer unto the Divine Majesty, χριστὸν ἱσαγασμένον πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων; Christ that was once

S f 2

slain

Mat. 1. 11.

slain for our sins *ἐξιλασόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον*, propitiating the mercifull God, for our selves and others we pray for.

And this is that, if I mistake not, which *Tertullian* means *lib. de oratione cap. 11.* where he sayes of the Christians, that they did *Dominicâ passione modulari, & orare: Nos vero (inquit) non attollimus tantum manus, sed etiam expandimus; & Dominicâ passione modulantes, & orantes confitemur Christo; id est, Christum.* According to the dialect of the Scripture; *Confitemur Domino*, for *Confitemur Dominum*; For by commemorating Christ, and offering our prayers to the Father in his Name, we confesse and acknowledge him, to be our Mediator; so *Eusebius de Laude Const.* calls it, *ἐπὶ κλησιν Χριστοῦ: εὐχὰς δι' αὐτοῦ παρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν ἀναπέμπειν*, To send up Prayers in his Name to the God of all.

The same with *Tertullian*, means Saint *Austin*, describing the Christian sacrifice to be; *immolare Deo in Corpore Christi sacrificium Laudis, lib. 1. contra Adversarios Legis & Prophetarum: cap. 20. Ecclesia* (saith he) *immolat Deo, in Corpore Christi, sacrificium Laudis, ex quo Deus Deorum locutus vo. ait terram, à Solis ortu usque ad occasum, Psalm. 40.*

Lastly, that the representation of the Body and Blood of Christ in this Christian service, was intended and used as a Rite, whereby to finde grace and favour with God, when the Church addressed her self unto him, (which is that I undertook to prove,) is apparent by a saying of *Origen Hom. 13. in Levit.* where treating of the shewbread, which was continually set before the Lord with incense, for a memori-
all

all of the children of Israel; that is, to put God in minde of them: he makes it in this respect to have been a lively figure of the Christians *Eucharist*; For, saith he, *Ista est commemoratio sola, qua propitium facit Deum hominibus.*

All these testimonies have been expresse for our purpose: That the Thanksgiving and Prayers of the Church in the Christian sacrifice, were offered unto the Divine Majestie through Christ commemorated in the Symbols of Bread and Wine, as by a *Medium* whereby to finde acceptance.

There is, besides these, an usuall expression of the Fathers, when they speak of the Eucharist; which though it be not direct and punctuall, as the former, yet, I verely beleeeve, it ayms at the same Mysterie. Namely, when they say, that in this Sacrifice they offer Praise and Prayer to God the Father, *through Iesus Christ, the great High-priest.* I will quote an Example or two; *Clemens*, or the Author of the Constitutions, *lib. 2. cap. 29.* *Vos hodie* (saith he) *ô Episcopi, estis populo vestro sacerdotes & Levitæ: — assistentes ad Altare Domini & Dei nostri, & προσήγortes αὐτῷ τὰς λογικὰς & ἀναμικτὰς θυσίας, per Iesum Christum, magnum Pontificem.*

The same *Clemens* in a more undoubted writing of his, to wit, his *Epist. ad Corinthios*, quoting that of the 50. *Psalms* after the Septuagint, *Θυσία ἀνίσταται με;* the sacrifice of Praise shall glorifie me; & ἐκείνῃ ὁ δὲς ἡ δειξάμεν αὐτῷ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ; — and there is the way wherein I shall shew to him that sacrificeth the salvation of God. This is the way saith *Clemens*, that is, the sacrifice of Praise is the way, ἡ δὲ δειξάμεν τὸ σωτήριον.

Mal. 1. 11.

εξ ου ημεων Ιησυν χριστον τον αρχιερα των προσφορων ημων, wherein we have found our salvation, Iesus Christ, the High-priest of all our offerings. The Fathers are wont to expound this place, of the Eucharist; and therefore I doubt not, but *Clemens* means of the same, and tels us that in this Sacrifice Christ the High-priest of our offerings is found; that is, represented and commemorated.

In the same style speaks *Iust. Mar. Dial*: cum Tryphone. Ne unum quidem est genus Mortalium, siue Græcorum, siue Barbarorum, siue quocunque nomine appellantur — inter quos per nomen crucifixi Iesu ευχαρισται, Patri & fabricatori omnium non fiant. He is speaking of the Christian sacrifice, & our Text in *Malachi*; In omni loco offeretur incensum nomini meo, where by *Nomen Dei* he understands Christ, through whom, in this Sacrifice, our devotions are offered. So doth *Irenæus*, and others; *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 33.* Quod est aliud Nomen, quod in Gentibus glorificatur, quam quod est Domini nostri, per quem glorificatur Pater, & glorificatur homo: — quoniam ergo Nomen filii proprium Patris est & in Deo omnipotente per Iesum Christum offert Ecclesia, bene ait, secundum utraque, Et in omni loco offeretur incensum Nomini meo, & sacrificium purum.

Now how this Incense and Sacrifice, which the Prophet saith the Gentiles should offer to the Name of God, may be expounded, Offered by the Name of God, to wit, by Christ, *Origen lib. 8. contra Cels.* will inform us; Unum Deum (saith he) & unum ejus filium, ut verbum imaginemque, quantum possumus, supplicationibus & honoribus veneramur, offerentes Deo

univer-

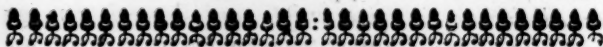
universorum preces per suum unigenitum; Cui prius eas adhibemus, rogantes ut ipse, qui est propitiator pro peccatis nostris, dignetur tanquam Pontifex preces nostras & sacrificia & intercessionem offerre Deo super omnia. That, which we offer to the Father by Christ, we offer first to Christ; that he, as our High-priest, might present it to his Father. More passages hath *Origen* in the same Books of this kinde.

But I will not weary you too much in this rugged way; out of this which we have hitherto discoursed and proved, may be understood the meaning and reason of that Decree of the third Councell of Carthage and Hippo. *Vt nemo in Precibus, vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre, nominet. Et cum Altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.* The reason; because the Father is properly the Object, *is in se ipso*; the Son onely, *in se*, by whom, in this Mystical service; and therefore, to direct here our Prayers and Thanksgivings to the Son, were to pervert the order of the Mystery, which is, as hath been proved, *An oblation of Praise and Prayer to God the Father, through the Intercession of Iesus Christ, represented in the Symbols of Bread and Wine.*

Sf 4

S E C T.

Mal. 1. 11.



S E C T. IV.

THe fourth particular propounded was this, That the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, or Lords Supper is a Sacrifice, according to the style of the ancient Church.

It is one thing to say, that the Lords Supper is a *Sacrifice*, and another to say, that Christ is *properly* sacrificed therein. These are not the same; for there may be a Sacrifice, which is a representation of another, and yet a Sacrifice too: And such is this of the New Testament, a Sacrifice wherein another Sacrifice, that of Christs death upon the Crosse, is commemorated: Thus the Papists gain nothing by this Notion of Antiquity, and our asserting the same; For their tenet is, that Christ in this Sacrifice is really and properly sacrificed; which we shall shew in due time that the Ancients never meant.

To begin with this: As in the Old Testament the name of *Sacrifice* was otherwhile given to the whole action in which the Rite was used; sometimes to the Rite alone: so in the Notion and Language of the ancient Church, sometimes the whole Action or Christian service (wherein the Lords Supper was a part) is comprehended under that name; sometimes the Rite of the sacred Supper it self, is so termed, and truly, as you shall now hear.

The resolution of this Point, depends altogether upon

upon the true Definition of a Sacrifice, as it is distinguished from all other Offerings. Which, though it be so necessary, that all disputation without it, is vain; yet shall we not finde, that either party interested in this question, hath been so exact therein, as were to be wished. This appears by the differing Definitions, given and confuted by Divines on both sides; the reason of which defect is, because neither are deduced from the Notion of Scripture, but built upon other conceptions: Let us see therefore, if it may be learned out of Scripture, what that is which the Scripture, in a strict and speciall sense, calls a Sacrifice.

Every Sacrifice is an oblation or offering: but every offering is not a Sacrifice, in that strict and proper acception we seek. For Tithes, First-fruits Heav-offerings in the Law, and whatsoever indeed is consecrated unto God, are oblations or offerings; but none of them Sacrifices, nor ever so called in the Old Testament: What offerings are then called so? I answer, Burnt-offerings, Sin-offerings, Trespasse-offerings, and peace-offerings. These, and no other, are called by that name.

Out of these therefore must we pick the true and proper *ratio* of a Sacrifice: It is true indeed, that these Sacrifices were offerings of beasts, of beeves, of sheep, of goats, of fowls; but the *ratio* of any thing consists not in the matter thereof; As the gowns we wear, are still the same kinde of apparel, though made of differing stuffs: These Sacrifices also were slain, and offered by fire and incense: But neither is the *modus* of any thing the *ratio* or essentiall form thereof.

Mal. i. ii.

thereof. That therefore may have the nature and *formale* of a Sacrifice which consists of another matter, and is offered after another and differing manner; Those we call Sacraments of the Old Testament, Circumcision and the Pascheover, were by effusion of blood; ours are not, and yet we esteem them nevertheless true Sacraments; and so it may be here.

To hold you therefore no longer in suspense, a Sacrifice, I think should be defined thus: An offering, whereby the offerer is made partaker of his Gods Table, in token of Covenant, and friendship with him, &c. more explicatedly thus: An offering unto the Divine Majesty, of that which is given for the food of man; that the offerer partaking thereof, might, as by way of pledge, be certified of his acceptation into Covenant, and fellowship with his God, by eating and drinking at his Table. *S. Augustin* comes toward this Notion, when he defines a Sacrifice (though in a larger sense) *opus quod Deo nuncupamus, reddimus, & dedicamus, hoc fine, ut sancta societate ipsi adhæreamus*; for to have society and fellowship with God, what is it else, but to be in league and covenant with him?

In a word, a Sacrifice is *oblatio federalis*, for the true and right understanding whereof, we must know, that it was the universall custome of mankind, and still remains in use, to contract covenants and make leagues of friendship, by eating and drinking together. When *Isaac* made a covenant with *Abimelech* the King of *Gerar*, the Text saith, *He made him and those that were with him, a feast, and they did eat, and drink,*
and

and rose up betimes in the morning, and swore one to another, Gen. 28. When Jacob made covenant with Laban, after they had sworn together, he made him a feast, and called his brethren to eat Bread, Gen. 31. When David made a league with Abner, upon his promise to bring all Israel unto him, David made Abner and the men that came with him a feast, 2 Sam. 3.

* Hence in the Hebrew tongue, a covenant is called *ברית* of *אכל*, to eat; as if they should say, an eating; which derivation is so naturall, that it deserves to be preferred, before that from the other signification of the same verb, which is *eligere*. And this will suffice for the custome of the Hebrews.

Now for the Gentiles, *Herodotus* tells us, the Persians were wont to contract leagues of friendship, *inter vinum, & Epulas*, in a full feast, whereat their wives, children and friends were present. The like *Tacitus* reports of the Germans: Amongst the Greeks and other Nations, they eat bread and salt together. Unto which comes neer that ceremony, somewhere used at weddings; that the Bridegroom, when he comes home from Church, takes a piece of cake, tastes it, then gives it to his Bride to taste it likewise; as a token of a covenant made between them. The Emperour of *Russia* at this day, when he would shew extraordinary grace and favour unto any, sends him bread and salt from his Table: And when he invited *Baron Sigismund* the Emperour *Ferdinands* Ambassador, he did it in this form; *Sigismunde comedas sal & panem nostrum nobiscum*. Hence that Symbol of *Pythagoras* ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶτος ἀναγορεύειν, Break no bread, is interpreted by *Erasmus*, and others, to mean, Break

Mal 4.11.

* Vide etiam
am 10f 9.
14. 15.
Psa. 41. 10.
Vir pacis
meus in quo
fidem; qui com-
debat panem
meum.

Mal. i. 11.

Vid. Turci-
cum ritum
apud Bui-
bequium,
Epist. i. 11.

no friendship: Moreover the Egyptians, Thracians, and Lybians in speciall, are said to have used to make leagues, and contract friendship, by presenting a cup of wine one to another; which custome we finde still in use amongst our Western Nations; and what is our *To pledge*, but to take as a pledge of league and friendship? Yea it is a rule in Law, that if a man drink to him, against whom he hath an accusation of slander, or other verball injurie, he loses his Action, because it is supposed he is reconciled with him.

Such now, as were these covenant-feastings and eatings and drinkings, in token of league and amity between men and men; such are Sacrifices between man and his God; *Epula fæderales*, wherein God deigneth to entertain man, to eat and drink with or before him, in token of favour and reconcilement. For so it becomes the condition of the parties, that he which hath offended the other, and seeks for favour, and forgivenesse, should be entertained by him, to whom he is obnoxious; and not *à contra*, that is, that God should be the *Convivator*, and man the *Conviva*. To which end, the Viands for this sacred *Epulum*, were first to be offered unto God, and so made his, that he might entertain the offerer, and not the offerer him. For we are to observe, that what the fire consumed was accounted as, and called by himself, the *meat of his fire-offerings*; the rest was for his guests, which they were partakers of, either by themselves, as in all the *peace-offerings*, or by their proxies, the Priests, as in the rest; to wit, the *Holocauts*, the *sin and trespass-offerings*. The reason of which difference was, I suppose, because the one

was

was *ad impetrandum*, or *renovandum factus*; where therefore a Mediator was needfull; the other, to wit, the peace-offerings, *ad confirmandum & consignandum*, onely: wherein therefore they addressed themselves before the Divine Majesty with greater confidence. If any shall object, that the Holocaust was wholly burnt, and consumed, and so no body partaker thereof; I answer, it is true, the beast, which was slain, was wholly burnt, and so all of it, as it were Gods Messe. But there was * a meat-offering, and drink-offering annexed thereunto, as a part of the holy feast; of which a handfull onely was burnt for a memoriall, the remainder was for the * Priests to eat in the holy place. Besides, burnt-offerings were regularly accompanied with peace-offerings (as you shall finde them in Scripture ordinarily joined together,) now in these the people that offered had the greatest share. In a word, that those who offered sacrifice, both among Jews and Gentiles, were partakers of the same; is a thing to be taken for granted; as appears by the warning God gave the Israelites, *Exod. 34. That they should make no covenants with the inhabitants of the land; lest when they went a whoring after their gods, and offered a sacrifice unto them, they might call them; and they also eat of their sacrifice.* And by that *Psal. 106. They joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and eat the sacrifices of the dead.* By that of S. Paul; *Hebr. 13. We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve at the Tabernacle;* So that of this, there needs be no question.

It remains onely, we prove that these sacred *Epulae*, were *Epulae federales*; and so our Definition will stand

* *Levit. 23.*
13, 18.
Num. 8. 8.
* 15. 24.
* 28. 20,
28, 31.
* 29. 6,
11. 19.
* *Lev. 7. 9.*

Mal. 1. 11.

stand good : Now this will appear, first in general, by that expression of Scripture, wherein the covenant, which God makes with Man, is expressed by eating and drinking at his Table, *Luk. 13.* Those, to whom the Lord opens not, plead for themselves : *We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets, &c. Cap. 22.* Our Saviours tells his disciples ; *I appoint you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me ; that ye may eat, and drink at my Table in my Kingdom. Apoc. 3. 20.* Behold I stand at the door and knock ; If any man hear my voyce, and open the door, I will come in unto him, and sup with him and he with me : But these passages, you will say, shew rather how fitly sacrifices might be feasts of amity between God and men, then prove they were so indeed : Hear therefore such proofs, as I think come home to the point.

First, Every sacrifice, saith our Saviour, *Mark 9.* is salted with salt. This salt is called *Levit. 2.* The salt of the Covenant of God ; that is, a Symbol of the perpetuity thereof. Now if the salt, which seasoned the sacrifice, were *sals foderis Dei* : what was the sacrifice it self, but *Epulum foderis* ?

Secondly, *Mose* calls the blood of the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, wherewith he sprinkled the children of Israel, when they received the Law, the blood of the Covenant, which the Lord had made with them : This is, saith he, the Blood of the Covenant, which the Lord hath made with you.

Thirdly, and above all, this may most evidently be evinced, out of the 40. Psalm ; the whole Argument whereof is concerning sacrifices : There God saith,

saith, Gather my Saints together unto me, which make covenant with me by sacrifice, *ברתי ברתו עליהם*. And vers. 16. of the sacrifices of the wicked, and such as amend not their lives; Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, *קח*, and take my Covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction, &c. Statutes here, are Rites and Ordinances, and particularly those of Sacrifice, which who so bringeth unto God, and thereby supplicates and calls upon his Name, is said, to take the covenant of God in his mouth; Forasmuch as to invoke God with this Rite, was to do it by way of commemoration of his Covenant, and to say, Remember Lord thy Covenant, and for thy Covenants sake, Lord hear my prayer and supplication. For what hath man to do with God, to beg any favour at his hands, unlesse he be in Covenant with him? whereby appears the reason, why mankind, from the beginning of the world, used to approach their God, by this Rite of sacrificing; that is, *ritu federali*.

I adde in this last place, for a farther confirmation; That, when God was to make a Covenant with Abraham, Gen. 15. he commanded him to offer him a Sacrifice; Offer unto me (saith he, so it should be turned) a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, each of three years old, a turtle Dove, and a young pigeon; All which he offered accordingly, and divided them in the midst, laying each piece or moiety one against the other; and, when the sun went down, God in the likenesse of a smoaking furnace, and burning lamp-past between the pieces, and so, as the Text sayes, made a Covenant with Abraham, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land,

land,

Mal. i. ii.

land, &c. By which Rite, of passing through the parts, God condescended to the manner of men; And note here, that the Gentiles, and Jews likewise, in their more solemn covenants between men and men, (which were made under pain of curse or execration) used this Rite of Sacrifice, whereby men covenanted with their God, as it were to make their God both a witnesse, and a party with them. And here the Jews cut the Sacrifice in sunder, and past between the parts thereof; as God did here with *Abraham*: which was as much, as if they had said, Thus let me be divided, and cut in pieces, if I violate the oath, I have now made in the presence of my God. The Gentiles, besides other ceremonies, used not to eat at all of these sacrifices, but to fling them into the sea, or bury them in the earth; as if they had said, If I break Covenant, thus let me be excluded from all amity and favour with my God; as I am now from eating of his Sacrifice. Hence came those phrases; *secare fœdus*, in the Hebrew; of *ferire, percutere & icere fœdus*; in Latine: of *ῥήμα τήναι*, in Homer, à *feriendis, percutiendis, & secandis sacrificiis in fœderibus sancendis*; Though this manner of speech may be also derived from their ordinary *Epula fœderales*, wherein they killed beasts, which the Ancients in their ordinary diet did not.

Having thus seen what is the nature of a Sacrifice, and wherein the *ratio* thereof consisteth, it will not be hard to judge, whether the ancient Christians did rightly, in giving the Eucharist that name, or not: For that the Lords supper is *Epulum fœderale*, we all grant, and our Saviour expressly affirms it of the Cup in the
 institu-

stitution; τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ χάρις ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου, τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐκχυθῆναι ἐκ δόξαν ἀμαρτιῶν, *This Cup is the Rite of the new Covenant in my Blood, which is poured out for many, for the remission of sins;* evidently implying, that the bloody sacrifices of the Law, with their meat and drink-offerings, were Rites of an old covenant, and that this succeeded them as the rite of the * new. That, that was contracted with the blood of beevs, sheep, and goats; but this founded in the blood of Christ: This parallel is so plain, as I think none will deny it. There is nothing then remains to make this sacred *Epulum*, a full sacrifice, but that the Viands thereof should be first offered unto God, that he may be the *Convivator*, we the *Convive* or the guests.

* Eusebius
(Demonst.
Evang. lib.
9) vinum
mysticum
sacrosan-
ctum Eu-
charistia
vocat κα-
μὰ πικρὴν
τὸ καὶ τὸ
διαθήκη.
Cassanb.
exerc. ad
Ann. 32.
N. 26.

SECT. V.

MY last task was to prove, that the rite of the Lords Supper is indeed a Sacrifice, not in a Metaphoricall but a proper sense; and this, if the nature of Sacrifice be truly defined, is no whit repugnant to the reformed Religion.

To evidence which I shewed, that a Sacrifice was nothing else but a Sacred-feast, wherein God mystically entertained man at his own Table, in token of amity and friendship with him: which that he might

T t

do,

Mal. i. i. i.

do, the Viands of that feast were first made Gods, by oblation, and so eaten of, not as of Mans, but Gods provision.

There is nothing then wanting to make this sacred *Epulum*, of which we speak, full out a Sacrifice; but that we shew, that the Viands thereof were in like manner first offered unto God; that so being his, he might be the *Convivator*, man the *Conviva*, or the guest: And this the ancient Church was wont to do; this they beleaved our blessed Saviour himself did, when, at the institution of this holy Rite, he took the Bread and the Cup into his sacred hands, and *looking up to heaven gave thanks and blessed*: And, after his example, they first offered the Bread and Wine unto God, to agnize him the Lord of the Creature; and then received them from him again in a Banquet, as the Symbols of the Body and Blood of his Son. This is that, I am now to prove out of the testimonies of Antiquity, not long after, but next unto the Apostles times, when it is not likely the Church had altered the form they left her, for the celebration of this Mystery.

I will begin with *Irenaeus*, as the most full and copious in this point; He, in his fourth Book cap. xxxii. speaks thus; *Dominus Discipulis suis dans consilium Primitias Deo offerre ex suis Creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec instructuosi, nec ingrati sint: cum, qui ex Creatura est panis, accepit, & gratias egit; dicens, Hoc est corpus meum; & Calicem similiter, qui ex Creatura est, qui est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est; & Novo Testamento novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens offert Deo, ei*
qui

qui alimenta nobis prestat, primitias suorum munerum in Novo Testamento.

Mal. i. ii.

And Cap. xxxiii. Igitur Ecclesia oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum; & acceptum est ei; non quod indigeat a nobis sacrificium, sed quoniam is qui offert glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur munus ejus: Per manus enim erga Regem honos & affectio ostenditur. He alludes to that in the first of Malachi, I am a great King, saith the Lord of Hosts.

Ibid. Oportet nos oblationem Deo facere, & omnibus gratos inveniri Fabricatori Deo, Primitias earum, quae sunt ejus, Creaturarum offerentes; & hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert Fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum Actione ex Creatura ejus.

In the same place, Offerimus autem ei, non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes Dominationi ejus, & sanctificantes creaturam. He alludes again to that in this Chapter of Malachi, Si Dominus sum, ubi est timor meus, O sacerdotes, qui offertis super Altare meum panem pollutum?

My next witness shall be Iustin Martyr, in time elder then Irenaeus; He in his Dialogue with Tryphon, (the place before alledged) telling the Jew, that the Sacrifices of Christians are Supplications and giving of Thanks; *Has vero solas* (saith he) *facere Christiani traditione acceperunt, in commemoratione Alimoni sua, arida juxta & liquida;* in that thankfull remembrance of their food both dry and liquid, in qua & passionis quam pertulit per se ipsum Dei filius, memoria celebratur: Here is a twofold commemoration witnessed to be made in the Eucharist; The first, as he speaks, of

Mal. i. 11.

our food dry and liquid; that is, of our meat and drink by agnizing God, and recording him the Creator, and giver thereof: The second, of the passion of Christ the Son of God, in one and the same food. And again in the same Dialogue, *Panem Eucharistia in commemorationem passionis sue Christus fieri tradidit* (ἵνα ἀμαρτὴ ἐυχαισώμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου ἐκκλίναι οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, &c.) *ut simul gratias ageremus Deo, cum ob id, quod mundum, cum omnibus in eo Creaturis, hominis gratia condiderit, tum etiam, quod ab omni in qua fuimus miseria nos liberarit, Principatusque ac potestates perfectā dissolutione dissolverit, per eum qui de consilio & voluntate ejus factus est patibilis.* To which he immediately subjoins the Text, and applies it to the Eucharist. Thus *Iustin Martyr*.

My third witness is *Origen* in his VIII. Book *Contra Cels.* *Celsus* (saith he) *thinks it seemly we should be thankfull to Demons and to offer them* χαριστήρια, *but we think him to live most comely τὸν μνησθέντα τῆς ὁ Δημιουργίας, that remembers, who is the Creator: unto whom we Christians are carefull not to be unthankfull, with whose benefits we are filled and whose Creatures we are;* Ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐυχαιρίας, ἅπας Εὐχαιρία χαλούμενος; that is, *And we have also a Symbol of our thanksgiving unto God, the Bread which is called ἐυχαιρία:* Where note, that the Eucharisticall Bread is said to be a Symbol, not onely of the Body and Blood of Christ, but a Symbol of that Thanksgiving, which we render to the Creator through him.

Again, in the same Book, where *Celsus* likewise would have mankind thankfull unto Demons, as those to whom the charge of things here upon earth

is committed, and to offer unto them, Ἀναγχαὶ καὶ ἱ-
χαὶ, *Primitias & supplicationes*. Origen thus takes
him up. *Celsus Deum nesciens, xacisvexa persolvat De-*
monibus; nos mundi Creatori placere studentes (or gra-
tum facientes, Gr. ἰν xacisvrtu) *Panes, cum gratiarum*
actione & precibus pro datis, oblatos comedimus, Cor-
pus sanctum quoddam per precationem factos. Mark
here, Bread offered unto God, with Prayer and
Thanksgiving *pro datis*, for that he hath given us, and
then by prayer made a holy Body, and so eaten.

Thus much out of Fathers, all of them within lesse
then two hundred and fifty years, after Christ; and
lesse then one hundred and fifty, after the death of
Saint John.

The same appears in the forms of the ancient
Liturgie, as in that of *Clemens*, where the Priest
in the name of the whole Church assembled speaks
thus: Προσφερομὴν σοι τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ θεῷ, *Offerimus tibi Regi*
& Deo, secundum ejus (idest, Christi) ordinationem, τὸν
ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, hunc panem & hoc pocu-
lum, gratias tibi agentes, ex quod nos (he speaks of the
whole Church) *dignos fecisti assistere in conspectu tuo,*
& fungi sacerdotio tibi. Rogamusque te, ut benigne
aspicere digneris super hac dona, proposita in conspectu
tuo; Tu qui nullo indiges Deus, & complaceat tibi in ip-
sis, in honorem Christi tui, &c.

Again, *Pro domo oblato Domino Deo oremus, ut bonus*
Deus suscipiat illud, per intercessionem Christi sui in
cæleste Altare suum in odorem suavitatis.

Mal. 1. 11

Vide etiam
am Can. A-
postol. II.
(al. III.)
Can. XL.
Synod. Car-
thag. Can.
VII. Edi-
cti Theop-
phili Alex-
andriini a-
pud Balsa-
mon.

Mal. 1. 13.

* In Ordine Romano, dimissus: Ca techumenis, Rubrica habet; Postea incipiunt cantores cantare offertorium, & populus

Yea, in the Canon of the^a Roman Church, though the Rite be not used, yet the words remain still, as when the Priest, long before the Consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ, prays, *Te clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus, ut accepta habeas, & benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera*; and other like passages, which now they wrest to a new found oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ, which the ancient Church knew not of.

dar oblationes suas, id est, panem & Vinum; & offerunt cum Canonibus, id est, velis candidis; primo masculis, deinde Fœminæ, novissimè sacerdotes & Diaconi; sed solum panem, & hoc ante Altare: Tunc accipiens Archidiaconus à subdiaconis oblatas, ponit tantas super Altare; quantæ possunt populo sufficere ad communionem. Videatur Theod. in hist. de Theodosio offerente; *ἡ δὲ ὁ χαριστικὴ τῆς ἑκείνου τράπεζης* Ep. 7. *ἡ δὲ ἀποστολικὴ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, &c. l. 4. c. 17.* Consule Cyprian. de Op. & Eleemos. — Quæ in Dominicæ sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obulit, somis: *August. de Temp. Serm. CCL.* Oblationes quæ in Alcaria consecrantur offerre; Erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de aliena oblatione communicaverit.

But, of all others, this Rite is most strongly confirmed, by that wont of the Ancient Fathers, to confute the Hereticks of those first times (who held the Creator of the world, to be some inferiour deity, and not the Father of Christ) out of the Eucharist: For, say they, unless the Father of Christ be the Creator of the world, why is the Creature offered unto him, in the Eucharist, as if he were? would he be agnized the Author, and Lord of that he is not?

Here Irenæus, *Adversus Hæres. lib. 4. cap. 34.* *Hæreticorum Synagoga* (saith he) *non offerunt Eucharisticam oblationem quam Dominus offerri docuit; Aliorum enim præter fabricatorem, dicentes Patrem, ideo, quæ secundum nos Creatura sunt, offerentes ei cupidum alieni ostendunt eum, & aliena concupiscentem*: and a little after,

after, *Quomodo autem constabit eis, eum panem, in quo gratia acta sunt, Corpus esse Domini sui, & Calicem sanguinis ejus, si non ipsum Fabricatoris mundi filium dicant, id est, verbum ejus per quod lignum fructificat, & defluunt fontes, & terra dat primum quidem gramen, post deinde spicam, deinde plenum triticum in spicae*

From the same ground *Tertullian* argues against *Marcion*; contra *Marc. lib. 1. cap. 24.* Non putem (saith he) impudentiorem, quam qui in aliena aqua alii Deo tinguitur; ad alienum Caelum alii Deo expanditur; in aliena terra alii Deo sternitur; super alienum panem alii Deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur; de alienis bonis ob alium Deum nomine eleemosyna & dilectionis operatur.

Origen against the same Heretick useth the same Argument; *Dialog. Advers. Marc. 3. paulo ante finem.* Dominus aspiciens in caelum gratias agit: Ecquid non agit conditori gratias? cum panem accepisset, & poculum, & benedixisset, quid? alterius pro Creaturis conditoris benedixit? an potius illi qui effecit & exhibuit?

Lastly, this oblation of the Bread and Wine is implied in *S. Pauls* parallel of the Lords Supper, and the Sacrifices of the Gentiles: You cannot (saith he) be partakers of the Table of the Lord, and the Table of Divels; namely, because they imply contrary Covenants, incompatible one with the other. A sacrifice, as I told you, being *Epulum federale*; Now here the Table of Divels is so called, because it consisted of Viands offered to Divels, (so *S. Paul* expressly tels us) whereby those that eat thereof, eat of the Divels meat; Ergo, The Table of the Lord is likewise called his Table, not because the Lord ordained it, but because it consisted of Viands offered unto him.

Mat. 1. 1. 1.

Having thus, as I think, sufficiently proved what I took in hand, I think it not amisse, to answer two questions, which this discourse may beget. The first is, How the Ancients could gather out of the Institution, that our Saviour did as hath been shewed? I answer, they beleaved, that he did as the Jews were wont to do; But they did thus. How will you say doth this appear? I answer, it may appear from this; The Passeeover was a Sacrifice, and therefore the Viands here, as in all other holy Feasts, were first offered unto God. Now the Bread and Wine, which our Saviour took when he blessed and gave thanks, was the *Mincha* or meat-offering of the Passeeover: If then he did as the Jews used to do, he agnized his Father and blessed him, by oblation of these his Creatures unto him, using the like or the same form of words, *Benedictus tu Domine Deus noster, Rex mundi, qui producis panem à terra*; And over the Wine; *Benedictus tu Domine Deus noster, Rex mundi, qui creasti fructum vitis*: Moreover the Church *ab initio* applied that precept of our Saviour, *Mat. 4. 23. If thou bring thy gift to the Altar, &c.* to the Eucharist; for they beleaved, that he would not enact a new law concerning legall Sacrifices, which he was presently to abolish; but that it had reference to that oblation, which was to continue under the Gospel.

The other question is: If all this be so, how is not our celebration of the Eucharist defective, where no such oblation is used? I answer, this concerns not us alone, but all the Churches of the West of the Roman communion, who, as in other things they have depraved this mystery, and swarved from the primitive

tive pattern thereof, so have they for many Ages disused this oblation of Bread and Wine, and brought in, in lieu thereof, a reall and hypostaticall oblation of Christ himself; This blasphemous oblation, we have taken away, and justly, but not reduced again that expresse and formall use of the other: Howsoever, though we do it not with a set ceremony, and form of words; yet in deed and effect we do it, so often as we set the Bread and Wine upon the Holy-Table: For whatsoever we set upon Gods Table, is *ipso facto* dedicated, and offered unto him: According to that of our Saviour *Mat. 23.* τὸ θυσιάζειν ἀγαθὸν τὸ δίδωεν, *The Altar sanctifies the gift*; that is, consecrates it unto God, and appropriates it to his use: In which respect, it were much to be wisht, that this were more solemnly done, then it is usuall; namely, not untill the time of the administration, and by the hand of the Minister, in the name and sight of the whole congregation, standing up, and shewing some signe of due and lowly reverence, according, as the Deacon was wont to admonish the people in Ancient Liturgies, Ὁρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρέμου ἐσώτες ἑαυτοὺς προσφέρειν: *erecti ad Dominum, cum timore & tremore stemus oblaturi.*

✠

SECT. VI.

THe sixt, and last thing to bee proved was, That Christ is offered in this Sacrifice commemoratively onely and not otherwise.

Though the Eucharist be a Sacrifice (that is, an Ob-

Mal. i. 11.

Oblation) wherein the offerer banquets with his God, yet is Christ in this Sacrifice no otherwise offered, then by way of commemoration onely, of his Sacrifice once offered upon the Crosse; as a learned Pre-late of ours hath lately written, *objectivè* onely, not *subjectivè*. And this is that, which our Saviour him-self said, when he ordained this sacred Rite, τοῦτο ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ἐπέῳ ἀναμνησκόμενος; *This do in commemoration of me.*

But this commemoration is to be made to God his Father, and is not a bare remembring or putting our selves in minde onely, (as is commonly supposed) but a putting of God in minde; For every Sacrifice is directed unto God, and the Oblation therein, whatsoever it be, hath him for its Object, and not man. If therefore the Eucharist be *Sacrificium Christi commemorativum*, as ours grant, then must the commemoration therein be made unto God: and if Christ therein be offered *objectivè*, that is, as the object of the commemoration there made, (as that learned Bishop speaks) if the commemoration of him, be an oblation of him, whom is this oblation, that is, commemoration, made unto, but God?

Well then, Christ is offered in this sacred Supper, not *hypostatically*, as the Papists would have him, (for so he was but once offered) but *commemoratively* only, that is, by this sacred Rite of Bread and Wine, we represent, and inculcate his blessed Passion to his Father; we put him in minde thereof, by setting the Monuments thereof before him; we testifie our own mindefulnesse thereof unto his sacred Majesty, that so he would, for his sake, according to the tenour of his Covenant, in time be favourable and propitious unto us miserable sinners.

That

That this, and no other offering of Christ in the blessed Eucharist, the Ancient Church ever meant, or intended, I am now to shew, by authentick testimonies.

First, by the constant form of all the Liturgies, in which, after the reciting of the words of Institution, is subjoyned, *μνησθῆναι ἀποθνήσκον, commemorantes, or commemorando offerimus.*

Clemens, *Μνησθῆναι τοῦ θάτου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῶν ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑμῶν ἐπαύσεως ἐπαύσεως, &c. ἀποθνήσκον οὖν, &c.* That is, *commemorantes igitur Passionem ejus, & mortem, nec non ex mortuis resurrectionem atque in cælos ascensionem* — offerimus tibi Regi Deo hunc panem & hunc calicem; Mark here, *commemorantes offerimus*, that is, *offerimus commemorando*; *Commemorando autem apud Deum, cui offerimus.* This is the tenour of all the Greek Liturgies, save that some, in stead of *offerimus tibi hunc Panem & hunc calicem*, have *ἀποθνήσκον οὖν τὸν θάτον τοῦτον καὶ ἀναστάντων θανάτων, offerimus tibi tremendum hoc, & incruentum sacrificium*, as that of Jerusalem (called *S. James* his Liturgie.) Others, *τὸν θάτον τοῦτον, καὶ ἀναστάντων θάττων*, as that of *S. Chrysostome*: Others *τὸ οὐ ἐν τῶν οὐν, τὴν ἐκ τῶν*, as that of *Basil*; and of *Alexandria* (called *Saint Mark*;) but all *μνησθῆναι ἀποθνήσκον, commemorantes offerimus.*

In the same form runs the *Ordo Romanus*, *Memores Domine nos servi tui, sed & Plebs tua sancta Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri, cum beata Passionis, nec non ab inferis resurrectionis, sed & in Cælum gloriosa ascensionis. Offerimus præclara Majestati tua, de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, sanctam, hostiam immaculatam,*

Mal. 1. 11.

latam, panem sanctum vita aterna & calicem salutis perpetuæ; note here also *memores offerimus*.

Which Ivo Carnotensis explains thus; *memores offerimus Majestatis tuæ, (id est, saith he, oblatam commemoramus per hæc dona visibilia) hostiam puram---sanctam, immaculatam, &c. Et hanc veri sacrificii commemorationem postulat sacerdos ita Deo Patri fore acceptam, sicut accepta fuerunt munera Abel, &c.* Thus he.

Memores therefore, in the Latin Canon, is *commemorantes*, which the Greek expresses better *Μεμνημένοι*, of the sense whereof that we may not doubt, hear the explication of that great Council of *Ephesus* in this manner. *Annunciantes Mortem unigeniti Filii Dei, Jesu Christi, & resurrectionem ejus atque in cælum ascensionem pariter confitentes, incrementum in Ecclesiis celebramus sacrificii cultum.*

Μεμνημένοι therefore is *Annunciantes & confitentes*. But unto whom should we confesse, but unto God? To him therefore, and not unto our selves is that *Ἀνέμνησις* to be made, which Christ commended to his Church, when he said, Do this *ἐν τῷ ᾧ ποτὶ ἀνέμνησιν*, for my commemoration, or in remembrance of me.

In the Councell of *Ephesus*, Cyril of Alexandria was chief Actor and President; and it is to be noted, that the Liturgie of the Church of Alexandria (usually called *S. Marks*) hath in stead of *Μεμνημένοι* the self-same words, *Annunciantes & confitentes*, which I now quoted out of the Council for an explication of the same: which argues, as I take it, Cyril to have been the penman of the Decrees of the Councell, and the Liturgie of his Church to have then run in this form.

I shall need alledge no more of the Latine Liturgies;

gies; there is no materiall difference amongst them : Mal. 1. 11.
 So that, if you know the form of one, you know of
 all : I will adde onely out of S. Ambrose an Explica-
 tion following those words, of the Institution, *Do this*
in remembrance of me, exprest in this manner, *Man-*
dans & dicens ad eos, Quotiescunque hoc feceritis, toties
commemorationem mei facietis, Mortem meam pradi-
cabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum
sperabitis donec iterum adveniam.

This may suffice for Liturgies; Now let us hear
 the Fathers speak.

I quoted heretofore a passage out of *Iustin Mar-*
tyr, affirming a twofold *'Ανθύμνος*, to be made in the
 Eucharist; The one of our food, dry and liquid, (as
 he speaks) that is, of our meat and drink, by agnizing,
 and recording him the Lord and giver of the same :
 The other an *'Ανθύμνος*, in the same food τὸ μέθους τοῦ
 υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, of the passion of the Son of God : The
 first of these commemorations is made unto God; for
 to whom else should we tender our thankfulness for
 the Creature? *Ergo*, The second commemoration of
 the Passion of the Son of God, is made to him likewise.

My next Father is *Origen*, *Homily 13. In Lev. c. 24.*
 where comparing the Eucharist to the Shew-bread
 which was every Sabbath set for a Memoriall before
 the Lord : *Ista est*, saith he, meaning the Eucharist,
commemoratio sola, qua propitium facit Deum homini-
bus. Where note, that both this commemoration is
 made unto God, as that of the Shew-bread was; and
 that the end thereof is to make him propitious to
 men : According to that of S. *Augustin* l. 9. c. 13. *Illa*
quæ in cæna Christus exhibet, Fides accepta interponit
inter

Mal. i. ii, inter peccata nostra & iram Dei, tanquam satisfactio-
nem & propitiationem.

My next witnesse is Eusebius Demonst. Evan. li. i. cap. 10. Post omnia, saith he, speaking of Christ, mirabilem quandam victimam sacrificiūque eximium Patri suo operatus, pro nostra omnium salute obtulit Ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἡμῶν πασάντων ἀντὶ θυσίας τῆς Θεοῦ διδωμένης ἀποσφραγίσαι, Memoriam nobis tradens loco sacrificii Deo continuè offerendam. And again toward the end of that Chapter, having cited this place of Malachi, which I have chosen for my Text, and alluding thereunto, Incendimus, saith he, propheticum illud Thymiana—sacrificamus & incendimus aliàs quidem memoriam magni illius sacrificii, secundum mysteria ab ipso tradita, celebrantes, Eucharistiamque pro salute nostra religiosis hymnis & precibus Deo offerentes; aliàs nosmetipsos totas ei consecrantes, ejusque Pontifici verbo corpore animoque, dicantes.

But above all other, S. Chrysostome speaks so full and home to the point, as nothing can be more; to wit, Hom. 17. in Epist. ad Hebraeos, upon these words cap. 9. v. 26. But now once in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself: Quid vero, saith he, nos nonne quotidie offerimus? He answers, Offerimus quidem, sed mortem ejus commemorando, & ipsa una est hostia, non multe: Quomodo una est, n. n. multe? Quoniam semel fuit oblata; Illa illata fuit in sancta sanctorum, hoc est illius figura & ipsa illius [veritas:] And a little after, Pontifex ille noster est, qui hostiam illam obtulit, quæ nos mundat. Illam nunc quoque offerimus, quæ tunc fuit oblata, nec consumi potest. Hoc eis ἀνδράσιν γίνεται τὸ τότε προσφέρειν, Hoc in commemorationem fit illius, quæ tunc fiebat. Hoc enim facite,

facite, inquit, eis idolum ad idolum. Non aliam hostiam, sicut pontifex [Iudaicus,] sed eandem semper facimus, vel potius sacrificii Memoriam operamur; Græcè, ἀνέμνησιν; what can be more exprest then this is? Primatius is short, but no lesse to the purpose. Offerunt quidem, saith he, Sacerdotes nostri, sed ad recordationem mortis ejus, in 10. cap. ad Hebræos. S. Augustin calls it Memoriale sacrificium in his Book against Faustus.

In a word, the Sacrifice of Christians is nothing but that one Sacrifice of Christ once offered upon the Crosse, again and again commemorated; which is elegantly exprest by those words of S. Andrew, recorded in the History of his Passion, written by the Presbyters of Achaia: where *Ageas* the proconsull requiring of him to sacrifice to Idols, he is said to have answered thus; *Omnipotenti Deo, qui unus & verus est, ego omni Die sacrifico, non thuris fumum, nec taurorum mugientium carnes, nec hircorum sanguinem; sed immaculatum agnum quotidie in Altari crucis sacrifico; cujus carnes postquam omnis populus credentium manducaverit, & ejus sanguinem biberit, Agnus qui sacrificatus est integer perseverat & vivus.* This Riddle though *Ageas* the Proconsull were not able to unfold, I make no question but you are: And here I conclude.

FINIS.

D I A T R I B Æ.

III. P A R T.

O R,
A continuation of certaine
DISCOURSES
^{o N}
SUNDRY TEXTS OF
SCRIPTURE:

Delivered upon severall occasions.

BY
I O S E P H M E D E, B.D. late Fel-
low of *Christs Colledge in Cambridge.*

Never before published, being exactly printed
according to the Authors own Manuscripts.

L O N D O N,
Printed by J. G. for JOHN CLARK, and are to be
sold at his Shop under S. Peters Church in Corn-hill.
M. D C. L.

V u

The Texts of the ensuing Treatise.

2 Epist. P E T E R, Chap. 2. v. 1.

But there were False-Prophets among the People,
even as there shall be False-Teachers among
you, who privily shall bring in damnable He-
resies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and
bring upon themselves swift destruction. 529

I C O R. C. 10. v. 3, 4, 5.

3. And they did all eat the same Spirituall meat :
4. And did all drink the same Spirituall drink :
(for they drank of that Spirituall Rock that followed
them : and that Rock was Christ.)
5. But with many of them God was not well pleased :
for they were overthrowne in the Wildernesse. 556

D E U T. C. 16. v. 16.

Three times in a yeare shall all thy males appear be-
fore the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall chuse :
in the Feast of Unleavened bread, and in the Feast of
Weeks, and in the Feast of Tabernacles : and they shall
not appeare before the Lord empty.

17. Every man shall give as he is able, according
to the blessing of the Lord thy God, which he hath
given thee. 600

THE JOURNAL OF THE

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

VOLUME 10

NUMBER 1

JANUARY, 1917

Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price, \$5.00 per annum in advance.

Single copies, 15 cents.

Entered as Second-Class Matter, June 26, 1902, Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under No. 109,347.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1918.

Postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

Copyright, 1917, by American Medical Association

Printed at the Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.



DIATRIBÆ: III. Part.
 OR
 A CONTINUATION
 OF CERTAIN
 DISCOURSES
 ON
 Sundry Texts of SCRIPTURE.

2 Epist. PETER Chap. 2. V. I.

But there were False-prophets also among the People, even as there shalbe False-teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.



Any are the Prophecies in Scripture, wherein the Holy Ghost forewarns us of a great and solemn defection and corruption of Faith, which should one day overspread the visible Face of the Catholick Church of Christ, and eclipse the light of Christian verity and belief. Saint Paul, 2 Thes. c. 2. foretels us, That there should be an Apostasie or falling away of Christi-

X x

ans,

2 Pet. 2. 1.

ans, and the Man of sin be revealed, before the coming of the day of the Lord. The same Apostle 1 Tim. c. 4. tells us, *That though the great Mystery of godlinesse (spoken of in the verse before) were then preached among the Gentiles, and believed in the world, yet the Spirit spake expressely, that in the latter times some should depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and doctrines of Devils (or Demons.)* Saint John tells us, *that the Christian Rome, of the Spouse of Christ, should become a Babylonish strumpet, and the Mother of the fornications and abominations of the Earth.* At the same mark aimeth this prophesie of my Text, though perhaps lesse taken notice of then the rest: The evidence whereof, I hope you will confesse with me when I have unfolded the same.

Understand therefore that the words I have read are a prediction of a corruption of Faith, which should one day surprise and overcloud the visible Church, or that company of men upon whom the name of Christ was called, and who outwardly professed him to be their Lord and Redeemer. This corruption is here set, first, generally both for the matter and the manner: For the matter, *There shall be false Teachers among you, who shall bring in damnable Heresies.* For the manner, it should be done privily, *Who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies.* Secondly, the Apostle also specially informes us of what kind and sort these damnable Heresies should be, *that so we might not onely know that Heresies should be, but be fore-warned also what they should be, and that by a double mark and description.* For 1. They should be like unto those which we read have befallen the
 peo-

people and Church of Israel. *There were false Prophets also among the people, (i. the Jewes) even as there shall be false Teachers among you.* The second mark is, that these Heresies should be of such a kind, as men who openly professed themselves Christians and servants of Christ, should yet deny Christ to be their Lord and Master: For, saith our Apostle, *They shall deny the Lord that bought them;* that is, professing themselves to be of that number of men, whom Christ had purchased with his blood, or the bought servants of Christ, they should nevertheless deny their Lord who bought them. The Fourth and last thing he tells us, is the Doom which should befall such as had interest in these Heresies; *They should bring upon themselves swift destruction.*

To begin with the generall description of the matter, *There shall be false Teachers among you, which shall bring in damnable Heresies.* The time should be when the Doctors of the Church should teach falsely, and the people with them believe damnably. For we must understand that these false Teachers should not be a few, onely here and there one, nor these Heresies scattered onely in some few places, but that this corruption was to be such a one as should cover and overwhelm the face of the visible Church. For the great defection was to be a generall and solemn one, such a one as should stain the whole body with the foul name of *Whore of Babylon: Rev. 17.* Such a one as whereby the Court of the Temple of God should not onely be prophaned, but even troden down by Gentilisme. *Rev. 11.* Such an one as the World is said to wonder at the Beast and worship him. Such a one as
X x 2 should

2 Pet. 2. 1.

should not onely make Warre with the true Saints, but overcome them. Rev. 13. Otherwise if Saint *John* and Saint *Paul* should mean no more but the errors of particular men, and their trouble from the Church, they should make no prophesie at all, or a needlesse one. For who knows not that in Saint *Pauls*, Saint *Johns* and the Apostles own times were diverse Heresies and Hereticks, here and there dispersed and grown up as Weeds in the wheat field of Christ? but the wheat yet overtopped them, and the known body of the visible Church disclaimed them. Of such as these therefore they could not mean, when they foretell of a *corruption to some* in after times, or as Saint *Paul* speaks, *1 Tim. 4. in the latter times*; for no man uses to foretell of things which are already, as if they were to come. Nor would the Apostles foretell of Heresies as it were speciall to the after and latter times, if they were but such, and in such manner as was but usuall, and no novelty in their own time. The corruption and defection therefore, so much prophesied of, was another manner of one, such a kind of one as before neither had been in the Church, nor was to be; namely, such a one as should not be disclaimed by the body of the Church, but should surprise, eclipse, and overwhelme, and as it were overcloud the visible Church it self, which should be, as when the Heavens are overcast, so as the bright Firmament with the starres and lights therein can no more be seen.

If this be so, then may we hence observe how vain and idle that challenge of our Adversaries is, when they bid us shew our Church to have been alwaies

vi-

Visible, and to give them the names of those who have been of our belief in all ages since Christ and his Apostles times: What ? may they not have been, although we cannot name them? This is as unreasonable a demand, as to require a man to shew him and point him where the Sun is, when the whole face of Heaven is overcast with Clouds; would you not believe the Sunne were in the Firmament, and risen in a cloudy day, though no man could point and shew you with his finger where she is ? yes, I am sure you would, and say too, that there may be other signes thereof, though a man cannot see her; as namely daylight, which never is without the Sun; yea and now and then we may have a glimpse of her through a thinner cloud, which assures us thereof. Even so when the great defection as a Cloud overspread the face of Christian Firmament, the visible Church of Christ, for divers ages together, though the Cloud be for a great part so thick as it will not suffer us to discern the company of those who still kept intire the true & unstained Faith of the Gospel, yet we rest assured that it was under the Cloud, because some daylight of Christianity still appeared, which argued the Sun was in the Firmament, though the great Cloud overshadowed her, yea and now & then we can shew and spy some glimpse of her, as often as any breach happened in the Cloud which overcast her.

I might also make use of that Parable of our Saviour, when the Church or Kingdome of God (for both is one) is compared to a field, where *the Master sowed good seed, but while men slept, the Enemy that wicked one came and sowed tares among the Wheat.* If

2 Pet. 2. 1.

the tares once grow so many and so high, that they quite overshadow the wheat, whereof there is but little left; can a man who stands a good way off, shew the wheat from the tares with his finger? I think not; though, if the wheat overmasters the tares, he easily might. This is the very case of the true Church so long as the Apostasie prevailed. And we who live now, are something farre off; if we had been nearer, as those were who lived then, we might have discerned the wheat a great deal better.

But if you would yet be more fully informed how the true company of Believers could live under this wofull state of the visible body, and not be extinguished, and by what signes and arguments we may fully conclude it was there all that time; though I have given some tast of this last already, yet you shall hear more of them both anon, as my Text wil give me occasion.

In the mean time I must tell you, that there needed not all this stir about visibility, if our Adversaries were ingenuuous: For the difference between them and us is not so much about the point of *visibility*, as about the point of *time*; they hold the glorious visibility of the true Church, to have continued from the beginning untill this present; and the overshadowing of the light, and eclipsing of the glory thereof under Antichrist, to be a thing yet to come; and when it comes, they and the Fathers too say as much of the eclipsing of the Church, as we do for our hearts. For then they say, the use of the Sacraments should cease, no Eucharist, no Masse, no publique Assemblies, yea all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction should be extinguished; is not here enough? Now on the contrary

trary we hold the Clouding of the Churches visibility to have been already; and a great part of the glory thereof to be yet to come; both agreeing in this, that in that fatall Apostasie; the Churches visibility and glory should cease. But we say, that time hath been already; they say, it is yet to come, we say, that that time was to last many ages; they say, when it comes, it shall be but three single yeers and a half.

Why then are they not ashamed to offer to choak us with this Argument of visibility and glory; when themselves confesse there is a time to come when the same Argument would be as well used against their supposed Catholick Church, as it is now alledged against ours? This is too great partiality. Seeing therefore the whole controversie lies in this, Whether the Churches fatall Apostasie be already past or yet to come, it is a great deal the quicker course for them and us, not to wrangle about visibility, but to examine the condition and quality of both Religions by the Scripture; where we have (as Saint Peter speaks in the foregoing Chapter) *A most sure word of prophesie, wherunto we shall do well, if we take heed, as to a light shining in a dark place.* And this shall suffice to have observed concerning the matter in generall, *a generall defection or corruption of the Church by false Teachers and damnable Heresies.*

Now I come to the Circumstance of this generall description of the Churches Apostasie; namely, the manner how these false Doctors should bring in these damnable Heresies; which is not Openly, but Privily. For so the word here used for bringing in signifies: *who privily shall bring in damnable*

2 Pet. 2. 1.

Hereses. Not so that it should be observed and espied at the first, but so by degrees, and with such a mask of plausible pretences and good meaning, that the Church was overwhelmed before it knew what it ailed; even as some diseases steal so upon a man, that he never knew he was sick, untill he see himself past recovery; and then perhaps he will begin to call to mind though too late, at what time, and by what meanes this sicknesse grew upon him.

This observation therefore will furnish us with an answer to another objection of our Adversaries. For if (say they) the Catholike visible Church altered so much from the Primitive sincerity of Faith and Christian worship as we say it did: How comes it then to passe, that it was no more observed and opposed by those who then lived. For it is strange so great an alteration should find admittance with the generall consent of all. I answer out of my Text, that *it came in privily*, and so not observed nor opposed till it was too late, and that the Apostate Faction was grown too strong for the sound: A fire we know, if it be spied at the first, may be easily smothered and quenched, but if the cry rise not till all be on a flame, no man then dare come near to help it. So was the case here.

And yet in some corruptions somewhat sooner espied then the rest, as worshiping of Images, Transubstantiation, the Popes Godlike Supremacy; the establishing of these was not without great opposition even to the changing of States and Kingdomes. But here also the opposers came too late, for these Hereses also were at the first brought in so privily,

privily, that the Faction was not espyed, till it was grown too strong to be over-mast'ed by opposition.

Thus having seen the generall part of this description, both for the matter, *false Teachers, and damnable Heresies*, and also for the manner, they should be *privily* brought into the visible Church: I come now to the speciall part of the prophesie, which tels us in particular what kind of Heresies these should be, of what sort, which should so generally over-cloud the Church of Christ. And this our Apostle here sets forth by a twofold mark; First, they should be such as we read to have been amongst the Jewish people under the old Testament. *There were* (saith he) *false Prophets among the people, even as there shall be false Teachers among you.* This is a good ear-mark having so infallible history as is the story of the Bible to know it by: For if this of *Christendome* were of the same stamp with that of *Israel*, it cannot lie long hid from us; which that it may not, let us confine our discovery to these two heads, First, let us learn what heresies were those which the false Prophets of *Israel* brought in amongst them, as we find it recorded in the Scripture, for thither our Apostle sends us*. In the second place, we will examine whether the heresies of *Christendome* brought in by the false Doctors of *Babylon* be not exactly like them.

To begin with the first, I cannot find in the old Testament any other heresies there recorded, as brought in by false Prophets but onely *Idolatry, and the worshiping of other gods* besides the true and living God; I doubt not but the Jewes had other errors, but this is that which so great a part of the Bible is taken

X x 5

up,

* Εγὼ
το δὲ

2. Pet. 2. 1.

up, in forewarning of, in relating of, and in declaiming against it. This is that we are sure the false Prophets had a hand in, of the rest, nothing that way is recorded. 1. This is that *Moses* forewarned the people of *Israel* of, *Dent. 13. If there arise among you a Prophet or a dreamer of dreames, and give thee a signe or a wonder. 2. And the signe or the wonder come to passe, whereof he spake unto thee saying, Let us go serve other gods, (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them, Thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet, &c.* Here you hear of the false Prophets, and what should be their Doctrine, viz. *Let us go serve other gods and worship them.*

But if you ask whether there were any such in that people, *Elijah* shall tell you, *1 King 18. 22. I only (saith Elijah) remain a Prophet of the Lord, but Baals Prophets are 450 men.* And, *2 King 10: v. 19. Jehu made a foul fray amongst them when he said, Call unto me all the Prophets of Baal, and all his servants, and all his Priests, let none be wanting; for I have a great sacrifice to do unto Baal; but he served them in their kind.* And of this kind of Prophets were those which *Elisha* bad *Jehoram* the King ask counsel, *chap. 3. v. 13.* when being in distresse in his march against *Moab*, he had sent to him for advise what to do, *Get thee (saith he) to the Prophets of thy Father, and the Prophets of thy Mother, that is, the Prophets of Abab and Jezebell.*

And you may know these Prophets taught the people the same Religion of Idols which themselves followed. Hear what the Lord saith, *Jer. 2. v. 8. The Priests said not, Where is the Lord? and they that handle the*

the Law knew me not; the Pastors also transgressed against me, and they prophesied by Baal, (or, for Baal) and walked after things that profit not. And after, v. 26, 27. As the Thief is ashamed when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed; they, their Kings, their Princes, their Priests, and their Prophets; saying to a stock, Thou art my Father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth; &c. And chap. 8. v. 1. At that time (saith the Lord) (i. when the Jewes shall be carried captive) they shall bring out the bones of the Kings of Judah, and the bones of his Princes, and the bones of the Priests, and the bones of the Prophets, and the bones of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem out of their graves. v. 2. And they shall spread them before the Sunne, and the Moon, and all the Host of Heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and whom they have worshipped. Chap. 23. v. 13. I have seen folly in the Prophets of Samaria, they prophesied in Baal, and caused my people Israel to erre. --- v. 15. For from the Prophets of Jerusalem is profaneness gone forth into all the land. v. 26, 27. How long shall it be in the hearts of the Prophets that prophesie lies, --- which think to cause my people to forget my name by their dreames they tell every man to his neighbour, as their Fathers have forgotten my Name for Baal.

You know by this time what kind of false Prophets were among the people; where I would desire you to take notice of one thing more, that for all this, these Prophets prophesied these things in Jehovahs name: For so it is said of those I last quoted in the verse immediately before the words I quoted.

So also shall you read; 1 King. 22. of Ahab's
Pro-

2 Pet. 2. 1.

Prophets, who being Prophets of *Baal*, yet prophesie in the name of *Jehovah* the true God, Thus saith *Jehovah*, which being foreseen by the Lord himselfe before it came to passe, seems to be the ground of the Law, *Deut. 18. v. 20. But the Prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, and which shall speak in the name of other gods, even that Prophet shall die.*

Seeing therefore, we find these to have been the false Prophets among the people of the Church of *Israel*, and their Heresies to have been the Doctrines of Idols, of worshipping the Host of Heaven, of *Baalim*, of gods of Wood and Stone. Of these undoubtedly Saint *Peter* meanes, when he saith, *As there were false Prophets among the people, so shall there be false Teachers among you, which shall bring in the like damnable Heresies.*

Having therefore brought the matter thus farre, let us now see whether Saint *Peters* Prophecie be faln out true or not, whether the Apostasie whereunto false Teachers have brought the Christian Churches, be not like that almost in every respect whereunto the false Prophets once brought the Church of *Israel*. But first I must instruct you a little in the old Idolaters and the Heathens Divinity, both concerning the sorting of their gods, and secondly, for the way and manner to worship them.

For their gods, the Heathen and those who followed their fashions, had two sorts of them: First, Sovereign and supreme gods, which the Scripture calls *the Host of Heaven*. Secondly, Under-gods, or if you will, Godlings, which the Greeks call *Demon-gods*,

gods, the Scripture calles them *Baalim*, i. Lords.

2 Pet. 2. 1.

Now the Sovereign gods, or the Host of Heaven, were such as they supposed to remain alwayes in the Heavens, yea to dwell in the Heavenly lights, in the Sun, Moon, and Stars, as it were souls in bodies, and there to keep their stations immoveably without change of place or presence, which Celestiall and Heavenly gods as they were Eternall, without beginning or ending, so they supposed them so sublime and pure, as they might not be prophaned with the approach of earthly things, or with the care and managing of mortall mens busineses.

And therefore they bring in that * second Order of gods, called *Demons*, or *Baalims*, as a middle sort of Divine Powers, between the Sovereign gods and mortall men, whose office is to be as Mediators and Agents between them; and as *Plato* speaks, reporters and comers from men to the gods, and from the gods to men; without whom there could be no commerce and intercourse between the gods and men: For they say, it befeems not the Majesty of the Sovereigns to manage these things of themselves. And therefore though all things come by their Will, Power, and Authority, yet is it by the mediation and ministry of these *Demons*, in Scripture called *Baalim*. I could prove you this at large out of the Heathen Philosophers, but I shall not need.

* An inferior Order of gods.

Onely I will tell you, that to this distinction of Sovereign or Heavenly gods, and the *Baalim* or *Baall-gods*, I suppose the Apostle Saint Paul alludes 1 Cor. c. 8. v. 5. where he saith, *Though there be many that are called gods, whether in Heaven or earth; as there*

2 Pet. 2. 1.

there be (saith he) *gods many*, (that is, many Celestiall and Sovereign Deities) *and Lords*, (that is, many *Baalims*, Lord-agents and Presidents of earthly things:) Yet to us Christians, there is *but one Sovereign God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we to him*; (that is, to whom as supreme we are to direct all our services;) *and but one Lord Jesus Christ*, one Lord-agent (in stead of their many *Baalims* and *Demon-mediators*) *by whom are all things* which come from the Father to us, and through whom alone we find accessse unto him. The allusion me thinks is passing elegant, and such as cannot, I think, be well understood without this distinction of Superior and inferior Deities in the Divinity of the Gentiles, they having a plurality in both sorts, and we one but in each, as our Apostle affirmeth.

I hope by this time you understand what kind of gods the *Baalim* or *Baal-gods* were, and what their office was. Shall I now tell what was their descent? for these Gods you must know had a beginnng, though the Superior Gods had none.

Know therefore that these *Baals* or *Baalim* were nothing but the souls of great men worshipped for gods after death. For the Canonizing of the souls of deceased Worthies, is not now first devised among Christians, but was an Idolatrous trick even from the dayes of the elder World: So that the Devill when he brought in this Apostaticall Doctrine amongst Christians, swerved but little from his ancient method of seducing mankind. For *Baal* or *Bel*, whose worship *Jezebel* the daughter of *Ithobaal* King of *Tyre* brought into *Israel*, was a Deified Phenician

nician King of that name, as *Virgill* will tell us in that verse concerning the Phenician Queen *Dido*, *Implevit mero pateram, quā Belus & omnes A Belo soliti*.---Nay *Baal*, or in the Caldee Dialect *Bel*, (for all is one) was the first King of *Babel*, and the first as is written) that ever was Deified and reputed a god after death: Whence afterward they called all souls of men Canonized after death *Baalim* of the first Deified King in the world, *Baal* or *Belus*; even as because the first Romane Emperour was called *Cesar*, thence were all the Emperours after him styled *Cæsars*. So likewise because the first Queen who was worshipped as a goddesse after death, was called *Ashtaroth*, or *Astarte*, thence were all such shee-goddesses in the Eastern parts called *Ashtaroth*. For *Phenicia* and those parts of the world bordering neer it, spake the Hebrew tongue, or some Dialect thereof, and were all under the Kingdome of *Babel*, and when *Baal* or *Belus* reigned in *Babel*, whence it came to passe, that all those were stored with *Baals*, *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Zebub*, *Baal-berith*, *Baal-chemosh*, *Baal-moloch*. And here note a wonderfull mystery, that old *Babel* the first pattern in the world of ambitious dominion, was also the foundresse of Idols, and the Mother of Spirituall Fornications of the earth.

Now because these *Baalims* were the Deified souls of men deceased: hence it came that they used to cut and launce themselves in worshipping them, 1 *Kings* 6.18. for these were Funerall Ceremonies, and therefore retained in the worship of such Gods, in token they were men deceased; for this is the note which the Gentiles Philosophers give to know such gods as had

2 Pet. 2. 1.

had been men, from those which they supposed to be Eternall. And who knows whether this were not one end why God forbad the Jewes this Ceremonie; as elsewhere, so *Deut. 14. Ye are the children* (saith he) *of Jehovah your God, ye shall not cut your selves nor make any baldnesse between your eyes for the dead?* The Priests besides are forbidden to prophane themselves so much as by comming neer the dead: Was not all this to accustom them, if it had been possible, from worshipping *Baalim*?

Again, is it not against the worshippers of *Baalim* whereof the Lord complaines *Isa. 65. v. 3, & 4.* saying, *A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face, that sacrificeth in Gardens* (or, Groves) *and burneth incense upon Altars of brick; v. 4. which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments.*

But will you have an expresse place, that worshipping of *Baal* is worshipping of the dead? compare *Numb. 25.* with *Psal. 106.* In *Numb. 25.* it is said, *The Midianites called the people to the Sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat, --- And Israel joyned himself to Baal peor.* But *Psal. 106. v. 28.* it is thus related. *They joyned themselves also unto Baal-peor, and ate the Sacrifices of the dead*.* Here that which *Moses* calles the *Sacrifices of their gods* (*viz: Baal-gods*) *David* calles the *Sacrifices of the dead.*

To conclude this point, this is that which *Moses* meant in his Propheticall song of *Israels* Apostasie, *Deut. 32, 17. They sacrificed unto Demons, not to God, to gods whom they knew not, to new gods, to new gods that came newly up, whom their Fathers feared not.*

I have been the longer in this, because perhaps it is not

* Whence
Apollina-
rius ex-
preseth it
by
Νεφεταρ
ἐξαπο-
βω.

not marked of every body. Thus therefore having
seen the Heathen Doctors conceit of their gods, now
let us see briefly the other point I promised to speak
of, *viz*: The manner how to worship them, and as it
were to bring them to the lure of men, when they had
occasion of devotion with them; and this was done
by seeing of Images: You shal hear it from an antient
Author, and passing skillfull in these mysteries, even
Hermes Trismegistus, who in his *Asclepius* speaketh
in English thus; *It is a wonder*, (saith he) *beyond all
wonders*, (and he saith truly) *that man should find out
a way to make gods. Yet because* (saith he) *our forefa-
thers erred much through unbelief of Deities, and had
small regard of Religion and Divine worship; therefore
they devised an art to make gods*, (he meaneth Images)
And because they could not make soules (he meanes to
those senselesse bodies) *therefore they called the soules of
Demons* (i. Baalim) *and Angels, and put them into
their Images and holy Mysteries; by which meanes a-
lone, those Images have power of helping and hurting:*
*which thus incorporated, he saith are called by the E-
gyptians Animalia Sancta. And in another place,*
That kind of gods (saith he) *which men make, is compo-
sed of two natures; of a Divine which is first, and most
Sacred, and of that which is among men, namely,*
*the matter whereof they are made. The summe of all
this Mystery is, That Images were made as bodies, to be
informed with Ghosts as with Soules. For an Image
was as a trap to catch Demons, and a device to tie
them to a place, and keep them from flitting.*

Another way to worship them, was in Religious
graves and Sepulchers, for there they hoped to find

Y y

their

2 Pet. 2. 1.

their Ghost gods especially, as we yet suppose, that Spirits frequent Church-yards, and places of the dead.

These were the Mysteries and conceits of the Ancient Idolaters, which the false Prophets of *Israel* brought in amongst the people of God, and made them also (as the Scripture speaks) *to provoke the living God to jealousy with the abominations of the Heathen round about them.* Now then judge impartially whether this prophesie in my Text be not long agoe fulfilled amongst us Christians, the new people of God. *There were false Prophets among the people of Israel, even so* (saith my Text) *were there to be false Teachers among Christians, who should bring in damnable Heresies.*

Which that you may the better do, know first; that the *Israelites* did at no time altogether renounce the true and living God, not in their worst times; but in their conceit and profession they acknowledged him still, and were called *his people, and he their God*, though they worshipped others besides him. So Christians in their Apostasie neither did nor were to make an absolute Apostasie from God the Father, and Christ their Redemer; but in outward profession still to acknowledge him, and to be called Christians.

Secondly, There are two main Apostasies of *Israel* recorded in Scripture, the first is styled *The sin of Jeroboam the sonne of Nebat*, as a principall establisher thereof: And this was to worship the true God himselfe under an Image; For he set up Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and consecrated them in this man-

manner; *Behold, Israel, the gods which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.* For those are Calves indeed which here think he took the Calves themselves to be gods. The truth was, because he would not have the people go to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, where the Ark the pledge of Gods presence was, therefore he made these Calves instead thereof, supposing, as the *Gentiles* did of their gods, that the true God would have yeelded his presence to an image made in honour of him: And therefore they used when they came to make vowes or oathes at the Calf, to swear *Jehovah liveth*; as *Hosea*, Chap. 4. v. 11. When therefore our Papiſts worship God the Creator under an Image, and Christ their Redeemer in a Crosse, Crucifix, or in a piece of bread; this is the very same Apostasie with that of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* who made *Israel* to sinne: And as false Prophets taught *Israel* that, so have false Teachers brought into Christendome the very same as you see was prophesied.

The second main Apostasie of *Israel* is called *The way of Ahab*, not because he was the first bringer in, but the chief establiſher thereof. And this was not onely to worship the true God idolatrouſly in an Image, as *Jeroboam* did, but to worship other gods besides him, namely *Baal gods*, or *Baalim*; supposing either by these to have easier accessse unto the Lord of Hosts the Sovereign God; or that these he might resort unto at all times, and for all matters; as being nearer at hand, and not of so high a Dignity: Whereas the Sovereign God *Jehovah* the God of *Israel*, either managed not smaller and ordinary matters,

2 Pet. 2. 1.

or might not be troubled with them; for such, as I told you, was the conceit of the Heathen, as the souls of some great ones after death had the honour to be as Agents betwixt the Sovereign and Superior gods, and men, as being of a middle nature between them; which in Greek are called *Demons*, in the Scriptures *Baalim*. When therefore those who are called *Christians*, and have given their faith to Christ Jesus, to be their onely Mediator and royall Agent between them and his Father, when these do worship and invoke Saints or Angels, whether with Images or without, to be as under-Mediator with God for them, or of themselves to bestow some favour upon them; those who do this (as you know who doe) are fallen into the Apostasie of *Ahab*, and are worshippers of *Baalim*: For the *Idolatry of Saints* is altogether the same with that of *Baalim*.

Having therefore thus seen the verity of Saint *Peter*, for the first mark to know of what kind of Heresie should be the Christian Apostasie, even like unto that of *Israel*: Now let me tell you what use to make of Saint *Peters* comparison and thus coupling the one by the other.

First, that wheresoever you read in Scripture of the Idolatry of *Jeroboams Calves*, and of *Ahabs Baalim*, you think of what I have told you, and know that whatsoever God speaks against those things there, the same he speaks of the Apostate Christians under *Rome*, whose case is in all respects the same. If therefore other points be hard, and such as you cannot understand, yet this of Idolatry is an easie mark for you to know the true Church from the false by; and almost

almost every leaf in the Scripture will help you: Blesse the Lord therefore, and never cease to blesse him, who hath delivered us from those wofull abominations and Idolatries wherewith the Church was so long overwhelmed, and restored unto us the sinceritie of his Gospell.

Secondly, seing the Holy Ghost hath taught us here to compare the *Christians Apostasie* with that of *Israel*, we may hereby learn also what was the state and condition of true Christian Beleevers under the Apostasie of Antichrist, namely, the same with the true *Israelites*, under the Apostasie of *Israel*.

Where was the true Church in *Ahabs* time? was it not covered so under the Apostate *Israelites*, that *Elias* himselfe who was one of it, could scarce find it? *They have slaine thy Prophets* (saith he) *and overthrowne thine Altars, and I alone am left and they seek my life.* Yet God tells him, *I have yet 7000 in Israel which have not bow'd their knees to Baal.* Where was the company of true worshippers in *Manasses* time the worst time of all, when the ten Tribes were carried captive, and but two left, and they, as far as the eye of man can see, wholly fallen off to Idolatry; the Temple it self, the onely place where the true God was to be worshipped, filled with the Idols of *Baal*, the Sunne and Moon and the whole host of Heaven; which never had been done before? Not a man to be named almost for fifty yeers together, who was a true servant and worshipper of the living God; and impossible any sacrifice could be offered without Idolatry, when as the Altar of the Lord it selfe was polluted with Idols standing thereon.

Y y 3

Where

2 Pet. 2. 1.

Where was the true Church of *Israel* now, or had the Lord no Church at all? yes he had a Church, even then, even hidden in the body of that Idolatrous Nation, yea a strong Faction though not seen, as appeared presently upon *Manasses* death, when *Josiah* came to Reign, who at 8 years of age, a very child, yet was able to reform all again; could a child have done this so soon, so speedily, unlesse he had a strong party which now having a King for them, began to shew themselves, though before hardly to be seen. When therefore the Papists shall ask us where our Church was before *Luther*, let us answer, she was, as the true *Israelites* were, then buried under the Apostates body of Christendome; she was *even there*, whence God in his good time called her out, viz: *she was in the Spirituall Babylon*: For so saith God when he calles her, *Go out of Babylon my people*. Could they come out thence, who were never there?

If *Rome* now be *Babylon*, and your Mother Church that antient Spouse of Christ, which hath been so long an abominable Strumpet, committing Fornication with strange gods, as we are sure she is, we cannot chuse but know where ours was in the mean time, untill it pleased God to call her thence: Even amongst you she was then, and where she is now you know, and shall one day feel, untill you bite your tongues for pain.

But how could the faithfull company of Christ live in the midst of Idolaters, and have meanes of Salvation? I answer, even as the true *Israelites* lived in the midst of the Apostasie of *Israel*; not as a distinct externall society from the rest, under whom they

they lived. But though in the inward and invisible communion of their sincerer faith they were a severall company from them, yet for so much of this their faith, as was still acknowledged by those erring ones, in grosse accounted *Christians*, they had communion with them; and for the most part of that time of darknesse, continued a part of the same externall body with them, as being begotten by the same Sacraments of *Baptisme*, that as *Israelites* of *Circumcision*, taught in some part by the same Word and Pastors still continued amongst them, and submitting to the same jurisdiction and government; so farre as these, or any part of these, had yet some soundnesse remaining in them. But for the rest, not compatible with their sincerer faith, either wisely avoiding all communion with it, or if they could not, then patiently suffering for their conscience sake, under the hands of Tyrants, till it pleased God to call them thence to a greater liberty, as we see this day.

When gold is mixed with much quantity of counterfeit metall, so that of both is made but one masse or lump, though each metall in the lump still retaines his nature diverse from the other; yet though both be seen together, yet outwardly they cannot be discerned t'one from t'other. And though the gold be visible with, and as one with the rest, yet it is not visible and it is diverse from the rest. But when the Refiner comes and severs them, then will each metall appear in his own colours, and put on his own outside, and so become visible apart from the rest. Such was the state and condition of the Church in

2 Pet. 2. 1.

the prevailing Apostasie; the purer metall of the Christian body outwardly, not discernible from the base and counterfeit, whilst one outside covered them. But when the time of refining came, then was our Church not first founded in the true Faith, (God forbid) but a part of the Christian body newly refined from such corruptions as time had gathered: As gold refined, begins not then first to be gold, though it began but then to be refined gold.

But you may ask further, when the face of the Church and the whole visible worship therein was so universally stained with abominable Idolatries, how and whereby should a man gather that there were any such sincerer company amongst them who had not defiled their garments? I might tell you that Histories, though written by our enemies, do mention many such discovered at severall times; but I will give you another sign to know it, namely, the light of Gods word, and some other Divine Truthes still remaining: For it was not so much for the Apostate Faction, as for the sake of some chosen ones, that this blessing was continued. Had there been nothing but Egyptians, there darknesse should wholly have surpris'd them, but for *Goshens* sake, for a few righteous in *Sodom*, God would not take this blessing from them. He that espies any daylight, will conclude the Sunne is in our Heaven, though for the clouds he see her not; If we should see a candle hang up in a room, and see it full of blind men, yet would we say, surely there is some amongst them can see, why else hangs the candle there? So must we reason from the daylight and candlelight of Divine Truths, still

still appearing and hung up in the Church. For as Saint Paul said, *What if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? Rom. 3. & Rom. 9. 4.* When the body of the Jewish Nation refused Christ, yet he reckons their priviledges, as many as Rome could ever challenge, *Whose is* (saith he) *the Adoption, Glory, Covenants, and the giving of the Law, the service of God and the promises, whose are the Fathers, &c?* Not as though (saith he) *the word of God had taken none effect; For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel, &c.*

Now I come to the second mark here laid down in my Text, to know what manner of Heresies should be in the great Apostasie of the Christian faith. *Even denying the Lord that bought them.* They should give up their names as Christs servants, as his purchase, and yet deny their Lord and Master: For servants in times past used to be bought with a price, and so were as their Masters proper possession. Christ buyes his servants with his blood: The meaning therefore is, they should professe themselves his servants, and yet deny him to be their Master. What Heresies should these be? Even the very same the first mark told us of; *Christian Idolatry.* For as a Wife who hath given her faith to one Husband, if she commit adultery with others, denies him to be that she calles him, though she call him Husband never so much: So the Church the Spouse of Christ, having given her faith to him alone, to be her onely Lord and Mediator, in whom, and through whom alone, she would approach the Throne of Majesty in the Heaven; if she bowes down her self to other Me-
dia-

2 Pet. 2. 1.

diators whether Saints or Angels, if she invokes and worships the Father in any other thing save Christ alone, the onely image we must worship, (the Image of the Father) and the onely Agent we must imploy to God before the Throne in Heaven, she commits Spirituall adultery, that is, Idolatry, and *denyes the Lord which bought her*. That this should be the meaning here, let this one reason serve the turn, that that is always the meaning of the like phrase in the old Testament, where in stead of *the Lord that bought*, we have *the Lord that brought them out of the land of Egypt*. Let us compare them; *I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, Thou shalt have none other gods but me*. In the New Testament thus saith Christ, *I am Christ the Lord which bought thee, thou shalt have no other Christs but me*. Are not these alike? So when the Israelites fell to Idolatry, and to worship Idols and strange gods, hear how the Lord speaks then, *Deut. 32. v. 15. Jesurun waxed fat, forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his Salvation, they provoked him to jealousy with strange gods: So may we say, the Christian Mother waxed fat, forsook God which redeemed her, &c. Judges 2. v. 12. They forsook the God of their Fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, and served Baalim and Ashtaroth*. And this expression is frequent, *Psal. 81. v. 10, 11. 1 Kin. 9. 9. 2 Kin. 17. v. 7. Isa. 63, 78. & vid. Deut. 29. v. 25. and 2 Kin. 17. v. 35*. Just so might the Lord speak of Christians; *They forsook the Lord which brought them out of the Spirituall Egypt, and worshipped Saints and Angels.*

I meant to have spoken much more of this, but the time will not suffer me: I desire we may observe from this twofold mark of the Christian Apostasie, what that is among so many corruptions both now and heretofore overwhelming the Church of Christ, wherein the Holy Ghost placeth the essence, and accounteth as the soul of the great Apostasie under the man of sinne, and would have us to make the Polestarre of our discovery thereof. Not every error, not every Heresie how grosse soever, but Idolatry and Spirituall Fornication. As for other Heresies, though accompanying this, yet are they but accidentall, and not of the essence of the great Apostasie which was to come. Even as Whores are seldome without other foul faults, which yet are no parts of Whoredome: so hath the Spirituall Whore many other Heresies, but her Whoredome is Idolatry. Idolatry is the onely Character and note, whereby the great Apostasie of the visible Church is discovered and distinguished from all other Blasphemies, Seditions, and Heresies of what age or time soever: *vid. 1 Thes. c. 1. v. 9.* which is the reason why *Babylon* is intituled in the *Rev.* of Saint *John*, nor the lyar of *Babylon*, nor the Tyrant of *Babylon*, nor the Heretick of *Babylon*, nor the Murderesse of *Babylon*, (though she be all these) but *the Whore of Babylon*; yea *the Great Whore*, and *the Mother of the Fornications and Abominations of the Earth*.



I COR. C. 10. V. 3, 4, 5.

3. *And they did all eat the same Spirituall meat:*
 4. *And did all drink the same Spirituall drink : (for they drank of that Spirituall Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ.)*
 5. *But with many of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrowen in the Wildernesse.*



THE first part of this Chapter is a comparison of some Sacramentall Types in the old Law, with the two Sacraments of the new, and that in two respects; namely, 1. for the same nature or substance of the mysteries in both, and 2. for the same condition of the Receivers, if either they abuse them, or walk unworthy of them. The words which I have now chosen, are in speciall an agreement of some of the foresaid Types of the Law, with the Eucharist or Lords Supper: First, in substance of the Mystery, *And they* (that is, the fathers in the Wildernesse) *all ate the same Spirituall meat, and all drank the same Spirituall &c.* Secondly, in the dangerous condition of unworthy Receivers, either of this or the other Sacrament, in these words; *But with many of them God was not well pleased: for they, &c.*

And

And first I will speak of the first of these, which you may see is also double; First, concerning our *Spirituall meat*, and secondly, concerning our *Spirituall drink*, in both which the Apostle affirms those of the old Fathers to have been the same with ours. For the understanding whereof, we will first speak of the *Spirituall meat* (as the words lie) and then of the *Spirituall drink*; and in both first what is required to be known for explication, either of the words, or of what is contained in them; and after come to such observations as will follow and be gathered therefrom. For Explication therefore, three things are to be enquired of. 1. Of what *Meat* and of what *Rock* the Apostle speaketh. 2. Wherein both the one and the other were *Spirituall* or *Sacramentall*. 3. In what sense those *Sacraments* are said to be the same with ours.

For the first, the *Meat* here spoken of most certainly was *Manna*, for it appears in the fifth verse, as also in the beginning, that he means of the time they were in the Wildernesse, where the onely food was *Manna*, sent from Heaven. The word *Manna* either signifies a portion, it was their *dimensum*, or daily allowance, given by God; or *Food made ready*, because God prepared it, without any labour or industry of theirs; and this is thought to be the truest reason of the name. For as for that of Saint *Jerom*, who thinks it had the name *Man*, from the question asked upon the first sight thereof מן מה what is it, and so they called it מן in Chaldee, being the same with מן in Hebrew; this opinion, though the Seventy have

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3. 15.

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

have translated so, yet is found unlikely by some learned in those Languages. 1. Because no reason can be given why the *Israelites* should then speak Chaldee. 2. Because in Chaldee the word *man* is a question of persons, not of things, and signifies *Quis*, not *Quid*, being the same with *man* in Hebrew, which alwayes asketh of persons, but never of things.

But to leave the name, and speak something of the nature, we must know that this *Manna* was not that which *Dioscorides* and *Galen* so calleth, namely, certain fragments of frankincense, nor was it that which the *Arabians* call *Manna*, though it somewhat resembleth it, for they call by this name a certain *ἀερίμην* or *hony-dew* falling in some mountaines of *Syria*, & it seems they gave this name unto it by allusion unto the Sacred story. But this *Manna* wherewith God fed the *Israelites*, was a miraculous thing, the *Corn of Heaven*, and *Bread of Angels*, as *David* calles it; it fell onely in the Wildernesse of *Sinai*; it rained all times and dayes of the year saving the Sabbath; it was so hard that it might be ground in a Mill, beaten in a Morter, or baked in an Oven; it melted in the Sunne, and putrified with one nights keeping; lastly, it was *Food*, and not *Physick*: not one of all these properties agreeing to the Apothecaries *Manna* or *Manna* of the *Arabians*.

Come we now to the *Rock*, whereof the Apostle saith *our Fathers drank*; which speech any man may see is not proper, and therefore some say it is a Metonymie, *Rock*, for the water which came out of the *Rock*, perhaps it will be more easie to say here is an *Ellipsis* of the word *πομα* or *drink*, to be supplied out of,

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3. & 5.

of the words next before, and so to be construed thus, *ἔπιον τὸ πόμα ἐκ πνευματικῆς, &c.* For they drank of the same Spiritual Rock. Now for the Rock, there is two Rocks mentioned in Scripture, out of which the Lord gave water unto the Israelites, one at *Rephidim*, two years after their coming out of *Egypt*, *Exod. 17*. Another at *Cadesh*, almost thirty eight years after, *Numb. 20*. It is doubtfull which of these our Apostle meaneth; we may safely say he meaneth them both, the story of both being so like, as the places of both had one name *Meribah*, of the murmuring and contending of the people: But if he meaneth onely the one, I would say it is the former, the miracle whereof, was presently upon the raining of *Manna*.

But here is one word yet needs to be explained, for our Apostle adds unto *Rock ἀκολουθῶνς, the Rock following, or, which followed them*; which some would have spoken of *Christ*, being the Rock which accompanied the Israelites (for so ἀκολουθῶν signifies) or the Rock which was to come and follow in after times: Others more truly expound it literally of the Rock in the wilderness, thinking it reasonable that the Apostle who spake literally of *Manna* which was truly eaten, should also in the same sense speak of the water of that Rock which was as truly drunken. And therefore they say the Apostle adds the word [following] to intimate that when the Rock was smitten, a stream gushed therefrom, which followed the Israelites many years as they journeyed in the wilderness, and therefore our translation with others for explication sake adds the word [them] which is not in the Greek; and so the

Sy.

¹ Cor. c. 10.
v. 3 & 4 & 5.

Syrus likewise translates the words, *the Rock which went with them.*

But against this some object two things, 1. That it is not like the Apostle would affirme any thing as History, which is no where mentioned in the old Testament, where it is like so miraculous a thing would not have been concealed. 2. That the thing it selfe is otherwise unlikely, even by reasons out of *Moses* story.

For they say, that if it be meant of the first *Rock* at *Rephidim*, how came they to want water at *Cadesh*, if a river from the first *Rock* had followed them; and if we say it is spoken of the 2^d *Rock* at *Cadesh*, how comes it to passe that they offered to buy water at a price of the *Edomites*, if water followed them at the heels? But unto the first it may be answered, that it may be elsewhere shewen in the New Testament, something to be alledged for story which is not expressed in the Old Testament, especially when there is some ground whence some such thing may be drawn by good consequence, and then I think we ought to believe the illation of the Holy Ghost. And that this thing we now speak of may be inferred from the story of *Moses*, it will appear thus: For seeing it was about two years after their comming out of *Egypt*, when the first *Rock* was smitten to give them water, and that in all their change of Stations for almost thirty eight yeares after, we never find the least mention of any want thereof, though they travelled further in a dry and unwatered Wildernesse; It will follow from hence, that either they stored themselves with water for so many years, which is impossible,

or

Vid. Psal.
78. v. 16.
Psal. 105.
v. 41.

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3:4:5.

or else the water of the Rock run after them; and it may be their journeyes were so ordered by the lower grounds, that it might naturally do so, so long as the miraculous Fountain lasted. As for the other objection, how they came again to want water at *Cadesh*, it is easily answered, for God might for a new tryall of his people, make the first miracle cease when it pleased him; and seeing at that Station they had taken a clean contrary way unto the former; it may be the position of the earth hindred it, God so ordering their journeyes of purpose. And as for their buying water of the *Edomites*, presently upon the smiting of the second Rock at *Cadesh*, it may be said that this Rock was not like the former, and so our Apostle by the word ἀκολουθῶσι, did imply he spake of the first onely; or howsoever, those words of buying water of the *Edomites* are spoken in case they passed through the *Edomites* land, where it was not like the miracle should have followed them, it being a watred Country. Thus much I thought good to speak in defence of that exposition which our translation seems to approve by adding the word *them*; unto *wh* (you see) we may without difficulty yeeld our assent: Otherwise it were easie yet to adde among such a variety, a fourth exposition diverse from all the former, namely, that by leaving out the word *them*, the word *Following* should be expounded not of following in regard of *place*, but of *time* and *story*, and that with relation unto *Manna*, because in order of time the smiting of the Rock followed presently upon the raining of *Manna*; and so the Apostles sense, saying, ἐν τῇ πνευματικῇ ἀκολουθῶσι πίστες, of the *Spiritual Rock fol-*

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3. 4. 5.

lawing should be understood as following upon the raining of *Manna*, the myserie of drink following the miracle of heavenly bread; as the giving of the cup is to follow the breaking of bread in the Lords Supper, but this you may esteem as you please.

Now I come to the second thing I propounded, wherein this *Manna* and this *Rock* were *Spiritual*, that is, *Sacramentall*; and this was in regard they were signes signifying *Christ*, and pledges assuring the faithfull Receivers of their enjoying him with all his benefits: For a Sacrament is not a naked or a single signe, but a sign assuring, that is, a Seal or a pledge of the thing signified, a signifying pledge, or an assuring sign. Now these *Souls* do alwayes suppose, and are in some sort grounded upon a resemblance which the sign hath with the thing signified: For as *Plato* in *Cratylus* sayes, *That the wisdom of the first imposers and inventors of the names of things, was such in their chiefe, that they made the letters and syllables to agree with, and to expresse the qualities of the thing called by them, expressing soft things with soft sounds, harsh with harsh, &c.*: and so forth. So God in the Sacraments which are as visible words, hath chosen such signes as carry in them the Character & very Image of the things they are pledges of. For a warrant therefore that *this Manna* and *this Rock* were such Sacraments and such *Spiritual* things as our Apostle speaketh of, let us consider a while how they carryed in them the marks of *Christ* whom they signified.

First then to begin with *Manna*. As *Manna* was a meat provided of God without the labour and industry of the *Israelites*: so is *Christ* given unto men; not
our

A Cor. c. 10.
v. 3 et 35.

out of any work or merits of theirs, but of the free gift and goodness of God. 2. As *Manna* came from Heaven besides the ordinary course of nature: so *Christs birth* was wonderfull, & not as the birth of other men; for his *Divine nature* he fetcht from above, and his *Humane body* was not begotten of mortall seed, but by the influence of the H. Ghost from Heaven. 3. *Manna* was distributed unto all alike; one had not more and another lesse, but all an equall share. Even so Christ communicates himselfe unto all alike without acception of persons, for in him is neither Male nor Female, bond nor free; *The Begger hath as great a part in Christ, as he who sits upon the Throne.* 4. *Manna* when it came first was an unknown thing, for the *Israelites* (saith the Text) *knew not what it was*; no they knew not whence it came, nor that it was the food the Lord had sent them. So Christ when he came into the world was unknown: *For if they had known* (saith Saint Paul) *they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory.* 5. *Manna* was food, and a plentiful food, there was enough for every body. So is Christ the food and bread of our souls, and sufficient to feed many, yea even the whole World. 6. *Manna* was of a most sweet and pleasing tast. And so is Christ unto that soul which can truly relish him, *My yoke* (saith he) *is most sweet and easie, and my burden light*: And most true of him is that which the Psalmist writes, *Come tast and see, for the Lord is sweet.* 7. *Manna* was of a white colour, even as our Saviour also was white and pure, as being free from all stain of sin, for as it is *1 Pet. 2. 22. He committed no sin, neither was there any guile found in his mouth.* 8. Also *Manna*

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

before it was eaten was brayed in a Morter, or broken in a Mill. So was Christ our *heavenly Manna* broken upon the Crosse, that he might become the *Spiritual Food* wherewith our souls are fed unto everlasting life. 9. As *Manna* was given onely in the Wildernesse, and ceased as soon as they came in the land of Promise: so is Christ our *Spiritual Food* in the *Eucharist*, so long as we travell in the Wildernesse of this world; but when we shall arrive in the heavenly *Canaan*, we shall have no more need of Sacraments, for there we shall have Christ present with us, and shall no longer understand in part as now we doe, but we shall see God as he is.

Thus much shall suffice to have spoken of *Manna*, and so we come unto the *Rock*, which our Apostle affirms to have been Christ, that is, a *signe of him*: Neither is this the onely place where he is so called, but it was a name given him in the dayes of old: In the 32 of *Deut.* he is four severall times called by that name, v. 15. *Jesurun* forsook the God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his Salvation. and v. 18. *Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindfull, and hast forgotten God that formed thee, &c.* Again, in *Dan.* 2. 34, &c. he is expressed by a stone cut out without hands, which became a great mountaine and filled the whole earth. Let us therefore see what resemblance of Christ is in a *Rock*, first generally, and then specially in *this Rock* whereof our Apostle treateth.

First then, as a *Rock* is the surest foundation to build upon, so is Christ the immoveable foundation whereupon his Church is reared; *whatsoever is built upon him,*

him, no storms, no floods, no winds can shake or move; and that in this very respect Christ is called a Rock, it appears out of *Esay* 28. 16. quoted in part by Saint Paul, *Rom.* 9. & *S. Pet.* 1. *Ep.* 2. Behold I lay in Sion a foundation, a stone, a tryed stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation, he that beleeveth on him shall not be confounded nor ashamed.

1 Cor. c. 10.
V. 3, 4, 5.

2. A Rock is a strong Fortresse against the assaults of an Enemy, and so is our Saviour an impregnable Bulwark unto his Elect against the hottest assaults of sinne, Satan, and death; all the Cannons of Hell can never hurt him, who hath gotten this Rock to shield him.

3. A Rock is a place of stumbling, unto those who look not well to their feet; and so was this Spirituall Rock of our salvation unto the proud high-looking Jew, a stumbling block, a Rock of offence, according unto the prophesie in the 8 of *Esay*, 14. quoted also by our Apostle *Rom.* 9. & *S. Pet.* 1. *Ep.* 2. A stone of stumbling, and for a Rock of offence unto both the houses of Israel: And many among them shall stumble and fall, &c.

But more especially, this Rock which our Apostle speaks of, resembles Christ in three things:

First, as that Rock gave no water before it was smitten with the Rod of *Moses*, so was Christ smitten upon the Crosse, that out of him might flow that soveraign stream, which he who drinketh of, shall never thirst any more.

2. As the Rock was smitten with the Rod of *Moses*, so was Christ our Redeemer with the Rod, the Law, all the curses and penalties due by the same be-

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

ing laid upon him for our sakes. *For he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray, and the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all.*

3. Lastly, as this *Rock* is said to have yielded water, not onely to those who were then present at the place where the *Rock* stood, but followed them in all their Stations in the *Wildernesse*, unto the utmost ends thereof: so that water which gushed out from our smitten Saviour, neither served nor stayed with those alone who were present at the time and place of his suffering; but it ran and spread into all places of the world where the sons of men had any abiding, and followeth them all the dayes of their Pilgrimage in this *Wildernesse*, even from the day of his passion, unto this very hour. *He* (saith the Evangelicall Prophet *Esay*) *every one that thirsteth, come ye unto the waters, (yea even) he that hath no money, come yee,---yea come buy Wine and Milk without money and without price: In what part of the earth soever thou art, in what time of the world soever thou livest, Christ our Rock is ever with thee, and his water streameth after thee; which whosoever drinketh, it shal be in him a Well of water springing up into everlasting life.*

Adde, who knoweth whether the cleaving of the *Rocks* when he yielded up the Ghost, were not for a signe of the accomplishment of the mysterie?

And thus much for the second point. Now we come unto the third, upon what sense these Sacraments are said to be the same with ours. For the under-

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

derstanding whereof, we must chiefly consider two things in every Sacrament, the *visible signe*, and the *invisible thing* therewith *signified and confirmed*, which invisible thing is alwayes double, first, the *Root or Fountain*, secondly, the gracious blessings and promises which spring and flow from it. The *Root and Fountain* is he, through whom and by whom we receive all the blessings and benefits we enjoy from God our Father, and without whom he vouchsafes us nothing. And therefore as God confers no manner of blessing upon us but through Christ: so the manner and nature of a Sacrament is to assure and confirm unto us whatsoever it assures us onely through him. For all *Sacramentall signes* both *old and new* carry in them the Image and marks of Christ, hereby shewing that by signifying him, they seal and convey the promises in and through him. For example sake: In the *Passeover* the favour and benefit which God would therein seal and assure, was, that he would spare and passe by the *Israelites*, when he smote the *Egyptians*: And yet the sign ordained expressed nothing, either of passing or sparing, but of him onely in whom and through whom God passed and spared them, namely, *that immaculate Lamb slain before the foundation of the world: whose blood when God beholds upon the post of their houses, he will spare and not destroy them.* The like we shall find in all their Sacraments and Sacrifices, that is their manner by *signing the Root and Fountain*, to assure and convey the promises which come through it.

Out of this therefore which hath been spoken, we may easily assail the question of the agreement or

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

sameness of the Jewes Sacraments with ours; for it is apparent that the signes differed, and in most they were of a clean differing kind from ours; I mean divers kinds of things, the bloody signes of slaughtered beasts; and where the signs of both had more affinity, yet was there some apparent difference, as appeares in the examples our Apostle bringeth here, for howsoever a *cloud* hath some affinity with *water*, yet is it not the same with *water* we use in *Baptisme*, neither was *Manna* the same thing with *bread*, though in stead thereof, nor the *water of the Rock*, the same with *wine in the Eucharist*. It is plain therefore out of our Apostles own words, that he meanes not *they were the same in signes*. It followes then, *they should be the same in the Spirituall thing* signified, which is *as the Seal and Spirit of a Sacrament*. And this is plain, in that he saith *not simply, they are the same Meat, and same Drink, but the same Spirituall Meat, and the Spirituall Drink*; and it is past all doubt, when he saith *the Rock was Christ*, that is, Sacrament of him, which *ὁ καὶ νοῦν* is to be understood *all the rest, the Cloud, the Sea, the Manna*, all were Sacraments of Christ as well as ours, and Seals of the same Spirituall promises whereof ours are; all aimed at the same twofold invisible gift, the same Fountain, through whom *Christ Jesus*, and the same Rivers of Spirituall graces, Reconciliation with God, remission of sinnes, and life eternall, through him alone.

And yet for all this agreement we must know, there was some difference even here also: For howsoever the things (as ye have heard) were the same signified in both, yet was the manner and fashion of them

them different, they beheld not their signs the same that ours do. For as for the root of blessings, *Christ*, he was signified as future and yet to come, which in their ordinary Sacraments was stamped upon the very sign, I mean, the signes had some badge in them, whereby might be known that what they signified was future.

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3-4-5.

As for example; in Circumcision was signified the taking away of the superfluity of sinne, in and through him who was yet in the loynes of his Ancestors, as the place Circumcised sufficiently implies: And this is the reason why Saint *Paul* saith, *If you are Circumcised; Christ profits you nothing*: Because namely, he that received Circumcision, did as much as affirme that *Christ* was not yet come, but still hoped for.

The like we may see in their Sacrifices, some whereof as the *Eucharisticall*, were justly answerable to our *Eucharist*, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter. In the mean time I speak generally of them, and say, they carryed a badge in them that *Christ* was not yet come and offered for sin; a ground whereof I have from the story of *Abraham* going about to Sacrifice his sonne, for there *Abraham* being ready at Gods Commandement to Sacrifice the promised sonne his dear and onely sonne *Isaac*, the Angel of God stayed his hand, and shewed him a *Ram in a bush* to sacrifice in stead of his sonne; thereby implying, that while God deferred the offering of that blessed one which should be a sonne of *Abraham*, he would accept as in stead thereof, the offerings of *Bulles* and *Rams* for the expiation of sinne; and there-

1 Cor. c. 30.
v. 3, 4, 5.

thereof he that offered this offering in stead, did therein acknowledge, that the offering of the blessed seed of *Abraham* was yet deferred. A second mark of this, may be also in *the slaying of the Sacrifice offered*, for in that they were as often as they offered to *slay* their Sacrifice, it appeared that the sonne of *Abraham* was not yet slain for sin.

And thus have we seen how Christ the ground of all Spirituall blessings was otherwise signified under the Sacraments of the Law, then is now in those of the Gospel. Now we must also shew also a differing manner and fashion in the Spirituall promises themselves, which were given through him. For these were not open as now they are, but involved and wrapped up in temporall benefits: For all the promises under the Law, in a manner were for the outside temporall, their Redemption; their deliverance from the *Ægyptian* thraldome; their forgiveness, remission was, the escaping of temporall plagues and bodily death, their favour with God was worldly Prosperity, the place of blessed rest was the earthly *Canaan*, and immortality, long life, and fulnesse of dayes, in the land which the Lord had given them. This is so apparent, that there was a Sect amongst them about Christs time, which maintained there were no other promises to be looked for; and some Christians even of note have almost affirmed that the *Jewes* had no Spirituall promises, but onely temporall. But we must know that under these outward things were veiled the Spirituall & Eternall promises; not that these temporall were only shadowes of the eternall, and were not literally to be

1 Cor. 6. 10.
V. 3. 4. 5.

be understood, but that the enjoying of these outward things unto the *Jew*, was a pledge of the Spirituall, as it were inwrapped in them: For it pleased God according to the oeconomie of that time, to convey his Spirituall benefits under and with the temporall, as he also ordained also the losse of the one, to be as an evident mark of losing the other, unlesse God were extraordinarily mercifull unto them. The knowledge of this made the *Jew* so highly to esteem of worldly prosperities and of those who enjoyed them, as of Gods speciall Favorites; and on the contrary to be so cast down with earthly adversities, as if those who fell into them, were quite deprived of the favour of God. This made them so loath to forgoe the earthly *Canaan*, as though with it also they had foregone all interest in the Heavenly.

And was it not strange that the *Romane Empire* which carryed no other Nation captive, yet should cast the *Jew* out of his own country, unlesse God according to his wonted rule with this people, would have it a wofull evidence, that he had quite cast them off from having any longer right or claime unto the Kingdome of Heaven: but since *Christ* was revealed, these Spirituall and Eternall promises are no longer veiled and covered in this sort, but are laid out to open view, and they are no longer so link'd with temporall, but severed one from the other; for the vail upon *Moses* face is done away, & we all with an open face behold as in a glasse the glory of the Lord, 2 Cor. 3.

Thus you see how the Sacraments of the Law, howsoever they sealed the same promises with ours, yet not so immediately as ours do, but in a covert

of

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3. 4. 5.

of outward blessings. Now I wil answer some objections concerning this discourse. And first, some wil say that this is unlikely, in that the *Jews* seemed to apprehend no such thing as we speak of, specially in these extraordinary Sacraments which our Apostle treats of. I answer, that without doubt the Patriarchs & Prophets had a more clear sight of these things; as for the rest, they were in generall taught this Principle, that in such things God did convey some unseen blessings unto them, especially if they were so extraordinary as this of *Manna* and the *Rock*; and howsoever they knew not expressly what these secret things should be, yet they beleevd they were farre more glorious then what they saw. Those who require more then this, forget how *Moses* was vailed, & that the Mysteries of the Kingdome of God were exceedingly obscure in the times of the Law; and that the *Jew* could not but conceive more in them then the outside, it appears in that they had a great expectation of the *Messiah*, unto whom all these aymed; as we know the speech of *Nathaneel*, *We have found the Messiah of whom Moses and the Prophets wrote*. Besides, the Prophets often reprehension of those who thought God was pleased with the outward offering of *Bulles* and *Rams*, must needs make them apprehend there was a faith of some unseen thing required.

But Saint *Paul* (will some say) calls them *Gal. 4. 9. weak and beggerly elements*, whereby it should seem they were empty of all Spirituall meaning. I answer, such they were become indeed when Christ was once come, of which time Saint *Paul* speaketh, when the grace signified in them was brought out in the

1 Cor. 6. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

the light, when the unwrapped promises were unfolded and revealed, they were then as empty shells, whose kernels were taken out, and like carcases whose soul is gone: So long as a shell contains a kernell unseen, so long it is full, when the kernell comes forth to outward view, then the shell is empty; even so is it with the elements of the Law. Again, as long as the soul is buried in the body and covered with flesh, the body lives, but when the soul separates from flesh and subsists by it selfe, then the body proves a stinking carcase. So is it with the elements of the Law, whose soul was these Spirituall things, now severed from such fleshly elements, and offered unto us without such covers as heretofore they were.

I have heretofore for explication of these words enquired of three things, 1. Of what *meat* and of what *drink* the Apostle speaketh, namely, of the food of *Manna*, and the water of the *Rock*, where-with God sustained the *Israelites* in the *Wildernesse*. 2. Wherein both the one and the other were *Spirituall* or *Sacramentall*, namely, in being signes resembling and assuring *Christ* with the Spirituall blessings through him. 3. In what sense these Sacraments are said to be the same with ours, to wit, not in the signes, but in the Spirituall thing signified, which is the Spouse and essence of a Sacrament.

These things having been spoken of at large, we are now to come to such observations as those words and explications will afford us.

The first whereof is, That if the scales and Sacraments under the Law were the same with ours, then
must

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3 & 5.

must they also have the same Covenant of Grace with us; for the Sacraments are Seales of the Covenant: if the Seales then were the same, as our Apostle affirmeth, how should not the Covenant also be the same? and seeing their Sacraments were differing in the signes from ours, how could they be any way the same with ours, but only in what they sealed and signified? The Fathers therefore were saved by Grace and through Christ as well as we; so true is that the Apostle sayes *Acts 4. 12. There is no other name under Heaven given amongst men, whereby we must be saved. For Jesus Christ, as it is Heb. 13. 8. is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.* That is, he was a Saviour of old, is still, and shall be for ever hereafter. This is that which Saint Peter yet more expressly affirmeth *Acts 3. 25. saying, Ye are the children of the Prophets, and of the Covenant which God made with our Fathers, saying to Abraham; And in thy seed shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed: Yea not onely from Abraham, but even from that time when God said, The seed of the woman shall break the Serpents head,* was this Covenant made with men, and at length diversly shadowed in the Types and Sacrifices of the Law, untill Christ himselfe was revealed in the flesh.

For the better understanding of this, we must know what a Covenant is, and what are the kinds thereof. A Covenant is as it were a bargain between God and man, wherein God promises some Spirituall good to us, so we perform some duty unto him; if not, then to incurre everlasting punishment. This Covenant is of two sorts, the one is called the Cove-
nant

nant of *Works*, the other the Covenant of *Grace*. The Covenant of *Works* is wherein God on his part makes us a promise of Eternall life, if we on our part shall performe exact obedience unto his Law, otherwise to be everlastingly condemned if we fail. The Covenant of *Grace* or of the Gospell, is wherein God on his part promises us sinners Christ to be our Saviour and Redeemer, if we on our part shall believe on him with a lively and obedient faith, otherwise to be condemned. The Covenant of *Works* God made with man at his Creation, when he was able to have kept the conditions he required, but through his disobedience broke it, and so became lyable to death, both Corporall and Spirituall: And though the Covenant of *Grace* then took place, (as we have said) yet was the former Covenant of works still in force, until Christ who was promised should come in the flesh: And therefore was this Covenant renewed under *Moses* with the *Israelites*, when the Law was given in *Horeb*; as *Moses* sayes, *Deut. 5. 2. The Lord God made a Covenant with us in Horeb.* For all the time under the Law, the open and apparent Covenant was the Covenant of *Works*, to make them the more to see their own misery and condemnation, and so to long after Christ who was yet to come, and at whose comming this obligation should be quite cancelled: Yet neverthelesse, together with this open Covenant, there was a secret and hidden Covenant, which was the Covenant of *Grace*, that they might not be altogether without the meanes of Salvation whilst Christ yet tarried.

This truth is plain, *Gal. 3. v. 17. &c.* where the Apostle

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3 & 5.

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

Apostle affirms, *that the Covenant of Grace in Christ was 450 years afore the Law was given, and that therefore the Law could not disannull it or make it of none effect; but that the Law* (so he calls the Covenant of Works) *was onely added to it because of transgressions, untill the blessed Seed should come, and that it might be a Schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.* For in the Morall Law of God, under whose curse they stood bound, they might as in a glasse see their sinne, their guilt, their want of Righteousnesse; and in their Ceremonies and Sacrifices, they might again as in shadowes of Heavenly things, behold the means of their Reconciliation, through his blood who was to be slain, and offered to God for them.

Now though this Covenant of *Grace* afore Christ be the same for substance with that under which we are now since his comming, yet the circumstances and outward fashion thereof are so varied, that the Scripture for this regard makes of this one Covenant two Covenants, calling one the old Covenant for the old manner thereof under the Law, and the other a new Covenant for the new manner thereof now the Gospell is revealed. Having therefore already seen the agreement and onenesse of them for the inward part, let us now behold their differences for the outward fashion; and so we shall see that as the Fathers ate the same *Spiritual meat*, and drank the same *Spiritual drink*, and yet there was some difference in them; so the Fathers were under the same Covenant of *Grace* with us, and yet after a different fashion.

This difference Saint *Paul Gal. 4.* setteth forth thus

thus by a similitude; *the difference* (saith he) *of the condition of those afore Christ and since, is but as the condition of heires when they are under age, and when they come to full yeares.* They are heirs and Lords of all in both conditions, as well in one as the other; onely the difference is, that in the one condition they are in the state of servants under Tutors and Governours, in the other they enjoy the freedome of Sons: so the faithfull in the Law, enjoyed the same Covenant of *Grace* with us, but under the bondage of worldly elements; but we now have the same in a state of freedome, as not held under such burdensome elements and Pedagogies as they were.

But elsewhere he shewes this difference more expressly both on Gods part and our part; on our part, *Heb. 8. & alibi*, thus, The old Covenant which required so many externall services, is called a carnall Covenant; the new wherein no such are required but works of the Spirit onely, is a Spirituall Covenant, whereof God meanes when he saith, *I will put my Lawes into their mind, and write them in their hearts, and so he will be their God, and they shall be his people.* For in the old Covenant he wrote a Law as it were upon their hands and fleshy members, in that he required so many fleshy washings and sprinklings and sacrifices for expiation and cleansing of sin: whereas in the new he writes his Law onely upon the Soul and Spirit, in that he now stipulates onely the service of Faith, which is an action of the inward man, and not of the outward, not of the hand or bodily members, but of the soul within: for by Law here I suppose is meant the condition which God stipulates in the

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3 & 4 & 5.

Covenant, and through which he makes good his promise unto us: Not as though this Spirituall condition was not also required under the Law in the Covenant of *Grace* then, but because it was not onely, nor so openly, therefore is it made as a formall difference of the new Covenant and the old.

Secondly, on Gods part the Scripture shewes the difference of the Covenants thus. The old Covenant was a Covenant of worser promises, the new a Covenant of better promises, and so a better Covenant, *Heb. 8.* Indeed they in the old Covenant had the same Spirituall promises we have, and so it was one and the same Covenant, but they had them not open and uncovered as we have, and so our Covenant is not the same, but a better Covenant: So Saint Paul makes his comparison in the same argument, *2 Cor. 3.* *If that (saith he) which is done away was so glorious, much more that which remaineth.* As if he had said, *If the Cover seemed so glorious, much more shall the Jewell within so seem, when the cover is taken from it, as now it is.* For all the open promises in the old Covenant seem to be no other then temporall blessings; as for Spirituall, they had them onely as enwrapped in them; so that they could look for them no otherwise but in and through the temporall, which they had as pledges of the Spirituall vailed under them, but in the new these are all revealed and no longer hid from us by such curtains, the vail is taken from the face of *Moses*, and we behold with open face the glory of the Lord, as the Apostle speaketh *2 Cor. 3.* Remission of sinnes, Reconciliation with God, everlasting life, these are our promises; not deliverance from temporall

rall enemies, worldly prosperity, nor the land of *Canaan*, or long life in the land the Lord hath given us. So the case here is quite altered, for then earthly blessings were as pledges of Spirituall, but now unto us, Spirituall are pledges of temporall, so farre as God sees good for us; for the tenour of the Gospell now is, *Seek first the Kingdome of God, and all these things shall be given you.*

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

And it is now time we should say with Saint Paul, *Rom. 11. O the depth of the riches, both of the Wisdome and Knowledge of God!* and with David, *Psal. 40. v. 92. Many, O Lord our God, are thy wonderfull works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to us ward. O Lord how great are thy works! and thy thoughts are very deep.*

Thus I come to a second Observation, which these words afford us: namely, If the Fathers ate the same Spirituall Meat, and drank the same Spirituall Drink which we do, then eat we not the reall body, nor drink the reall blood of Christ; for the *Manna* they ate, was the same *Manna* still, though a Sacrament of Christ, the *water of the Rock* was verily water still, though a Sacrament of his blood: If then we eat the same Spirituall Bread, we eat bread still, though Spirituall bread; If we drink the same Spirituall Drink, our drink is wine still, though Spirituall wine: Yea Saint Paul himselfe calls them as they are, 1 Cor. 10. v. 16. *The Bread we break, is the communion of the Body of Christ; ergo,* That which is communion of the body of Christ, is bread still. And unlesse it should be so, how could there be a Sacrament, which must consist of a sign and a thing signified, of an

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

earthly thing and a Heavenly thing? For if the sign once becomes the thing signified, it is no more a sign, and so then is no more a Sacrament.

If it be urged, that Christ himselfe sayes plainly of the Bread, *Hoc est corpus meum*, of the Wine, *Hic est sanguis meus*: I answer, he sayes also *I am the Door*, and in my Text is as expressely said, *The Rock was Christ*. If therefore it be absurd from hence to infer the Rock left being a Rock, and was made the reall Person of Christ, so will it be of our Spirituall Bread and Wine: For the manner of these speeches is nothing but a figure of certainty or assurance; he that receiveth the Bread, as assuredly receiveth Christs body, as if the Bread were his body; he that receiveth the Wine, as assuredly enjoyeth the blood of Christ, as if this Wine were his very blood indeed. A predication in *casu recto*, is a predication of sameness, and therefore is used properly in things which are in a manner the same, as *Genus* and *Species*, *Homo est animal*: But in things which are disparate and of severall natures, we speak usually in *concreto* or *obliquo*; and from hence arises a scheme or figure of speech, when we would expresse a most near union of things even different, yet to speak them in *casu recto* which is the predication of sameness, as it were to expresse, they were as nearly link'd together as if they were the very same. So we are wont to say, a man is virtue or Piety it selfe, meaning, they are thoroughly link'd unto him. And because of all other things the things in the Sacraments are so assuredly and thoroughly link'd together, the Holy Ghost used this scheme for a Sacramentall speech; *Hoc est corpus me-*

meum, and *Hic est sanguis meus*, that is a sign so sure, as if it were the very same.

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

And so I will come to a third observation, *The Fathers* (saith my Text) *ate the same Spirituall Meat, and drank the same Spirituall Drink*, therefore is our Sacrament also to be eaten and drunken of us, and not onely offered for us: *Except we eat the flesh of the Sonne of man and drink his blood, we have no life in us*. And very fitly: for as our bodies are nourished by eating of corporall meates, so our soules are nourished by the Spirituall feeding upon Christ.

This condemns that lurching Sacrifice of the *Masse*, where the Bread and Wine are offered as a Sacrifice for the people, but they receive no one jot thereof; they are invited to a Banquet, but eat never a bit: Even like the unbelieving Ruler spoken of *2 Kings 7.* who saw all the plenty foretold by *Elisha*, but ate no whit thereof: And what is it but as Christ said, *to light a Candle and put it under a Bushell?*

They think it is enough if the Priest eats all himselfe, though he gives no body else any with him. But it is no lesse absurd to affirm that another should receive good by the Priests receiving, then to hold one may be fed by the meat another man eats, or be saved by another mans faith, which were most ridiculous; for a man is nourished by his own meat, and *the just must live by his own Faith.*

Many strong reasons might be alledged against this so foul a corruption, but I will comprise all in three. First, it is against the expresse commandement of Christ, whose words are, *Eat ye all of this, and drink*

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

ye all of this. Had the Church of *Rome* been the true Spouse of Christ, she would never have presumed to abolish what he hath ordained, and to establish what her selfe hath devised, not onely in this, but in many other actions; which is no lesse then to advance her selfe in Wisdome and Authority above the Sonne of God. Secondly, it is against the nature of a Sacrament, which consists in receiving; for the main difference between a Sacrifice and a Sacrament, is, that in the one we give to God, in the other God gives to us, and we receive of him. Lastly, it abolishes the Mystery of our consolation, and that whereby our faith is strengthened in the use of these holy signes, that mankind might have an interest in Christ, and what he should do on our behalfe; we know it was required he should be incarnate and take our nature upon him, which now he hath done, every one of us can believe that what he hath done is for the behoofe of mankind, and so some men shall be the better for it, since our whole kind by reason of his incarnation, is capable of the benefits of his Passion, and the whole work of Redemption. But in that though Christ became man, yet he took not upon him the nature of every severall man; hence no man from his incarnation could apply these benefits unto himselfe in speciall: For he might say, indeed Christ was made man, and so man may be the better for him, and have some interest in him; but since he was not incarnate into me, how should I apply this unto my self? why therefore the all-wise God who knew our weakness, hath so ordained in the Mystery of this holy Sacrament, that it is a mysticall incarnation of Christ into every

every one who receives it. Whence *Gregory Nazianzen* defines the Eucharist, *κοινωνία ὑπαγομένης τῆ Θεοῦ*, a Communion of the Incarnation of God. For in that he affirms the *Bread* to be his *Body*, and the *Wine* to be his *Bloud*; and receiving this *Body* and *Bloud* of Christ, and so changing it into the substance of our *Body*, and into our *Bloud* by way of nourishment, the *Body* of Christ becomes our *Body*, and his *Bloud* is made our *Bloud*, and we become in a mysticall manner flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone: And as in his conception of the *Holy Virgin*, he took upon him the nature of Man, that he might save Man; so in his Holy Sacrament he takes upon him the nature of every Man in singular, that he might save every man who becomes him in the Divine Sacrament of his *Body* and *Bloud*. His reall Incarnation was onely in one, but his Mysticall Incarnation in many; and hence comes this Sacrament to be an Instrument whereby Christ is conveyed unto us, his benefits applied, and so our Faith confirmed.

How then doe they abolish this Holy Mystery, this comfortable Analogy, where Christ is offered, but those for whom he is offered receive him not, but stand as gazing Spectatours, whilst the Priest alone is the Actor? But let us, who are so happy above them, who come hither as Receivers, and not as Gazers; let us, I say, consider how great a Gift it is which God gives us. *Zachew* gave a great Gift, half his Goods unto the Poor. *Herod* promised a greater unto the dancing Damsell; but the greatest of all is that which the Prodigall giver offered our Saviour, even all the Kingdomes of the World. But all these

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 32, 4, 5.

Gifts are false short, and of infinite lesse value then this transcendent Gift which God gives unto us, which makes Saint *John*, when he speaks of it, to expresse it with an Emphasis: *So God loved the World, that he gave his onely Begotten Sonne, That whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* Lo here the greatest Gift that Heaven can yeild, or the Earth can receive. Let us therefore stirre up Hearts and Hands to give thanks, and praise unto him, of whom we receive so wonderfull a Gift; saying, with the Prophet, *What shall we render unto the Lord for this admirable benefit?*

And thus I come to a fourth Observation which these words will lend us. Namely, that the Apostle warrants here by his Example, the Illustration of things in the Gospell by the types of the Law. For, if the Apostle uses an example where one would scarce suspect there was a Type, much more doth he approve an application where a Type is plain and evident; and besides, seemes to insinuate thus much unto us, that all the extraordinary actions of God toward his Ancient People, had in them some mystery of some things to come, as this of *Manna* in the Wildernesse. And I make no question, but the searching & suting of allegories in these two kinds were allowable and profitable. But this is the error of Allegorizers, they seek allegories where they are not, but where they are, they seldom look for them. For, although the body, and verity be of it self more clear, and evident, then the shadow; yet alwayes a Comparison affords more light then a single contemplation.

Now,

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3. 4. 5.

Now, because the Apostle hath led the way of this practice in the matter of the Eucharist: let me have leave to second him in another instance of the same Argument, almost out of himself in the Chapter, not in so sublime a kind, but in a plaine and vulgar type. Amongst all the sacrifices of the Law, there is none, either for name or nature comes so neer the Sacrament of the Supper as the Eucharisticall. The Passover was a speciall kind hereof, where it is so well known, that the Fathers ate the same Spirituall Meat we doe, that I shall not need say any thing of it, onely it shall suffice to shew the same in the whole kind of Eucharisticall offerings, which is not so much observed.

An Eucharisticall sacrifice, or a peace-offering was a Sacrifice of fire, or expiatory; a part whereof was burnt upon the Altar as in other Sacrifices, but the remainder, and greater part was eaten by the faithfull People who brought it; that so their Sacrifice being turned into their bodies nourishment, might be a Signe of their incorporation into Christ to come, who was the true Sacrifice for Sinne. So, whereas other Sacrifices were onely Sacrifices, this was also a Sacrament; the rest were onely for expiation, but this also for application, being a communion of that Sacrifice which was offered. Rightly therefore was it added to all other Sacrifices: for what profit was there of expiation of Sin, unless it were applied? Well might it then be called a sacrifice of peace, as containing in it a Communion of Peace, and Communion with Jesus Christ, and through him with God the Father. The *Greeks* call it sometime

Σωτηριον

1 Cor. c. to.
v. 3, 4, 5.

Σωτηριον, or a saving Sacrifice, but cōmonly *ευχαριστιον*, for the same reason we call our Sacrament of Peace *ευχαριστια*, both being to be celebrated with thanksgiving to God, both orall and reall, for with this Sacrifice they used to offer their Heave-offering, and of this was the Commandment, that none should appear before the Lord empty, when they came to solemnize their peace-making, and reconciliation with God.

For in place of this *Eucharisticon*, whereof the Passeover was a speciall kind, hath Christ ordained our *ευχαριστια*, wherein, as they in theirs had a communion with him who was to come, so have we a Communion with him who is already come. And of this kind were the ordinary Sacrifices of the Gentiles, of which the Christians were forbidden to eat, because they might have no peace, or Communion with Devils. And therefore our Apostle in the rest of this Chapter compares these three together. 1. The *peace-offering* of the Jewes, wherein they were partakers with the Altar or Sacrifice which figured Christ to come. 2. The sacrifice of the *Greeks*, wherein they had Communion with *Devils*; and the (3) Sacrament of the *Lords Supper*, which is the Communion of the Body and Bloud of Christ, and so concludes: *Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of Devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lords Table, and the Table of Devills.*

1 Cor.

I COR. 10. v. 5.

*But with many of them God was not well pleased :
for they were overthrown in the Wildernesse.*



His verse consists of two parts, 1. The condition under which the unworthy eaters of *Manna* and drinkers of the *Rock* Spirituall were ; and consequently of the unworthy receivers of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ : for as much as they *ate the same Spirituall meat, and drank the same Spirituall drink* which we do. This their condition is said to be *Of those with whom God is not well pleased. For with many of them* (saith my Text) *God was not well pleased.* 2. The second thing here, is the danger of those unworthy receivers, in regard of the punishment which followeth them, *For they were overthrown* (saith our Apostle) *in the Wildernesse.*

To speak of the first, I will consider the words first in generall, and after in speciall, as they specially concern the receivers of the holy Seals of God. In generall therefore it is to be observed, that it is the greatest degree and measure of unhappinesse and misery in the world, to be out of the favour of God, or to be one of those with whom God is not well pleased: For our Apostle here intending no other thing but

1 Cor. 10.
v. 5.

but to expresse a wretched and unhappy condition, utters it in this Phrase, of being such *with whom God is not wel pleased*. This comprehends in it so much misery, that the very naming of it he thought was sufficient to make the *Corinthians* fear & tremble, when they should consider of that Spirituall table, of that *tremendum mysterium*, as the Fathers call it, and not to handle with rash and unholy hands at the first, or to diet themselves afterward upon so heavenly a receipt, with lusting after evill things.

How vain therefore is the opinion and practice of worldlings, who esteem the favour of men and worldly reputation the highest pitch of blessednesse, who are ambitious of no other happinesse but this: and lastly, who spend their time, their care, their meanes, nay lose (at least hazard) the favour of God it selfe, to compasse the favour and esteem of men: who admire none but those who have gotten this! But alas, there is no happinesse at all, but to be of those *Εν ᾧ Θεὸς εὐδοκῆσται*, to be in esteem & reputation with God through *Jesus Christ*, in whom alone he is *well pleased*. All happinesse without this is no better then extreame misery: Nay this supposed, and so much desired happinesse of being in reputation with the world, is so farre from making the owner happy, that the earnest seeking and desire thereof is incompatible with the state of true happinesse indeed. For so I think our Apostle would be understood, *Gal. 1. 10. If I pleased man* (saith he) *I should not be the servant of Christ*. Hence *ἀνθρώπων ἀρεσκῆς*, *men-pleasers*, in our Apostles style, are opposed elsewhere unto *δούλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ* the servants of Christ, *Ephes. 6. 6. Not as men-*

men-

men-pleasers, but as the servants &c. And ὁσιμῆτοι τῷ
 Θεῷ Col. 3. 22. as though ὑποτασσέσθαι δε δούλοισι
 could not stand together, according to that our Savi-
 our also saith *John* 5. 44. *How can ye believe* (saith
 our Saviour) *which receive honour one of another, and*
seek not the honour which cometh from God onely?

1 Cor. 10.
 v. 5.

All this notwithstanding, I suppose, is to be under-
 stood of high prising of the favour of men, with a
 neglect of the favour of God in regard thereof:
 which though it may seem at the first sight a most
 unreasonable sin, and such as no man should be guil-
 ty of, yet is it so common and so usuall, that it hath
 gotten to be enthroned in wisdomes chair; and many
Aarons there be, which worship this Calfe, many
 who would seem wise, which are over head and ears
 in this folly: For it is no unusuall thing to hear men
 excuse their neglect of pleasing God, by alledging
 that otherwise they must have fallen into the displea-
 sure and disesteem of men.

Otherwise, who knows not that there are things
 wherein men may be lawfully pleased, such as are
 things indifferent, especially if it may work a further
 good? And therefore in these Saint Paul will confesse
that himselfe had studied to please all men; and willet
 others to do the like, *Rom.* 15. 2. *Let every one of us*
please his Neighbour for his good to edification, and in
 this Chapter, *Give no offence, neither to the Jews nor*
to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God. But we
 are not so much sick of this, as of a worse disease,
 we deal as is reported of him in the Fable, who offred
 his God the shells, and kept the kernels unto himself:
 in trifles and things of small moment, we vouchsafe
 God

1 Cor. 10.
v. 5.

God our service and obedience ; but as for many matters, because they concern us so deeply and neerly, here God must be content to want our duty, whilst we apply our selves in all our words and actions, as may most likely gain us the favour and good opinion of men, though hereby we earnestly run into this incomparable misery , to be one of those *with whom God is not well pleased.*

And thus much for the generall consideration of these words, the speciall (which now I come to) is, that the unworthy Receivers of the Sacraments , are in the number of those men, *with whom God is not well pleased.* Of unworthy Receiving and Receivers , I make two: The one *à parte ante* by undue preparation, the other *à parte post*, by unholy demeanour and conversation afterward. The former is unworthy to approach this table at all, the other to have approached it; and of both these were the Fathers in the Wildernesse guilty. For *Manna* being both their ordinary and sacred food, their unholy and lustfull demeanour upon the former eating, made them continually unprepared Receivers for the future : And so it is with us, an unholy life upon the first receiving, is a great part of our unworthinesse for the second, yea more unworthy are we then made , then we had been upon the like conversation at the beginning: For to have broken so solemne a promise to God as we bound our selves in at the first time, doubles our sin; and to have already abused so precious and gracious a gift, which God then gave us , makes us doubly unworthy ever to find the like favour any more. As in Physick for the body a preparative is required before,

fore, and a good and carefull diet to be observed after; so is it here: As also a distempered diet after Physick received, will do more hurt then it would before, so is it here.

Now because it is sin which makes us lose the favour of God, and it alone which makes him not well pleased with us; that we may behold how justly Gods displeasure is kindled by this unworthy receiving, let us a while consider wherein the sin thereof consisteth, which first will appear in the correspondence of the Receiver, and the thing received. It is written *Deut. 22. Thou shalt not sow thy field with divers kind of seeds, thou shalt not plough with an Ox and an Asse together.* Whereby it appeares, that God Almighty loves not to have things unfutable and incompatible joyned together, it is an displeasing spectacle unto him. But *what fellowship hath light with darknesse?* what agreement between the holy Sacrament and a prophane heart? who will put precious water into filthy vessels, or wholesome wine into foul casks? It is the ground of *Josiahs* speech, *Josh. 24. 19. to the children of Israel, You cannot serve the Lord,* (saith he) *for he is a holy God;* that is, whilst you are wicked, the Righteous Lord who loveth Righteousnesse, will not accept of your services.

Again, Almighty God hath ever required a correspondence between his holy Ordinances, and those who were to be partakers of them. Thus the *shew-bread* was appointed only for *Aaron*, and his Sons, because they were holy; the trespassse and sin-offering must be eaten in the holy Place, because it was most holy. The same thing is implied by our
Sa-

1 Cor. 10.
v. 5.

Paul when he dissuades Husbands from misusing their Wives, gives this for a reason, *No man ever yet hated his own flesh.* And may not I reason thus; Let no man offer injury unto Christ; because he is flesh of our flesh: yea he is our head, and a wound or maim given to the head, is more odious and dangerous then to another part: To offer violence to a common person is a fault, to strike a Magistrate, a greater, but to wound a King who is the Lords Anointed, is a sin in the highest degree. O what a heynous sin is it then to offer violence; and as much as in us lies to strike and wound the Sonne of God, the King of kings, and the Lord of Glory!

To be guilty of death and shedding of the blood of any innocent man is a fearfull sin, and this made David cry out, *Deliver me O Lord from blood-guiltinesse.* How fearfull is it then to be guilty of the Body and blood of Christ! Whose heart is not moved against the *Jewes*, when he hears or reads their villanies and violence offered to our blessed Saviour! But Chrysostome gives us a good Take-heed, *Take heed* (saith he) *lest thou be guilty in the like kind, by unworthy receiving of the blessed Sacrament; He that defiles the Kings body, and he that teares it, offend both alike, the Jewes sore it, thou defilest it.* Here are (saith the same Father) *diversa peccata, sed par contumelia*, some difference of the sinne, but none of the contumely therein offered.

Joseph and Nicodemus their Pious devotion in begging and embalming the Body of Christ, is worthily recorded and commended to all generations, Mary Magdalene in bestowing that box of precious

b b b o y n t

1 Cor. c. 6.
v. 3, 4, 5.

2 Cor. c. xij.
v. 45.

oyntment upon his holy head, hath gained to her self endlesse honour, in stead of her former infamy. So if we receive and handle worthily this Mystical Body of Christ, our portion shall be with honourable *Ioseph* and pious *Mary Magdalene*; our memories shall be as theirs, blessed, and our souls as theirs, to receive unspeakable comfort; but if we come unworthily, we joyne with *Judas* and the *Fews*, and are guilty, as they were, of the Body and blood of Christ.

And thus much of the first thing I propounded, the state of unworthy Receivers of these holy Mysteries, that they are men in whom God hath no pleasure, and therefore wofull and lamentable. The second thing now to be spoken of, is, the danger of such unworthy Receivers, in regard of the punishment which followeth them: which as concerning the Fathers, my Text saith was, *that they fell, or were overthrowen in the Wildernesse*. In the back or outside of which words, appeareth onely a temporall punishment, which kind seemeth not so applyable in the times of the Gospell, as it was in the time of the Law. Howsoever we see in the generall, that it is true that the Lord will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his Name in vain; judgement shall seise either here, or at least hereafter, upon all prophane and misreceivers of those sacred pledges, upon which is called the Name of Christ our Saviour and Redeemer.

But for the kinds of these punishments, whether Temporall onely, or Eternall, or both, I answer, the Fathers under the Law had Temporall as well as Eternall; we in the Gospell chiefly Eternall, and yet sometimes Temporall.

That

That ours are chiefly Eternall or of the life to come, the words of our Apostle elsewhere shewes evidently, *Whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.* This is certain, and this is more then all the torments, paines, and the miseries that this world hath, though *Phalaris* and his Craftsmaster were alive again to invent new ones. No tongue is able to expresse, no heart is able to conceive the woe and miseries which the damned soul in Hell is subject unto, which are as endlesse as they are caseless. And though this be great enough, yet hath not nor is not the unworthy Receiver alwayes freed from suffering something even in this life; we know the Apostle would have the *Corinthians* take notice of the Wrath of God upon divers of them, for receiving the Sacrament unworthily, *For this cause* (saith he) *are many sick and weak amongst you, and many are fallen asleep.* Indeed fathers correct not their children at riper years after the same fashion they did when they were young and little: So hath God not the same Discipline under the Gospell, which he had under the Pedagogie of the Law, as *Chrysostome* saith; he doth not so often scourge offenders with the rods of temporall chastisements, but rather reserves for them Eternal torments, yet who doubts but the hand of God is upon many unworthy Communicants, even by sorrow, sickness, death, and sundry other chastisements of this life?

But for the times under the Law, the words of my Text speaking of *being overthrowen in the Wildernesse*, would seem to imply there was no further thing which

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3. 4. 5.

besell the unworthy eaters of *Manna* in the Wilder-
nesse, and so our Apostles argument from hence
should inferre no more to us in the times of the Go-
spell.

For answer hereunto, I must call to mind some-
thing which I have spoken heretofore, namely, that
under the Law, Spirituall blessings were enwrapped
in corporall, and conveyed under and with them as
it were in pledges, which made the Jew so highly to
esteem of worldly prosperities, and of those who en-
joyed them, as accounting them Gods speciall Favo-
rites. So also were Spirituall and everlasting plagues,
hidden under the curtains of temporall judgements,
which were to those upon whom they fell, as wofull
pledges of them, and therefore made the Jew ac-
count them accursed who were overwhelmed with
worldly adversities. To come therefore to the
words of my Text, *Canaan* was a Type and pledge
of the Heavenly habitation, *the Wildernesse* signified
our Pilgrimage in this wilde, ragged, rocky and bar-
ren world; To fall in the *Wildernesse*, was a wofull
sign of falling short of the Heavenly *Canaan*, and
deprivall of Eternall life: Those who fell there, especi-
ally upon occasion of sin, being such, as *to whom God*
swore in his wrath, that they should not enter into his rest,
as it is in the *Psalme* we say every morning. Thus we
see how the unworthy eaters of the holy promises in
the Wildernesse were not onely lyable to plagues in
this life, but that those plagues served them as Seales
of their condemnation in the world to come, and
therefore if we also eat the same Spirituall meat,
and drink the same Spirituall drinke unworthily,
we

2 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

we shall eat and drinke our owne condemnation.

Having thus seen the wretched condition and wofull danger of those who come unworthily to this Spirituall Table, the serious consideration hereof, may stand up like the Angell with *the flaming sword*, to keep every Adam from eating of the tree of Life. It should make every one tremble who approacheth the Lords Table with unwashed hands, I mean, a foul conscience; whose hearts are full of wickednesse, whose heads full of ungodly imaginations, and their hands defiled with wicked actions; how unworthy are they to come at this holy Banquet. As *Ieha* said to *Iehorams*, *Quid tibi sum pace*, what hast thou to do with peace? So may I say here, What have those to do with the Sacrament the Mystery of peace? Indeed the Sacrament is a Robe to cover the repenting sinner, but no cloak to a prophane Receiver of it; such a one shall find it like the forbidden fruit of *Paradise*, the bane of the Eater, and like a fair bait swallowed with a deadly hook, the death of the Receiver.

Who being guilty, would drink of that cursed water, *Numb. 5.* which made *the thigh to rot and the belly to swell* and who being guilty of grosse sin, will dare without Repentance to take that Sacrament which shall make him guilty of the Body and blood of Christ, and become an occasion of his condemnation? *It is a pitifull thing when the Psalmists curse befalls any, Let their Table be a snare*, but that this holy Table should become a snare to a Christian soul, is more then lamentable. Our Saviour said of *Judas*, *It had been good for him if he had never been born*; and

1 Cor. 6. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

so may we say of such, It had been better they had never been Receivers of this holy Sacrament, for alas *they have eaten and drank their own damnation*; they had better have eaten some venomous thing, or drank some deadly poyson, for it would onely have killed the body, but by eating and drinking the Sacrament unworthily, they have damned and destroyed both soul and body for ever.

Lastly, this danger may admonish every one of us to come worthily unto this Sacrament: For as *Manna* was unto every mans tast according to his will, (as Saint *Anstine* will have it) so is the Sacrament to every one according to his worthinesse. As therefore the Chamber was trimm'd wherein our Saviour kept his Pascheover, and ordained his holy *Manna*; so should the Chamber of every Christian soul be cleansed from wickednesse and adorned with Grace, that comes to receive Christ in this Sacrament. The washing of the Disciples feet afore Supper, what doth it else call for, but a cleansing of our hearts before we communicate. We are unwilling that men should see us come to this Table with foule hands, and should we not be more carefull lest God should see us come with foul hearts?

It will not be enough to say to our Saviour with them in the Gospell, *We have eaten and drank in thy company*, we have been at thy Table; we must come thither as we should. For as corporall food doth rather hurt then nourish a body abounding with evill humours. So the soul being fraught with vices, this heavenly food rather killeth then comforts it. As *Adam* in the state of his integrity

ty, might freely take and tast of all the trees in the Garden, (one onely excepted) but after his transgression, he was justly restrayned: So doth the Lord admit us unto his Table, if we come worthily; otherwise we are no welcome guests unto him. Therefore as it was said to *Moses* when he came neare the presence of God, *Pluck off thy shooes, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground*: So let all of us put off the shooes of our corruptions, and then we may approach with comfort to the holy Table of the Lord.

1 Cor. c. 10.
v. 3, 4, 5.

bbb 4

D E U T.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.



DEUT. C. 16. V. 16.

Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before Lord thy God, in the place which he shall chuse : In the Feast of Unleavened bread, and in the Feast of Weeks, and in the Feast of Tabernacles : and they shall not appear before the Lord empty. v. 17. Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God, which he hath given thee.



These words are a commandment for the observation of the great and chiefest Festivall times of the Law. Not onely here mentioned, but elsewhere enjoyned in the bookes of the Law, as I think in three severall places, *Exod. 23. 14.* and againe *34. 23.* and also *Levit. 23.* The words I read consist of two parts. First, the observation it self. 2. A speciall duty required thereat: The observation it self comprehends four things. 1. The Work or Action commanded, which is, *to appear before the Lord.* 2. The persons who; every Male, (*all thy Males.*) 3. The place where. *In a select place, in the place which the Lord shall chuse.* 4. The time when. *Three times in the year. In the Feast of Unleavened bread, In the Feast of Weeks, &c.* The second part of a speciall duty required at this solemne service, is a duty of reall thanksgiving, *viſz.* a holy present, or oblation

to

Dout. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

to be given unto God, and that expressed first in the kind: *They shall not appear before the Lord empty.* Secondly, in the measure, *Every one shall give as he is able, &c.* Of these I am to speak in order, & first of the first, the Action enjoyned, *To appear before the Lord.*

To appear before the Lord, is in an Holy Assembly to performe a Religious service unto him. For in every such Assembly and Service he is present after a speciall and peculiar manner, according to that of our Saviour in the Gospel, *Where two or three are gathered in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.* And as when one man speaks unto another, or hears another speaking unto him, either is said to be in others presence: So he that comes to speak unto God in Confession, Prayer, and Thanksgiving, and hath God likewise speaking unto him either in the publishing of the Law, in the promises of his Gospel, in the receiving of his Sacraments, & ministeriall benediction, is truly said to appear, or come into the presence of the Lord. To appear therefore in Gods presence, is to be assembled in his publick Worship. Where there is, as it were, a mutuall intercourse between him and us; and in this is differing from private Devotion, where the one part onely is acted, and not the other. Every day is a day of private Devotion, yea every hour, if occasion serveth, but a Holydays work is the publick service of God in a Holy Convocation.

Seeing therefore, as often as we come together for the Worship of God in the Holy Assembly of the Church, we appear in the presence of the Majesty of God himself, it may admonish us of the reverence we are to use in such Assemblies. If when we come into
the

1.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

the presence of a Prince, we think an awfull fear, and a more then ordinary reverence doth best beseech us, in whatsoever we speak or doe: much more is this required of us when we approach the presence of the King of Kings, and Lord of Hosts. No gesture we use, no word we speak, no action we do, but should be framed to expresse the awe, and regard we owe unto so great and high a presence. If order be any where required, it is here. If idle and vain words be in a far less presence taken as contemptuous, in this they cannot be less then meerly Blasphemous. If any unseemly or unsutable gesture, if any neglectfull or regardlesse demeanour be elsewhere culpable, here it is abominable; when we are in his presence, who is the God of Order and Beauty, and gives us an expresse command to performe all points of his Service, *καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ*, according to order and comelineesse.

This makes him say to *Moses* when he appeared in the Bush: *Pluck off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is Holy ground.* Whence *Solomon* borrows his speech, *Eccles. 5. Keep thy foot* (or look unto thy feet) *when thou enterest into the House of God.* This being as much as if he had said, Behave thy self in Gods presence reverently. Which in the words following he enlarges, saying, *Be more ready to hear, then to give the sacrifice of Fooles----* *Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God, for God is in Heaven, and thou upon Earth, &c.* And hither belongs that of *Saint Paul*, *1 Cor. 11.* requiring a seemly habit and gesture of men and women in the Holy Assemblies; the

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

the woman to pray covered, in token of her subjection; the man uncovered, as a signe of his head-ship & Superiority over the woman, according to the use of those times and places. And it is specially to be observed which he speaketh in the 10. Verse, *For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head,* (that is the ensigne of power to which she is subject) *because of the Angels.* 1. Because of the presence of God attended with multitudes of Angels. For these are the train of the Almighty, and as it were the Guard attending and ministering unto his presence; wheresoever he keeps his station, they pitch round about him. When *Daniel* saw him in the Vision, *ten thousand thousands* ministred unto him, and *ten thousand times tenne thousand* stood before him. *Revel. 5.* *I beheld, saith Saint John, and I heard the voice of many Angels round about the Throne, and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousand thousands.* So when God appeared to *Jacob* going to *Padan-Aram*, he saw the Angels of God descending and ascending upon a Ladder. Whence it appeares, that wheresoever God keeps his Court, his traine is with him; and perhaps, it were no errour to affirme, that the peculiarity of Gods presence in one place more then another, did consist in no other thing, but in the ministeriall retinue of his Angels. Which if true, where should his Angels encamp, rather then in the Assemblies of his Saints, in midst of whom he hath promised he would be? So will the speech of Saint *Paul* have an evident meaning; That we ought to attire and demean our selves with comeliness, because of the Angels, because
of

Deut.c. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

of the presence of God, in the ministry of his holy Angels.

Who can consider of this so great a presence, with so glorious a retinue, and not be stricken with a religious fear, with an holy reverence, as often as he is to appear before it? Let us then learn to say with *Jacob, Gen. 28.* Surely the Lord is in this place, and be afraid as he was, and say, *מהוורא ה' How dreadful is this place! this is no other but the house of God, and the gate (or Court) of Heaven.*

And now I come to the second thing, the persons who were to appear at these solemn feasts, Every Male, *all thy Males shall appear*. And here we are to enquire, why the Females or women had an exemption from this solemn duty: which (to omit that of a Type of the *Messiah* which some bring) I take to be these three: 1. The weaknesse and infirmity of that sex, not able without much danger and trouble to endure so long a journey. 2. The danger of their chastity in such a concourse of a people, as was an Assembly of the whole Nation in one place. 3. The care of their tender infants & young children, and other house affaires, which would have been wholly abandoned, if they as well as the Males should have been at the same time so far away, and so long absent: neither can it otherwise be imagined how their houses could be looked unto, unless the one were to stay at home in the absence ere the other. Again, it may be questioned whether all Males without respect were to appear, for it is not likely that young children should, or decrepit old men could appear. I answer therefore, that it is to be understood of all Males who were within the age

age and years of service, namely, between twenty and fifty; for at 50 it is apparent that all were *emeriti*, even the Priests and Levites served not after that age, but at what years they came to be capable of service, there is difference; the Priests might not serve in the Priests office afore thirty, *Numb. 4.* Nor the Levites in their office afore twenty five, *Numb. 8.* but the laity were capable of imployment and serviceable at twenty; as appeareth out of the 1 of *Numb.* where God cōmands *Moses* to take the *summe of all the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to Warre*; so implying that from twenty years of age, they were able for that service.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

These things thus explained, and supposed, we may observe, that the indulgence of God admits the case of infirmity, unavoidable inconvenience, and requisite imployment, as allowable reasons of absence from holy Assemblies; for these we have seen to be the reasons of the exemption of women from the annuall and solemn feasts: And no question but if the like cases might happen even for their ordinary and Sabbath Assemblies, God would in like manner dispense; for weaknesse of body we have no reason to doubt, & for the other cases mention'd, the equity being the same with that which here dispensed with women for the solemn Assemblies, it is not to be doubted, but the indulgence of God should be the same, as well for other times as those, and as well for the other sex as for women. And if in the time of that Law God was thus indulgent, when all these things were so severely and strictly exacted; much more in the liberty of the Gospell; Christ himselfe here loo-
sing

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.

sing the strictnesse even of the Sabbaths rest, alledging that the Sabbath was made for man; and not man for the Sabbath; for of the two duties required in the observation of an holy day, the calling of an holy Assembly, and bodily rest from corporall labour, the Law seemed to exact this latter of rest more severely then the other, in regard it was a figure of things to come, which the other was not. If then that which was most strict be released, much more is the other which was lesse, as free now as in former time. I speak not this against a Religious diligence, for that is required of all who have no just impediment, and such a one as God himself shall allow: & therefore let no man deceive himself, for God, (as the Apostle saith) *is not mocked*, but I speak against that more then Judaicall scrupulosity of some, who think it not lawfull upon the Lords day to leave any at home, to keep house, or be imployed in such busineses as conveniency cannot dispense with.

The second I observe here is, that to obey God in what he commandeth, is as it were a protection (or a warrant of security) from those dangers which humane reason would otherwise think unavoidable: or, obedience unto God in what he commandeth, is a greater security then all the cautions and preventions that humane wisdom can procure us. For who would think when all the able and serviceable men of the whole land of *Israel*, should thrice every year be gathered together at *Jerusalem*, but the whole land should be in great danger of invasion from their enemies; whom such an advantage could not but allure, and all their borders thus unfurnished, could not well pre-

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

prevent such a mischief: Neverthelesse, we find not in the whole Scripture that ever any such evill befell them upon this occasion; so good a protection was obedience; but we find an expresse promise to the contrary made by God himselfe, lest you might think this was but a surmised danger; for *Exod. 34. 24.* where this commandement is also mentioned, God saith, *I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders; neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year.* But for all this we know their last wofull destruction by the *Romanes* was at the time of the Paschever, one of these solemn times: and no marvaile; for when God meant to cast them off, from being any more his people, he ordered even this (perhaps) to be a token that they were no longer under his wonted protection.

When God commanded *Abraham* to sacrifice his sonne *Isaac*, though he knew not in reason how God could then make his promise good unto him, to make his Seed by *Isaac* in number as the sand on the sea shore, yet he was obedient to the word of God, and beyond all hope secure of Gods promise; as placing his greatest security in his obedience; as for the rest *יְהוָה יִרְאוּ*, saith he, *Deus providebit, God will provide,* *Gen. 22. 8.* and so he did indeed.

I shall need gather no more examples, let no man therefore be discouraged for fear of danger to do his duty in that calling and vocation wherein God hath set him, if God hath bid thee, hope thou likewise he will protect thee, but if thou neglect his commandment so, to avoid what thou fearest, be sure then that thou

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

thou fearest or a worse will come upon thee; take heed thou goest not out of Gods blessing into the warm Sunne; let *Sauls* example be our warning, who to prevent (as he thought) the scattering of the people from him, and the evill which longer delay might occasion, if he should stay for *Samuel*, presumed to offer Sacrifice himself; but he was called a fool for his labour, and made to know at length that obedience was better then Sacrifice. And so shall every one that makes so ungodly an experience, find his policy in the end plain foolery, and obedience to Gods Commandement better then all the policy in the world.

And thus I come to the third thing considerable, viz: the place where every Male was to appear, *In the place the Lord shall chuse*, namely, in the place where the Ark & Tabernacle of God should be; which at the first was at *Shilo* in the Country of *Samaria* and Tribe of *Ephraim*, afterwards at *Jerusalem* in the Tribe of *Juda*, where *David* first pitched a new Tabernacle for the Ark of the Covenant, after it had been taken by the *Philistines*, and returned home again; and in the same place his son *Solomon* built that glorious Temple which was the beauty of the whole earth. Of these two places spake the *Samaritan* woman in the Gospel to our Saviour, *John 4. Our Fathers* (said she) *worshipped in this Mountain*, and ye say that *Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship*. By *Our Fathers*, she means the old *Ephraimites*, from whom the *Samaritanes* falsely vaunted they were descended, upon which ground she likewise calls *Jacob* *Our father Jacob*, for they were indeed the off-spring

of

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

of those strange Nations which *Salmaneser* transplanted into the Cities of *Samaria*, when he had carried *Ephraim* and the rest of *Israel* captives into *Assyria*; as we read, 2 *Kings* 17. 24. By *this Mountain*, she means Mount *Ephraim* where *Shilo* was, and the Ark and Tabernacle of God in ancient time had been.

For when *Manasses* the brother of *Jaddi* the high Priest was excommunicated and driven from the Priest-hood because he had married the daughter of *Sanballat* the *Haronite*, (as it is in the last of *Nehemiah*) he with his faction to vex his own Nation, procured a Temple to be built in *Gerizim* on Mount *Ephraim*, whereof himselfe was the high Priest; and to draw a company of Transgressors like himselfe from the Temple at *Jerusalem* unto this, it was coloured as if this were the onely place which the Lord had chosen, because the Tabernacle was first pitched at *Shilo* in Mount *Ephraim*, and not at *Sion* on Mount *Moriab*; and this was the bone of everlasting division & capitall hatred between the Jews and Samaritans.

Thus we have seen where this place was first and last which the Lord had chosen. Now let us further consider why it is thus called, *The place which the Lord shall chuse*: First therefore, these words imply that the place for holy Assemblies was a select place, for they were not to assemble in every place as occasion and opportunity served, but to have a choice and select place for that purpose.

Secondly, this place for legall worship was to be one onely place and no more, and therefore here the

ccc

singular

So to
say
from
Church
Pete
at Roma

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.

singular number is used. I say, there was but one onely place for legall worship, meaning, sacrifices, and the service accompanying them; for, otherwise they had many Synagogues for hearing the Law read and expounded. *Ierusalem* it selfe had 400. and in those, the Scribes bore rule, as the Priests did in the Temple. But the reason why there was but one Temple, and place of Sacrifice, and Prayer, was, for a Type of that one onely Mediatour Jesus Christ, in whom alone our sins are expiated, and our prayers and thanksgiving accepted before God: so that in the time of the Law to build an holy Altar or offer sacrifices any where but here, though it were unto the true God, was a typicall idolatry, because it implied a multiplicity of Mediatours, of whose Oneness the one onely place of worship, and the one Altar was a signe; which was the reason why it was so unlawfull to sacrifice in the high places, though it were unto the Lord their God: and yet because it was but a ceremoniall sinne, God did in the confused times of that Church sometimes passe by it, as it were, because of the hardnesse of their hearts, as our Saviour saith in another kind: but he that did dispense with an irregularity in figure because of the state of the times, will never allow idolatry in deed, such as is that of the Church of *Rome*, who fulfill the very substance of that whereof the Jewish sinne was but a type, whose Mediators are so many that they are not easily numbred; and, though they for excuse subordinate them all to Christ as the chief, and derive their Mediatorship from the vertue of his merits, yet is this but like unto that of the erring Church of the Law,

Law, which, notwithstanding Gods commandment to the contrary, had a conceit that they might sacrifice in any high place, so it were unto the Lord their God onely.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.

The third and last thing which these words imply, is, That this select and onely place should be of the Lords owne chusing: *The place he shall chuse.* But how should the Lord chuse it? it seems, by giving some extraordinary signe of his allowance in accepting their sacrifice, or it may be they did consult him in this case by the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*: For, of the first place, in *Shiloh*, we have nothing expressed, but onely read, *Joshua 18. That the whole Congregation of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set up the Tabernacle of the Congregation there.* But, of the second place, in Mount *Sion*, we read, that the Angel of God commanded Gad to say to David, that he should set up an Altar in the threshing floore of Ornan, and that when David offered thereon burnt-offerings and peace-offerings; the Lord answered him from heaven by fire upon the Altar of burnt-offering; and that David hereupon designed that place for the Tabernacle, and future Temple, saying, *This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the Altar of the burnt-offering for Israel, 1 Chron. c. 22. & c. 23.*

Now to make some application of this to the times of the Gospel. The two last circumstances of this place concerne us not; for, that of one place was a Type, and so is gone: the second, of Gods immediate choice, seems to be so also; and to be a Figure of that which the Angel *Gabriel* said to the blessed Virgin, *Haile thou highly favoured, the Lord is with thee;*
blessed

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

bleſſed art thou amongst Women: where God chuſes the womb of *Mary* wherein to erect that pure Altar and Temple whereof the legall were but ſhadows, thus theſe two circumſtances ſeem no waies to bind us. But the firſt, That there ſhould be ſelect places for holy Aſſemblies, and the publique worſhip of God; this is that which was before the Law was given, and yet remains in force now the Law is ended. As long as it is required of the Church to appeare before the Lord in publick Aſſemblies, ſo long is it alſo required to have choſen and ſelect places for that purpoſe. *Adam* and his Sonnes had places whither to bring their ſacrifices; the Patriarchs uſed Altars, Mountaines, and Groves, to the ſelf ſame purpoſe; from the very beginning of Chriſtianity Chriſtians have had their ſelect Oratories. *1 Cor. 11.* Saint *Paul* ſpeaking of the Aſſemblies of the Church and ſome abuſes therein, as eating and drinking, *Have ye not* (ſaith he) *Houſes to eate and drinke in? or deſpiſe ye the Church of God?* Here it appeares, that the place of Holy Aſſemblies was not an ordinary place where men eate and drinke, but a place ſelect and ſet apart for holier purpoſes; which he yet more confirms when he addeth, *If any man hunger let him eate at home*; it followes hence, that the place of Holy Aſſemblies was no mans home, but a place hallowed unto God for the common uſe of the Church, howſoever theſe in the times of perſecution ſo ſecret as not to be diſcovered by the Gentiles. What hath been the practice ſince in all Ages he hath no eyes that ſees not, and if there be any who cannot behold them without a deſire to have them levelled,

led, it were better their eyes were plucked out than so many monuments of our Forefathers piety should be throwne downe and ruined; and God so unseemly and disorderly served, as he should be, if as Beggars doe for lodging, so his Assemblies were every week or month to seek a place of entertainment.

We are therefore as well as the Israelites to appeare before the Lord in a chosen place; but here is the difference, that they were to have but one, we have liberty to have many; there God chose a place for himselfe, but we in the Gospel have liberty to chuse a place for God where we will. Neverthelesse it is to be observed, that the Leaders of the Primitive Church howsoever they acknowledged this liberty, yet they used to select for their Assemblies such places as God had any way dignified or honoured either by some work of mercy, or the glorious sufferings of his Martyrs; whereupon the most antient Monuments of the Christian Churches doe mention the Assemblies of Christians, *In Cemiteriis Martyrum*: for, howsoever God did not immediately select the place of his worship then, as he did in the time of the Law; yet they thought he had made these places of a choicer fitnesse than other, though none of necessary obligation; which I for my part would be loath to condemne as an errour; seeing to follow the order of the Church of *Israel* by way of direction and not obligation, is no abridgement to Christian liberty, so it be onely so farre and in those things onely whereof Christianity is capable, as I think this we speak of was; though I know it was afterward an occasion of damnable Idolatry, use of erecting Temples un-

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.

to Saints and Angels. But what is there which the corrupt nature of man will not make an occasion of sinne? even as an unclean body of the best nourishment will breed evill humours; so out of the most wholsome ordinances our wicked hearts will contrive superstition.

In these words being a commandement for the observation of the three solemne and principall Feasts of the Law, I found Foure things considerable: 1. The worke or action; *To appeare before the Lord.* 2. The Persons who; *All Males.* 3. The place where; *In the place the Lord shall chuse.* 4. The time when; *Thrice in the Yeare: In the Feast of unleavened bread: In the Feast of Weeks: And in the Feast of Tabernacles.* Of the three first, the *Action, the Persons, and Place*, I have spoken already. Now therefore I come to speake of *the Time; The Feast of unleavened bread, &c.*

The Feast of unleaved Bread is that which is otherwise called, the Feast of the Passeover, consisting of seven daies, from the 15. of *March*, untill the 21. On the Even before this solemne Feast, the 14. day of the first month, was killed and eaten the Paschall Lambe: On the seven daies following were offered the Paschall Sacrifices, and no other Bread but unleavened eaten; the first and last daies being daies of holy Assemblies or Convocations. The Feast of Weekes was a Feast kept at the end of seven Weekes, or a Weeke of Weekes, after the second day of the Passeover, or fifty daies after the first thereof, and therefore called, *The Feast of Weekes*; that is, a Feast to be kept a Weeke of Weekes after the Passeover.
And

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.

And Pentecost, because the first day thereof was the 50. day after the first of the Passeeover, as now our *Whitsuntide* is, in *μέγας τετρεκοστής*, the 50th day after Easter. This Feast was likewise of seven daies continuance, all spent in multitude of Sacrifices, but the first and last specially, in keeping of holy Assemblies. The Feast of Tabernacles, *Scenopegia*, was a Feast of eight daies continuance in the seventh month, or *September*, from the 15. day thereof to the 22. all whereof had their proper Sacrifices, and the first seven daies they dwelt in Booths or Tabernacles made of Willow, Palme, Mirtle and Citron boughes, where it hath the name of the *Feast of Tabernacles*: The first and the last, or eighth day, were here also daies of an holy Convocation, wherein no servile worke might be done.

Thus having in brieife described the time, continuance and service of these three solemn Feasts, now let us also see what was the end of their institution: The end of these Feasts was partly for remembrance of things past, and partly for Types and Figures of things to come; which I will shew in them severally.

The Feast of the Passeeover was for a thankfull remembrance of their great deliverance out of *Egypt*, when for hast they were forced to carry their dough unleavened upon their shoulders; and the evening before, the Lord having slain all the first borne of *Egypt*, yet passed by them, because of the blood of the Paschall Lambe which he saw upon the doorposts of their houses. For this cause they were, whensoever that happy time of the yeare should come, to

Deut. 16.
ver. 16:

rejoyce before the Lord their God, and to hallow it after the manner afore mentioned: And thus you have the first end, the memoriall and remembrance of benefits past.

The second end was for a type and figure of things to come, namely, of our deliverance from the bondage of sinne and Satan, by that immaculate Lambe, Christ Jesus; who in the same month and day was foreordained of God to be slain upon the Crosse for the sinnes of the whole world; whose Bloud, upon whatsoever Soule God shall espie applied by a lively faith, he would spare, and not destroy it.

Thus much of the first Feast. The second, the *Feast of Weekes*, or, *Pentecost*, was for a remembrance of the Law at that time given upon *Mount Sinai*, with thundring and lightning, and the sound of a Trumpet from Heaven. And secondly, for a type of the Doctrine of the Gospell; which was published at the selfe-same time, when with a sound from Heaven, cloven tongues of fire fell upon the Apostles, and they all were filled with the Holy Ghost, as we read, *Acts 2.*

Now for the *Feast of Tabernacles*; the first end is plaine, that it was a memoriall, namely, of their long dwelling in Tabernacles in the Wilderness, *Lev. 23. 42.* *Ye shall dwell in bootes seven daies, saith the Lord, all that are Israelites borne shall dwell in bootes, That your generations may know, that I made the Children of Israel to dwell in bootes when I brought them out of the Land of Egypt.*

But of what thing concerning Christ to come, it was a type of, it is not so expresse as in the former: But by that which Saint John saith, *Cap. 1. v. 14.*

Καὶ ὁ λόγος σαρκὶ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν; *The Word was made flesh, and Tabernacled in us;* for *σ* signifies, ἐσκήνωσεν. By this, I say, Saint *John* should seeme to intimate, that as the Passeeover was a type of his Passion, Pentecost a figure of the sending the Holy Ghost, so should the Feast of Tabernacles be for a type of his Incarnation, when the Divine Nature Tabernacled in our flesh, and the Word of God became *Emanuel, God with us*. For it is incredible that this principall Feast should not be for a type of some principall thing concerning Christ, as well as the rest, it being as solemne as any of the former two; nay rather the chiefeest of the three, as having a more extraordinary course of Sacrifices then either of the other, yea, of one daies more continuance, this having eight festivall daies, the other two but seven. And there is nothing but his Incarnation and Nativitie which can be applied thereunto; and it may be therefore was the eighth day added thereunto, as figuring the time of his Circumcision.

Another custome used at this Feast may confirme this; for while they gathered and carried the boughs whereof they made their Tabernacles; there used a kind of Letanie to be sung, in which the people continually cried *Hosanna, Hosanna*, that Save now; which was so usuall, that in time the Feast; and Boughes; and all, came to be called *Hosanna's*: Whence came the cry of the people in the Gospell, when they cut downe boughes to honour our Saviours riding upon an Asse, *Hosanna to the Sonne of David, Hosanna in the Highest*. For though it were at another time of year then the Feast of Tabernacles, yet the carrying of boughes

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

boughes put them in minde of the accustomed acclamation at that Feast. All which seemes of purpose so to be ordered by the providence of the Almighty, to shew, First, what this ceremony of Tabernacles aimed at, namely, the myserie of our redemption by God, in the Tabernacle of our flesh; or the Incarnation of Christ, which is that which made him Jesus, a Saviour, and us to cry unto him by faith, *Hosanna, save now.* And Secondly, that it might be knowne who this Tabernacle was, the people by a secret providence cried unto our Saviour, even at another time, *Hosanna to the Sonne of David*; ascribing, in their so speaking, the whole ceremony of Boughes and Tabernacles unto him.

But it will be objected, that the birth of Christ was in *December*, but the Feast of Tabernacles was kept the 15. day of the seventh month, which answered in a manner to our *September*; and therefore had the Feast of Tabernacles been a sign of his Incarnation, the time should as well have agreed here as it did in the Passcover and his Passion, the giving of the Law and the sending of the Holy Ghost: But betweene the Feast of Tabernacles, and the birth of our Saviour, is three months difference.

For this Objection, give me leave to relate, not mine owne, nor as my owne, but the opinion of the most learned Chronologers; the summe and conclusion whereof is, That the birth of our Saviour was in *September*, at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, and not in *December*, as the memory thereof is now celebrated. For first, it is apparent, that in the primitive Church there was, neither cer-
tain ty

tainty, nor agreement about the time of the Nativitie, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* witnesseth, and himselve saith, That those who enquire more exactly of the time, doe assigne the 25. of the month *Pachon*, which is our 20. of *May*.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

Others assigned other and divers times, as *Epiphanus* witnesseth, 400. yeares almost after Christ: so long therefore there was no certainty agreed upon, And it was after the time of *Constantine*, that the day we now observe was chosen, and first in the Latine Church; but not in the Greeke till the daies of *Chrysostome*, who made an Oration, yet extant, upon the first observing of this day, which he saies they now received from the Romane Church.

If any would know how, after so much uncertainty of opinions, they came at last to resolve upon this day, they will tell you, that it was upon a false supposall, and a mistaken ground; for finding in the Law, that the High Priest was once every yeare to enter the most Holy place, and there to offer incense, (at the Feast of Expiation) and reading in Saint *Lukes* Gospell, that the Angell *Gabriel* appeared to *Zachary* as he went to offer incense in the Temple, they supposed that he was the High Priest, and reasoned thus: The time of the High Priests offering incense in the most Holy, was about the middle of *September*, namely, the 10. day of the seventh month: Now as soone as *Zachary* had fulfilled the weeke of his Ministration, *John* Baptist was conceived, which must therefore be about the end of *September*. Now when the Angell saluted *Mary*, he told her, That her Cousin *Elizabeth* had beene with Child six months: If *John* Baptist

Deut. 16.
ver. 16.

Baptist then were conceived about the end of *September*, our Saviour must be conceived six months after, which falls about the end of *March*; which, if true, his birth will fall at the end of *December*, nine months after his conception: This was the ground whereupon the Feast of Christs Nativitie was fixed upon the 25. of *September*.

To which they answer, First, who thinke otherwise, That neither the Angell appeared to *Zachary* in the most Holy place, for the Altar of incense was without the Vaile, at which the Text saith the Angell appeared; neither could *Zachary* be the High Priest, for the Text saies, he was of the course of *Abra*, and that it came to his lot to offer incense: but the High Priest was of no course, neither did the incensing of the most Holy fall to him by lot, but it was his onely and proper office: the ground therefore was altogether mistaken.

Secondly, at the birth of Christ every man, woman and child was to goe to be taxed at the City whereto they belonged, whither some had long journeys: But the middle of Winter was not fitting for such a businesse, especially for women with child, and children to travell in; therefore Christ could not be borne in the depth of Winter.

Againe, at the time of Christs birth, the Shepherds lay abroad watching with their flockes in the night time: but this was not likely to be in the middle of Winter. And if any shall thinke the Winter wind was not so extreme in those parts, let him remember the words of Christ in the Gospell, *Pray that your flight be not in the Winter*. If the *Winter* was

so

bad a time to flee in, it seemes no fit time for Shepherds to lye in the Fields in, and Women and Children to travaile in.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

They conclude therefore, that the birth of Christ was in *September*.

First, because otherwise this third Feast of Tabernacles should have nothing answering, as the other had; which they thinke the more unlikely, because there was no month in the year had more legall Feasts then this; as the Feast of Trumpets, the first day; the Feast of Expiation, on the 10. and that of Tabernacles, on the 15. unto the 22.

Secondly, *Joseph Scaliger* proveth it by the 24. courses of the Priests; and shewes, that *Abia's* course, or weeke, wherein *Zachary* served, began the 21. of *July*, and ended the 28. that year: Our Saviours conception therefore being six monthes after, must fall at the end of *December*, and so his birth nine monthes after, about the end of *September*; the 24. day whereof, that year, began the Feast of Tabernacles, and so his birth falls in the Feast time.

Lastly, the Primitive Church of *Alexandria*, where were the best Calculators of times, kept the Feast of *John Baptist's* Nativity the 28. of the month *Pharaunch*, which is the 23. of our *April*, as *Cyril* witnesseth in an Homily upon that occasion: Now if *John Baptist* were borne the 23. of *April*, the birth of Christ, which was six monthes after, must fall in the latter end of *September*, as aforesaid. All which, if true, the day we observe is not the day of his birth, but onely the day wherein we solemnly remember it; and though the time it selfe, if knowne, were the most fit
for

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

for such a solemnity, yet no time can be unlawfully chosen for such a day. And thus I have shewed you the time, the manner, and the signification of these Three Feasts. Now let us see what profitable observations this discourse thereof will afford us.

First therefore, by these Feasts it appeares, that the hallowing unto God of more daies in the Week than one, is not against the meaning of the 4th Commandement. Some there are, who will have the words [*Six Daies shalt thou labour*] to be as much a Commandement as *Keep holy the Seventh*: and hence argue, that it is no more lawfull for humane Authority to forbid working any of the Six daies, then to forbid the holy observation of the Seventh: and then all our Holy-daies besides Sunday are unlawfull. But by these three solemne Feasts which were each of them of a Weekes durance at the least; it is manifest, that *Six daies shalt thou labour* are no Commandement, but expresse onely an ordinary permission of working; for, it could not be, but some daies of these holy Feasts must be of the Six; and to think that God would gain-say his owne Commandement by a contrary Ordinance, is unimaginable. As therefore when he commanded that *Men should give him the tenth of their increase*, he forbade not free-will-offerings, nor that men might not give half their goods to sacred uses; so when he commanded one day of seven to be universally and necessarily kept holy, this hindreth not but the Church may hallow other daies to God even of the Six.

But they will say, God indeed appointed some other dayes to be observed besides one of Seven; but

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

but the Church had no leave so to doe. I answer, The contrary appeares by the Feast of *Purim*, which *Mordecai* caused to be ordained; and is no where reprov'd therefore: nor the Jewes, who observed it as long as their Church stood. The contrary also appeares by the Feast of Dedication, which *Judas Maccabeus* when he had cleansed the Temple from the prophanation of *Antiochus*, ordained yearly to be kept in *November*; which was so farre from reproof, that our Saviour himself while he was upon earth honoured with his presence: as we read; *John* 10. 22. *And it was at Jerusalem the Feast of Dedication, and it was Winter*; where the word [*Winter*] is of purpose put to specifie this Feast of *Judas Maccabeus*, in the Month of *Novemb.* (die 14.)

Secondly, we may observe from these Feasts, That the fittest time to hallow unto God, is that, which he hath, as it were, honoured and made remarkable by some speciall worke and mercy of his; for, you heard that *the Feast of Unleavened bread*, and *the Feast of Weeks*, were ordained to be kept at those daies and times of the yeare wherein those workes of God remembred in them were performed: so God himself appointed of all the dayes of the Week *the Seventh to be kept holy*, because he finished then the great work of the Creation of the World: So in the Gospel, of all the daies in the Week *the First was chosen*, because on it Christ rose from the dead. In like manner when the Church would hallow unto God more daies then one of seven, it being the times of his Passion, Ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost; as also the daies of their Births or Deaths whom

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

whom God had made as Pillars to support his Church, and in whose sufferings, it was confirmed, and himself glorified.

The third and last observation is this, The practice and fact of man is no sound argument to prove what is and what is not *jure Divino*: For, we see in this and three other places how expressly this *Feast of Tabernacles* was commanded yearly to be observed. Nevertheless, which is past all beliefe, it was never kept, at least in this main circumstance of dwelling in booths, from the time of *Joshua* until after their return from Captivity in the daies of *Nehemiah*, which was the space of 1000. yeares at the least, and the most flourishing time of their Church and Common-wealth; Who would have thought but some *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, or good *Jehoiada*, would in so long a time as a 1000. yeares, have reformed so great a neglect of Gods commandement? But hear what the Holy Ghost saies, *Nehem. 8. v. 17. Since the daies of Joshua the Sonne of Nun unto that day had not the Children of Israel done so.* A horrible thing to heare; but whatsoever was written in former time, is written for our learning. And who knowes whether there be not in this sinfull omission of this *Feast* alone above the rest some speciall mystery; namely, that the Jew should not acknowledge *Christ*, whom this signified to be *Emanuel*? For, that *Jesus of Nazareth* suffered upon the Crosse they acknowledge, whereof the Passover was a signe; and therefore they blasphemously call him, *Talmi, the hanged God.* They will not deny also, that this doctrine was published at the *Feast of Pentecost*; though they

they believe that the mystery and fruit of either the one or the other: But, that he is God in our flesh, they could never endure to heare: we know this was the cause why their Synod condemned him, because he said, *He was the Sonne of God*. Above a 1000. yeares they omitted the observation of *the Feast of Tabernacles*, and now it is 1600. wherein they have not believed that *the Divine nature tabernacled in our flesh*: When they returned from Captivity, they began to observe this so long-neglected Ceremony. And when they shall return again from their now-long and wofull Captivity, we hope they will then with us acknowledge *this great mystery*.

Deut. c. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

Verf. 16. *And they shall not appeare before the Lord empty, &c.*

Having hitherto spoken of the observation of these Feasts: now I am, according to my first Division, to come unto a second part of my Text, wherein is contained a speciall duty required of all when they came to worship God at these Feasts; namely, *to bring a present with them*; not a sacrifice of fire, for these were of another nature, and for another end; but a heave-offering, which kind, was a tribute of thankfulness unto God; and withall, of acknowledgment of his Supreme Lordship and Dominion over all: For, without a sacrifice or a fiery-offering, the Feast could not at all have been kept, but without a heave-offering or religious present it might, though nothing dutifully: And therefore is this specially added, *That no Man should appeare before the Lord*
d d d empty;

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

empty; For the Lord our God is a soveraigne King, and will be acknowledged so of all who come before him: He is not onely Lord over our persons onely, and therefore requires the service both of our soules and bodies; but he is Lord of our goods too, and so is to have a tribute of them offer'd unto him in token thereof.

But for the better handling of this point without confusion, we will consider: First, What was the Jewish practice in this duty. Secondly, What ought to be our imitation: For the former, the Jewish practice was as farre as I can gather, besides some speciall presents at Easter and Pentecost to performe all their heave-offerings, First-fruits, Firstlings of Cattle, Tythes of all things, and their free will at some one of these three Feasts according as the season of the yeare served for the things they were to offer: For the better understanding of which, we must premise something of the manner of the Husbandry of *Palestine*, *Egypt*, and these neighbour Southerne Countries, because it was much different from ours.

Plinie affirms, that in *Egypt* (and therefore in *Palestine*) Barley was ripe in the sixt month after it was sowne, and Wheat in the seventh. The same Author affirms, that their seed-time for both began in the Month of *November*; whence it followes, that Barley was ripe almost a month before the Wheat, the seed-time being the same, and the Wheat not ripening a month so soone as Barley; Barley then ripening in the sixt month, the Harvest thereof fell about the beginning of *April*; Wheat-harvest nigh

a

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

a month after their whole Harvest, by this meanes beginning at *Easter*, and ending at *Whitsuntide*; which is the reason why *Pentecost*, *Exod. 27.* is called, חג הקציר *The Harvest Feast*, or, *The Feast upon the end of Harvest*. This shewes a reason also, why upon the Plague of Haile, we reade, *Exod. 9.* That the Flax and Barley was smitten, because the Barley was eared, and the Flax balled; but the Wheat and Rye were not, for they were not growne up: The eare yet appeared not, for this was about the beginning of the month of *March*, as we may suppose a fortnight or three weekes before their coming out of *Egypt*, which was the fourteenth day of the first month. This was a reason also why we reade, *2 Sam. c. 21.* That seven of *Sauls* Sonnes were hanged for the *Gibeonites* in the first daies of Harvest, in the beginning of Barley Harvest: All which suppose Barley to begin, and Wheat to end their Harvest. Which with us is contrary, because Barley is sowne so long after Wheat, *viz.* when Winter is past, because it is a tender graine, and will not endure the sharpe and piercing cold of these Northerne climates.

As for their Vintage or Harvest of Oyle and Wine, it was in the seventh month, or beginning of Autumne, as in other Countreyes.

For their Cattle, they had two breeding times, the beginning of the *Spring*, and the beginning of *September*, but the Spring breed was the strongest. Or are called *Becorim*, that is, not the first opening the wombe onely, as most take it, but the firstlings of the yeare; for the latter breed was much the

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

worse and weaker : Which *Jacob* knew, *Gen. 30.* when he laid his Rods before the Cattle when they were strong, in the Spring time, but he put them not in when they were feeble, in the Autumne, so saith the Text, *The feebler were Labans, and the stronger were Jacobs.*

This thus explained, let us now see what the practice of the Jewes was at these solemne times, that they might not appeare in the Lords presence empty handed. At the *Feast of unleavened bread*, or, *Easter*, upon the second day thereof, being the beginning of Harvest, they were to bring a sheafe of the first fruits of their Harvest unto the Priest, and he was to wave before the Lord, and untill this were done, they might eat no Corne, whether parched or otherwise in the greene care, as appeareth, *Levit. 23.* And hence this second day of the Feast was called,

This was that day whereon (*Luk. 6.*) Christs Disciples plucked eares of Corne, and ate them, for Saint *Luke* saies it was in *Σαββάτω δευτέρῳ*, which is the second day of the first Sabbath, or the day after the first Sabbath, for I told you, that the first and last daies of this Feast were daies of holy Assemblies, wherein no servile worke might be done, and a re therefore in *Leviticus* called *Sabbaths*, the day after the first of which Sabbath, Saint *Luke* calls, *Σαββάτου δευτέρου* : Whereby it may seeme, that the Pharisees reproved the Disciples, not so much for breaking any Sabbaths rest, as for eating the eares afore it was lawfull, for if it were lawfull upon a Sabbath-day to reach meate from a Table, why should it not be as lawfull to plucke

plucke eares of Corne to eate them without breach of the Sabbath: but I leave this.

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

Secondly, at this Feast also I suppose they paid their Firstlings, and tythes of Cattle; for God was to have of the best, which was, as I told you, the breed of the Spring at this time ready. And this is the reason, that where this Feast is commanded, there followes presently some precepts of the Firstlings of Cattle, because namely it concerned the same time.

Now at the *Feast of Pentecost*, when Harvest was ended, they are comanded to bring two wave loaves of their new Corne for a second first-fruits of their Harvest: At which time also they paid tythes of Corne, so much as was threshed; and a tribute also of a freewill offering of their Herd, as it is called in the 10. of this Chapter. And this Feast ending their Harvest, is a reason why at the mentioning thereof you shall find precepts of not gathering their Landscleane, but that they should leave something for the poore to glean: which also was a secondary offering unto God himselfe.

Lastly, of the *Feast of Tabernacles*: they offered first fruits & tythes of Wine & Oyle, which was the offering of that season; and besides the remainders of their tythes of the floore or of threshed corn: which is the reason why this Feast is called, *Exod. 34. The Feast of gathering in at the yeares end*: and in this Chapter afore my Text, *The Feast of gathering in of the Floore and the Winepresse*; for, at this time all their Corne was threshed, and the Vintage done, and other Fruits were gathered, and so an offering

d d d 3 of

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

of them given unto God seasonably : therefore in the commandment of this Feast you shall find a precept of *not gathering their Grapes and Fruits cleane* in behalfe of the Poore also.

Thus you see, the Offerings of Cattell was at Easter, of Bread and Bread-corne in part at Pentecost, of Wine and Oyle and the remainder of Corne at the Feast of Tabernacles ; whereupon we read, *2 Chron.c. 31. that the People which paid their Tythes there at Hezekiah's command, began to lay the foundation of the heaps in the third Month, that is, at Pentecost; and finished them in the seventh Month; namely, at the Feast of Tabernacles.*

Now having shewed what was the Jewes practice, let us also see our duty in imitation of them, which I will onely at this time shew briefly and generally onely. Certainly, we are bound also not to appeare before the Lord with emprie hand. It is not enough to give at other times, but it is a piece of the worship required at that time. For, we must know that the actions of Men in holy Assemblies are not like their private actions at other times ; for, all the actions here are not the actions of severall men, but to be accounted as one action of the whole body : which makes Saint *Paul* use the phrase, when ye come together, *eis rō auto*, to be, as it were, one and the same : every prayer here is not many prayers ; if many, but one prayer of all as one : whether we say *I* in the singular, or *We* in the plurall, all is one ; for (*I*) here expressees one made of many, and (*We*) many made into one. Whatsoever worship God requires therefore of any one alone, the same he requires

quires also of all met together as one; for, he is God as well of the body of the Church as a body, as of any one in the Church as a Christian, and therefore requires some of them in both kinds, that is, Confession, Prayer, Thanksgiving, and an Offering of the hand too of the body of the Church assembled, as well as of any one at any other time.

Saint *Paul* ordained so in the Churches on the Lords Day, the day of holy Assembly, the day when many came together as one. Every first day of the Week, let every one lay by him in store as God hath prospered.

The Primitive practised the same in all their Assemblies, alledging these words of my Text for the same, as we may see in *Iust: Martyr, Iren: & others*. Nay, they used to offer at the Lords Table some handfull of those offerings and tythes which they would entitle the Lord; whence the antient Liturgies run, *μνησθήτι κύριε τῶν καρποφορούντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου*, *Remember o Lord those who offer of their fruits and encrease in thy holy Churches.*

We have also in our Liturgy a Service for the offertory, and many places of Scripture at the same read to move our devotion every Sunday, and a Prayer to God at the end thereof, *that he would accept our Almes and Prayers*, when we seldome bring him any.

Our blessed Saviour, though he had nothing in this world, but the contribution of good People in a Bagge; yet that he might in this also fulfill the law of God, he used at these solemn times to give unto the Poore; which we may gather from the story

Deut. 16.
ver. 16, 17.

Deut. 16.
v. 16, 17.

story of his last Supper, for the Text saith, *when he bade Judas doe quickly what he had to doe, his Disciples thought he had bid him give something unto the Poore because he carried the Bagge: which they would not have thought unlesse he had wont to doe so at such times.*

F I N I S.

THE NAME
ALTAR,
OR

ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ,

anciently given to the
HOLY TABLE.

A Common-place, or Theologicall
Discourse, in a Colledge Chappell,
more then two years since.

BY
JOSEPH MEDE B. D. and Fellow
of *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*.



L O N D O N,
Printed by M. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. *Peters* Church in Cornhill.
MDCXLVIII.

ALTA

NEWSPAPER

HOLY TABERNACLE

CHURCH

OF THE

SAINTS

OF THE

CHURCH



GENTLE READER,



Long Preface would not become a Treatise of so small a bulk. Onely therefore, in a word or two, thou art desired to take notice, that this Discourse was a private Exercise delivered in a Colledge Chappel, above two full years since, and so before the present controversie about that subject, whereof it treats, was commenced by any publick writing: and therefore not to be suspected to aym at, or to have relation to any mans opinion or person since interessed therein.

That it was never intended for the publick view, but, as thou mayst easily perceive by the form it still carries unaltered, fitted properly to that private Auditory and time, wherein it was uttered. But when, by occasion of the late polemicks, it was copied out, to communicate to some friends, for their better resolution in the controverted point: it chanced to fall into

the hands of some, who so well liked it, as that they thought, the time of its composure especially considered, (which by way of caution was then prefixed in the front) it would, being made publick, conduce to peace, and settling of mens mindes, and judgements in this question.

Matth. 5.

The hope of so desireable a good prevailed with the Author (otherwise the most unwilling of any man to come abroad) to permit it to the Presse. For whom would it not grieve to see, that the very NAME of That, the approach whereunto, was wont, and still should, dissolve all differences, should now become the occasion of so much quarrell?

Thus much I thought good to admonish thee: and so hoping thou wilt make a favourable and candid construction of what is presented unto thee, with no ill meaning (I dare assure thee) I bid thee Farewell.



Of the Name *ALTAR*,

OR

ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ,

anciently given to the
HOLY TABLE.



A Chappell Common-place. An. 1635.

SECTION I.



HAVING made so long a Tractation about the Eucharist or Christian sacrifice, I hold it not unfit, before I passe to another Theme, to speak somewhat of the seat or raised fabrick whereon this holy mystery hath been celebrated as an appendix to my former discourses thereof: And the rather, because some questions and scruples are moved thereabout. And though others commonly pronounce of these things according to vulgar opinion and hear-say, without further search and enquiry; yet it becomes not us, who live in the Schools of the Prophets to do so, but to give our verdict, when we
do

Sect. I. do give it, out of judgement and due examination.

To come then to the matter; The seat or raised
fabrick, appointed for the setting and celebration of
this holy myserie, was The HOLY TABLE or
ALTAR: for by both these names hath that sacred
Fiere (as I may call it) of the body and blood of
Christ been ever promiscuously and indifferently cal-
led in the Church. Of the name TABLE there is
no question; it is granted by all: But concerning the
name ΘΤΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ or ALTAR, many
will not beleve it. Let us therefore see, what may
be alledged for the antiquity of the use of it, as well
as of that of TABLE. And take notice, that I speak
not here, either of the matter or form (wherewith
men are wont to entangle this question) but of the
name and notion onely, whatsoever the form or mat-
ter were.

Tertullian
An. 200.

See also
c. 10.

I will begin with *Tertullian*, the most ancient of
the Latine Fathers now extant; who flourished about
100. years after the death of S. John the Evangelist,
and 200. after the birth of Christ. He in his book
De oratione, in fine, reprehending their scrupulosity,
who thought it not so lawfull to partake the Eucha-
rist upon their *station* or weekly fast-dayes, lest their
fast thereby should be dissolved, expresses himself
after this manner.

« *Similiter de stationum diebus, (saith he) non pu-*
« *tant pleriq; sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum,*
« *quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo*
« *devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resolvit, an*
« *magis Deo obligat? Nonne solennior erit statio tua,*
« *si & ad ARAM Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Do-*
« *mini*

« *mini & reservato, unumque saluum est, & partici-*
 « *patis sacrificii, & excusio officii.*

Sect. 1.

2

Again, in his *De exhortatione castitatis*, c. 10. endeavouring to prove (though erroneously) that a soul conscious of the act of the marriage bed, could not be fit for the duties of prayer and devotion, he speaks thus; « *Si spiritus reus apud se sit, & conscientia erubescit, quomodo audebit orationem dicere ad Altare?*

These two places shew, that in *Tertullian's* time, as the name *sacrifice* was used for the Eucharist; so was that of ALTAR for the HOLY TABLE: Besides that, the prayers of the Church used there to be offered up unto God.

Within 50. years after *Tertullian* lived *S. Cyprian*, Bp of the same Church, where *Tertullian* was Presbyter: To whom this language was so familiar, that I have observed it ten times at least in his Epistles onely: but whether he ever useth the name TABLE, I know not. I will recite onely 5. or 6. of the most pregnant and evident places, and not easie to be eluded.

Cyprian.
An. 250.

And first, that in his XLII. Epist. or 2. *Ad Cornelium*; where, to shew, that he favoured his party against *Novatianus*, at the beginning, though he was not fully informed thereof the lawfulness of his election; he relates, That, having read his letters in the Church assembly, he refused to publish those Libellous criminations against him, which *Novatianus* had sent by his messengers to be there read. « *Honoris* (saith he) *communis memores, & gravitatis sacer-*
 « *dotatis ac sanctitatis respectum tenentes, ea quæ ex*
 « *diverso in librum ad nos transmissum congesta fue-*

I

Bbb

rant,

Sect. I.

“*rant, acerbationibus oriminosiss, respuimus; conside-*
 “*rantes pariter & ponderantes, quòd in tanto fratrum,*
 “*religiosoque conventu, confidentibus Dei sacerdotibus,*
 “*& ALTARI POSITO, nec legi debeant, nec au-*
 “*diri?* Tis a description or periphrasis of an Eccle-
 “*siasticall assembly, or, as he calls it, religiosus con-*
 “*ventus.*”

2

Likewise in his LV. Epist. where declaiming a-
 gainst some lapsed Christians, who in time of persecu-
 tion having sacrificed unto Idols, were yet so proud
 and insolent, as to endeavour by threats and violence
 to be received again into the Church, without under-
 going publique penance, and the satisfaction accu-
 stomed; he speaks on this manner: If such insolency
 as this be tolerated, and those who sacrifice unto
 Idols, once come to be received again into the
 Church, without due satisfaction; “*Quid superest,*
 “*quàm ut Ecclesia Capitolio cedat, & recedentibus sa-*
 “*cerdotibus, ac Domini nostri ALTARE removeni-*
 “*bus, in Cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque CON-*
 “*SESSUM* * (i. e. in Presbyterium, seu τὸ ἄγιον Βήμα)
 “*simulachra atque Idola cum ARIS suis transeant?*”

* *Confessus*
 here notes
 the place
 as in Gr.
 Συμβόριον.

3

Again, in his LXIV. Ep. against one Fortunatianus
 a Bishop, who having lapsed in the time of perfec-
 tion, would neverthelesse return to the office of a
 Bishop, he hath these words: “*Cum debeat satisfac-*
 “*ere & ad Dominum exorandum diebus ac noctibus,*
 “*lachrymis & orationibus & precibus incumbere; au-*
 “*det sibi adhuc sacerdotium, quod prodidit, vindicare,*
 “*quasi post ARAS Diaboli accedere ad ALTARE*
 “*Dei fas sit.* And in the same Ep. *Ne tales ad AL-*
 “*TARIS impiamenta & contagia fratrum denuo re-*
 “*deant,*”

“*deant, omnibus viribus excubandum est.* In these two last places note, 1. The name **ALTAR** used for the **HOLY TABLE**. 2. That those Fathers, when they would distinguish between the **ALTAR** of the true God, and the **ALTARS** of Idols, do usually call the one **ARA**, and the other **ALTARE**; of which more hereafter.

A fourth testimony is to be found in his LXX. Epistle *ad Ianuar. & ceteros*, where to prove that Heretikes cannot give true Baptism, he reasons thus; “*Porro autem* (saith he) *Eucharistia, & unde Baptizati unguuntur, oleum, in ALTARI sanctificatur.* “*Sanctificare autem non potuit olei creaturam, qui nec ALTARE habuit nec Ecclesiam. Unde nec unctio spiritualis apud Hereticos potest esse, quando constet, oleum sanctificari, & Eucharistiam fieri apud illos omnino non posse.*

A fifth testimony of this use of speech we may have in his LXIII. Epist. *Ad Caelium*, where he saith, “*Sed & per Salomonem Spiritus sanctus typum Domini sacrificii ante pramonstrat, immolata hostia, & panis & vini; sed & ALTARIS, & Apostolorum faciens mentionem, Sapientia, inquit, edificavit sibi domum, & subdidit columnas septem, mactavit suas hostias, miscuit in cratera vinum suum, & paravit mensam suam, & misit servos suos, convocans cum excelsa predicatione ad crateram, dicens, &c.*

A like passage whereto is to be found also in his *Testimoniorum adversus Iudeos, Lib. 2. c. 2.* “*Quod sapientia Dei Christus, & de Sacramento incarnationis ejus, & passionis & calicis, & ALTARIS, & Apostolorum qui missi predicaverunt [Testimonium*
 Bbb 2 “*extat]*

Sect. I.

In Demon.
adv. Iuda-
os & Gent.
"Οτι ὁ Χρῆστος.
Edit. Sev.
Tom. 6 p.
635.

"*leta & extincta sunt.* Lo here ALTARIA in toto
"terrarum orbe constituta, for the offering of the
"Christian sacrifice.

Where I thought not good to omit, that what
Eusebius speaks here of the world in generall, S: Chry-
sostome affirms in particular of our British Ilands;

"Καὶ ὃ (saith he) αἱ Βρετανικαὶ νῆσοι, αἱ τῆ θαλάσσης ἐκτός καί-
"μηναι ταύτης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντι τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, τῆ δυνάμεως τῆ ῥήματος
"ἡδοντο καὶ ὃ καὶ αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι καὶ ΘΕΤΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΑ πη-
"γασιν. The British Ilands, which lie out of this sea, and
"are in the Ocean it self, have felt the power of the
"Word: for even there also Churches and ALTARS
"are erected.

SECT.



SECTION II.

BUT will some say, 'Tis true indeed, that from 200. years after Christ, and forward, the name of ALTAR was much frequented, but before that time it cannot be shewed to have been used by the testimony of any Authentique writer; and therefore nothing so ancient as that of TABLE. So some of ours affirm indeed; but they will be tryed by no other Authors, and records of those times, then such onely as themselves hold for genuine, as *Iustin Martyr*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Irenaus*, or it may be another small Tractator or two (with whom this name is not found.) Of whom the works of the two principall, *Iustin* and *Iren.* the most likely to have enformed us, are neer the one half perished.

But before I make further answer to this exception; I would know, to what end it is made, and what advantage the Authors thereof do hope to gain by it. For the reason, I think why the name ALTAR is so much scrupled at, is, because it is thought to imply *sacrifice*. But *Iustin Martyr* and *Irenaus* are well enough known, to call the Eucharist both an *oblation* and *sacrifice*: yea the latter to dwell upon that theme. What gain is there then, that the name ALTAR is not to be found in those works of theirs, which remain, if that of *oblation* and *sacrifice* (for which the
name

Sect. 2. name of ALTAR is disliked) be? Besides, what likelihood, that those who conceived of the Eucharist under the notion of a Sacrifice, should not call the place thereof, as well as their Successors did, ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ?

Secondly, I would know of the Authors and users of this exception, whether in those Writers and Fathers before the 200. year after Christ, which they acknowledged for genuine, the name of TABLE be to be found, or not, given to that, whereon the holy Eucharist was celebrated. If it be not, then this exception of 200. years after Christ, (which yet is but 100. after the Apostles) makes no more against the one, then the other, if neither be to be found in the works extant of the Fathers, which then lived. For by this it will appear, they had no occasion to mention this sacred BOARD either by one name or other in those works of theirs which are left unto us. Now for my part, though I have with diligence sought to inform my self herein, yet hitherto it hath never been my hap to finde the Name of TABLE in any of them more then of ALTAR. I have enquired of others, and yet they have not shewed it me. And therefore till I see it, I will beleieve it cannot be shewn.

But perhaps you will say, What matters it, whether the Fathers, we speak of, have it, or not, if the Scripture hath? For doth not Saint Paul say, *“ You cannot be partakers of the Table of the Lord, and of the Table of Devils? ”* Tis true. There is this onely place to be alledged to that purpose: I know no other. And yet this too, if the judgement of some of our

our own Expositors be taken, is not sufficient to prove it neither. For *Table* here might signifie, not the instrument or seat, but the *Epulum*, or meat it self, it being the use of all Languages (I am sure of those learned ones) to expresse diet by *Table*; yea whether it be set thereon, or not. And the matter of the Apostles discourse seems to require this sense: For he speaks of *Idolothya*, or *meats sacrificed to Idols*. And not to be out-vyed with Antiquity, I could likewise (as some do) parallel this place for *T A B L E*, with another, of a much like nature, for the name *A L T A R*; namely, that *Heb. 13.* where the Apostle saith, *We* (i.e. we Christians) *have an A L T A R, whereof they have no right to eat which serve at the Tabernacle.* I know what you would be ready to except; namely, That by the *A L T A R* here named, is meant Christ, which I for my own part should willingly admit, so it be understood with this caution; Christ as he is to be eaten in the Eucharist. For the Apostle speaks here of an *A L T A R* to be eaten of; which is not the materiall instrument, or seat, but the sacrifice used thereon. Thus if these two places, capable of, if not requiring the like interpretation, be set the one against the other, we have not all this while found one jot more for the Antiquity of the name *T A B L E* then of *A L T A R*.

But now to answer more directly to the Question, Whether the name of *A L T A R* were used in the Church before 200. years after Christ or not? I answer, It was. For proof whereof, why may I not alledge the *Canons* called the Apostles? Which though the Apostles compiled not, yet are more ancient sure

*Canones
Apost.*

C c c

(at

Sect. 2.

(at least many of them) then 300. years after Christ, being not improbably to be thought to have been the *Codex Canonum*, whereby the Church in those first ages (especially of the Orient) was ordered and governed. And in Questions of use and custome (such as this is) not genuinenesse of Titles onely, but whatsoever Antiquity, though masked under a wrong and untrue name, may be admitted, I think, to give evidence according to the age thereof. Besides, if it be credible, that the Apostles, or those to whom they committed the Churches, Apostolicall men, might leave unto the Church some rules of Order and Discipline, besides those mentioned in Scripture, (and whence otherwise should those Catholique and generally received traditions of the Church be derived?) why may not some of these, which bear that name, be of that number? And if any be, then none more likely then those which are first in order: namely, because collections of this nature are wont in proceesse of time like snow-balls to receive increase by new additions ever and anon put unto them, and yet notwithstanding continue still the name and Title of their first Authors; though sometimes not the one half of the contents will be owned by them. Upon which supposition we have, for the resolving of the present question, as much advantage as can be; considering, that the Canon we are to alledge, is the second, or at the most (according as some others divide them) but the third in order from the beginning; and so: (howsoever the collection hath in time been increased) one of the first and most ancient of them. Let us therefore hear how it speaks.

"CANON"

CANON ARISTOTELIS. Si quis Episcopus aut
 Presbyter quidem Domini de sacrosancta ordinationem
 [i. n. præter panem & vinum] alia quædam [i. n. o. v.
 STASHTHPION] ad ALTARE attuleris, sive mel,
 sive lac, sive vinum, lacte, liceram, stodies, confectam,
 vel avens, vel animalia quorundam (præter ordinationem)
 deponatur. Præter hoc, si forte, aut huiusmodi tempore op-
 portuno, non licitum est aliud quid ad ALTARE
 (quàm oleum ad luminare, & incensum) tempore sanctæ
 Oblationis offerre. *et non sibi in honore sibi*
 Here the name STASHTHPION or AL-
 TARE is twice used for the HOLY TABLE. The
 latter part of the Canon the Greek hath thus: *οὐκ*
ἐπιτρέψεται τῷ κληρῷ τῷ δέοντι, καὶ ἕν τινος ἀπορίας
ἢ ἀπορίας τῷ κληρῷ, ἢ ἀπορίας τῷ κληρῷ, ἢ ἀπορίας
τῷ κληρῷ, ἢ ἀπορίας τῷ κληρῷ, ἢ ἀπορίας τῷ κληρῷ. Where consider, whe-
 ther it might not be read, *ἢ ἀπορίας τῷ κληρῷ*, that is,
 sive oleum ad luminare, sive incensum: implying, that
 at another time they might be offered there, but not
 tempore sanctæ Oblationis, at the time of the holy Eu-
 charist. For the better judgement whereof, and of
 the right meaning of the Canon (because the readings,
 distinction, and translations somewhat vary) take also
 a Canon of the Councell of Carthage under Aurelius
 (Anno 397.) very like unto it, and made undoubtedly
 in imitation thereof.

“SYN. CARTH. CAN. APUD BALSAM.
“XL. Non licere præter panem & vinum aqua mix-
 tum, quidquam in sanctis mysteriis offerre. Et nihil
 amplius, quàm Corpus & Sanguis Domini offeratur,
 quemadmodum Dominus ipse tradidit, hoc est, Panis
 & vinum aqua mixtum. Primitia autem, sive mel,

Ccc 2

“sive

Sect. 2.

* Gr.
 χιδπα
 tritici gra-
 na frilla
 aut coffa.
 Latini
 Graneas
 dixerunt. De
 significa-
 tione τῷ χι-
 δειν vid.
 LXX. Lev.
 2. 14. 16.
 Et ca. 23.
 14. Calau,
 in Athe-
 næum lib.
 14. 16.
 Male hic
 Balsamon
 et alii, Le-
 gumina.
 Confer
 Can. Syn.
 Carthag.
 qua habet,
 ἢ ἀπὸ σα-
 φυλῶν κα-
 σίτη.

Secl. 2.

"sive las, offerantur, ut moris est, & uno die consueto, ad
 "Infantium mysterium (puta in Baptismo.) Esi enim
 "maximè ad ALTARE offerantur, propriam tamen
 "suam habeant benedictionem. Nihil autem amplius
 "in primitiis [nimirum ad Altare, in sanctis mysteri-
 "is] offeratur quàm ex Vitis & frumento. Which one-
 ly were permitted to be offered at the time of the
 Eucharist (as may seem) because Bread and Wine are
 made of them.

Ignat. Ep.
 Antiocb.

But I will not set my rest upon a Pseudepigraphall
 Testimony, but alledge a witness past exception, and
 for antiquity beyond them all: And that is, that holy
 and blessed Martyr Ignatius, Bishop of that City,
 where the name of Christians was first given to the
 Disciples of Christ; who lived and saw the latter end
 of the Apostles times. This blessed Martyr in those
 Epistles of his (which none that are learned or judi-
 cious now make question of) thrice useth the name
 ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ or ALTAR for the Lords
 TABLE, in his Epistles Ad Philadelphenses, Trallenses,
 & Ephesios. In the first whereof Ad Philadelph.
 he speaks thus: "Scribo ad vos, moneoque ut una fi-
 "de, una predicatione, una Eucharistia utamini: una
 "enim est caro Domini nostri Iesu Christi, unus illius
 "sanguis, qui pro nobis effusus est, unus item panis omni-
 "bus confractus: & unus CALIX, qui omnibus dis-
 "tributus est; unum ALTARE omni Ecclesia, & u-
 "nus Episcopus cum Presbyterio, & Diaconis conseruis
 "meis. In this place* Vedelius expressly acknowledgeth
 the name ALTAR to be used by Ignatius for the
 HOLY TABLE (though otherwise he be no friend
 to that name) because he knew not how to elude it.

* P. 136.
 Exer. 6. in
 Epist. Ad
 Ephesios.

I thought good therefore to put it in the head of the file, to leade on the rest which follow. Whereof

That *Ad Ephesios* shall have the next place, where exhorting them to be subject, and at unity with their Bishop and Presbyterie, he enforceth it thus;

“*Nemo erret, (saith he) nisi quis intra ALTARE sit*

“[Gr. *ὁὐδὲς ἢ ἐν τῇ θυσιασθρίῳ*] *privatur pane*

“*Dei. Si enim unius aut alterius precatio tantarum vi-*

“*rium sit, ut Christum inter illos statuat, quanto plus*

“*Episcopi & totius Ecclesie oratio consona ad Deum a-*

“*scendens (for this used to be presented at the Altar)*

“*exorabit, ut omnia qua petiverint in Christo, dentur*

“*ipsis?* As if he had said, Be not deceived, but take

notice, that as every one who is not at peace with his brother, is excluded from the Altar, [Matt. 5.] so

much more, he that through disobedience, is in

schism and discord with his Bishop and spirituall Fa-

thers, is excluded thence; that is, hath no right to of-

fer his gift thereat, & consequently is deprived of the

Bread of God (the holy Eucharist) and of the bene-

fit of those precious and efficacious prayers therewith

offered up to God by the Bishop and Priestly Order,

in the name of the whole Church. W^{ch}, how great a

benefit it is, may appear by this, That if the prayer of

one or two be of that efficacie, as to place Christ in

the midst of them; how much more shall the uni-

ted prayer of the Bishop, and the whole Church be

of force to prevail with the Divine Majesty, to grant

them all they shall ask in Christ's name? It follows,

“*Quisquis igitur ab his separatur, neque concarrit cum*

“*βαλὴν δυσίαν, & Ecclesia primogenitorum conscripto-*

“*rum in cælis, Lupus est sub ovina pelle faciem mentiens*

Sect. 2.

mansuetam: That is, An *Infidel* in a *Christians* chat. Where by *Εὐαγγ. Δουιδῶν*, *Concilium* or *Senatus sacrificiorum*, he understands the Bishop and his Clergie, who are *Senatus rei Divina*, or *sacris faciendis*. Therefore *Vedelius*, who will needs here, without reason or copy, in stead of *Εὐαγγ. Δουιδῶν* reade *Εὐαγγ. Εἰσίου* (the better to make way for his conceit, that the body of the Church in generall should be the *Altar Ignatius* here speaks of) did but correct the *Magnificat*, and pervert *Ignatius* his meaning, which he understood not. For that this which I have said, is the meaning of *Ignatius* in this place, appears more plainly by the third testimony I am now to alledge of his, *viz.*

3

*“ Ex Epist. Ad TRALLENSIS ante med. Re-
veremini (inquit) Episcopum vestrum sicut Christum,
quemadmodum beati nobis praeceperunt apostoli. Qui
“ intra ALTARE est, mundus est; quare & obsemp-
“ rat Episcopo & Presbyteris. Qui vero extra est, hic
“ est qui sine Episcopo, Presbyteris & Diaconis quippi-
“ am agit, & talis inquinatam habet conscientiam, &
“ Infideli deterior est. i. He is a woollf in a sheeps skin,
as he said in the other Epistle. The places are twins,
and the one is a glosse unto the other.*

Now, by warrant of these testimonies, I think I may safely conclude, that the use of the name ΘΡΗΣΙΑΕΘ' ΠΙΟΝ or ALTAR (for ought that any hitherto hath shewed to the contrary) is no lesse ancient in Christianity, then that of *ἱερά τράπεζα*, of the Holy TABLE or TABLE of the Lord. And that both have been promiscuously used from the Apostles times.

Nor is it any marvail it should be so; for these names

names are of an equivalent notion, and signifie one and the self same thing. For what is an *Altar*, but of those kinde of things we call *Tables*? what *Genus* else can we refer it to? The difference is, That an *Altar* notes not a common, but an *Holy Table*, a *Table* for an *Holy Feast*, such as I have heretofore shewed a Sacrifice to be, *Epulum ex oblatis*, or a Feast of an Oblation made unto God. That is, there is no more difference between a *Table* and an *Altar*, then between another cup and a Chalice. An *Altar* is not every *Table*, or a *Table* for a common feast, but an *Holy Table*, and an *Holy Table* is an *Altar*. The difference is not (as many suppose) either in the matter, as of wood or stone: For an *Altar* may be of wood (as both the golden *Altar*, and that of burnt offering were in the Tabernacle, namely of Shittim wood); and a *Table* may be of stone: nor in the posture or manner of standing, whether in the middle, or against a wall; (for the *Altar* of burnt-offering stood in the midst of the Priests court, and the *Altar* of Incense up against the vail) but this is the true difference, that a *Table* is a common Name, and an *Altar* is an *Holy Table*. "This *Holy Altar* (saith Gregory Nyssene, *Sermone de Baptismo*) whereat we stand, is by nature a common stone; nothing differing from other stones; but being consecrated to the service of God, and having received the benediction, it is *ἁγία, ὁ-
νάσιον ἑξέστης*, an *Holy Table*, an *Altar* inviolable. See he makes one to be the *Exegesis* of the other: For in times past (when men perhaps were as wise, as we are now) it was thought fit and decent, that things set apart unto God, and sacred, should be distinguished,

Sect. 2.

* Yea and
in form
and fashion
too. See
Maimon.
apud Ains.
upon *Lev.*
19. 30. For
both sancti-
fity and
sanctifica-
tion con-
sists in Di-
scrimina-
tion.

shed, not only in use, but in * name also from things common. For what is a *Temple* or *Church*, but an *House*? Yet distinguished in name from other Houses. What is a *Sacrifice*, but a *Feast*? yet distinguished in name from other Feasts. So what is an *Altar*, but a *Table*? yet distinguished in name from other Tables.

Well; let all this be granted, may some man say, that there is no greater difference between these two names, then as you affirm; yet ought the language of the Church to be conformed to the style of the New Testament. But where in the New Testament should those Ancients finde any Text, whereon to ground the application of this name to the *Holy Table*? I answer, There, I am prone to beleve, whence they derived the *Oblation* of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, and that Rite of Reconciliation at their entrance thereunto; (where the Deacon was wont to proclaim ΜΗ ΤΙΣ ΚΑΤ' ΑΙΤΙΩΣ. *Ne quis contra aliquem*, or in some other words to like effect; and then every one to salute his brother in token of reconciliation and peace) and that was from that Ordinance of our blessed Saviour in his Sermon upon the Mount, viz.

" If thou bringest thy GIFT unto the ALTAR, and
" there remembrest that thy Brother hath ought against
" thee, leave thy GIFT before the ALTAR, and go,
" first be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and
" offer thy GIFT. Which Scripture they took to be an Evangelicall constitution, wherein our Saviour implied, by way of Anticipation, that he would leave some Rite to his Church, in stead, and after the manner of the Sacrifices of the Law, which should
begin

begin with an Oblation, as they did; and what to require this proper and peculiar qualification in the Offerer, to be at peace, and without enmity with his brother: in so much as *Trenaus* seems to place that purity of the Evangelicall oblation, prophesied of by *Malachy*, even in this requisite. *Vide l. 4. c. 34.* Hence also they may seem to have learned to call the Bread and Wine (in respect of this oblation) *the holy Gifts*, from the word our Saviour here useth.

C. I. II.

For that they derived from this text the Rite of Peace and reconciliation before the Offertorie, appears expressly out of *Const. Apost. l. 2. c. 57.* *Iren. lib. 4. 34.* *Edit. Fovar. Tertull. De Oracione. 10.* *Eusebius De vita Constantini. Lib. 4. c. 41.* *Cyril of Jerusalem Catech. Myst. 5.* Why then may I not believe as well, that they might derive from the same text the Offertory it self; and the application of the name *Altar* to the *Holy Table*; seeing all three in the Text depend one upon another; and that there is not in the New Testament any other passage of Scripture, whereon so ancient and universall a practice of the Church, as was in all these three particulars, could expressly be grounded? And, besides that the primitive practice of the Catholique Church is a good rule to interpret Scripture by; there may be good reasons found, from the circumstances of the text, and Sermon it self, to perswade it to be an Evangelicall Constitution.

1. Because there was no such thing commanded in the Law to such as came to offer sacrifice; nor any such *deuterosts* to be found amongst the traditions of the Elders. Now it is altogether improbable, our

D d d

Saviour

Scet. 2. Saviour would then annex a new Rite to the Legall sacrifices, when he was, so soon after, to abolish them by his sacrifice upon the Crosse; yea (if the Harmonists of the Gospel are not deceived) within lesse then two years after. For they place this Sermon between his second and third Passeeover. *Ergo* he intended it for an Ordinance of the Kingdom of God, (as the Scripture speaks) that is, for the Church of his Gospel.

2. Because the Sermon, whereof this was part, is that famous Sermon of our Saviour upon the Mount; which he read as a Lecture to his Disciples, to instruct them in the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God, a little before he sent them out to preach; and so, in all likelyhood, contained the summe of that they were to preach; which no doubt was Doctrine Euangelicall. In all other parts of the Sermon we finde it so: wherefore then should we not so esteem it, even in this also?

3. Because it is brought in (and that in the first place) as an exemplification of that righteousness, wherein the Citizens of the Kingdom of Christ were to outgo the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees: "*I say unto you (saith our Saviour) except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*" Then follows this text, shewing how far we are to outstrip the Scribes and Pharisees, in our obedience to the precept, *Thou shalt not kill.*

4. This passage should be Euangelicall, forasmuch as it seems, together with the rest that follow it, to be a part of that *anupwnc* or *complementum legis*, where-

whereof our Saviour spake a little before, saying,
*"Think not that I am come to dissolve the Law and the
 Prophets, (i. to abolish or abrogate the observation
 of them in my Kingdom) ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, but to accom-
 plish, supply or perfect them.* For this to be the mean-
 ing of that πληρῶσαι, the whole discourse following it,
 seemeth to evince: wherein namely our Saviour puts
 in practice, and makes good *de facto*, in severall par-
 ticulars, what he formerly said, he came to do.

SECTION III.



UT there is one thing yet behinde, by
 no means to be forgotten in this Argu-
 ment. That what I have hitherto spoken
 of the name *Altar*, is to be understood
 of θυσιαστήριον, not of βωμῆς. For these
 two are not the same. ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ is the *Al-
 tar* of the true God; ΒΩΜΟΣ the *Altar* of an Idol.
 Wherefore the ancient Fathers and Christians (which
 spake the Greek tongue) never used to call the *Altar*
 of Christ βωμῆς, (though it were the usuall word in that
 language) but ever θυσιαστήριον. Which difference they
 learned out of the Greek Bible; in all which the *Al-
 tar* of the true God is * no where termed βωμῆς, but
 alwayes θυσιαστήριον. On the contrary, βωμῆς never u-
 sed (when it is used) but of an Idolatrous *Altar*, or
Altar of an Idol. This difference of these two words
 may be evidently seen and confirmed by one passage
 in the first Book of *Maccabees*, c. i. v. * 59. where
 concerning the Ministers of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who
 had erected an *Altar* to *Jupiter Olympius*, upon the

* Except
 onely *Sy-
 racides*,
 and the
 2. Book of
Maccab.
 whose
Ryle gen-
 tiliseth.
 * al. 61.

Scet. 3.

great brazen Altar in the Temple of the Lord, and sacrificed thereon, the Greek expresseth it in this manner : “ Θυσιαστήριον ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Βωμῷ ὅς ἦν ἐν τῷ Θυσιαστηρίῳ, They sacrificed upon the Βωμῷ, which was upon the Θυσιαστήριον, which our Translation rightly renders, *They sacrificed upon the Idol-Altar, which was upon the Altar of God*, the circumstances of the place leading them thereunto. And that this testimony may not go alone, take with it a like expression or two in Saint Chrysostom, who in his 24. Homil. in 1. *Ad Corinthios*, brings in our Saviour thus speaking; Εἰ αἷμα τῷ ἐπιθυμῶν, μὴ τῷ εἰδελῶν Βωμῷ τῷ τῷ ἀλόγων φόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θυσιαστηρίῳ τῷ ἐμῷ ποίνισα αἷματι. If thou desirest blood, make not the Idols Βωμῷ ruddy with the slaughter of Beasts, but my Θυσιαστήριον, with my blood. 'Tis upon that passage; “ *The cup of blessing which we blesse, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ* : with the same style in the Homily a little before quoted [*demonstrat quod Christus sit Deus*] he magnifies the speedy propagation of the Gospel, that in so short a time Βωμοὶ καὶ εἰδωλά (*Bomoi & Simulacra*) were abolished, and Θυσιαστήρια were erected throughout the Roman Empire, yea among the *Persians, Scythians, Moors and Indians*. To all which adde another observation, That ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ is a word not used by any Pagan Writer, but is a meer Ecclesiasticall and Hellenisticall term, first devised, (as * *Philp* in his *Kitā Moſis* would give us to understand) by the Septuagint to expresse the Hebrew word *מזבח* and to distinguish the Altar of the God of Israel from the Altars of the Idol-gods of the Gentiles.

* De vit.
Moſis li. 3.
τ. 5. οὗ
Βωμὸν ἔκτισεν
αὐτὸς (*Moſes*
nempe *gra-*
ciffans) ἵνα
ταῖς τῷ
Θυσιαστη-
ρίῳ.

But

But you will ask me now, wherein the real difference between these two consisted, which made them so nice to call the one by the name of the other? Or was it verball onely? I answer, It was reall. For the *Altar* of the true God, *Θυσιαστήριον*, was onely (as the name implies) a *Table for sacrifice*, viz. in the law, of those bloody sacrifices which were then offered to God by fire and Incense: in the Gospel, of the reasonable and spirituall sacrifice, sent up unto God *λόγῳ καὶ ταύματι* onely by the word of thanksgiving and prayer. But *Βωμὸς* or the *Altars* of the Gentiles were *suggesta*, or *Scabella sculptilium & simulacrorum*; Idol-stools, or foot-stools of their Images, in respect of the accommodation the one had to the other; which was such, as their Idols were placed before, upon, or above their Altars. This may appear in some sort, by those passages of *S. Chrysostom*, which I now quoted; especially in the latter. And by that of *Saint Austin. Hom. 6. de verbis Domini*, where he proves from this posture, that the Gentiles took and worshipped their Idol-statues for gods, because they placed them *upon their Altars*. "*Nam illi (inquit) quod Numen habeant & colant illam statuam, Ara te-
statur.*" And this also the name *Βωμὸς* fitly intimates, as properly importing a *Basis*, whereon something standeth, *quasi Βῆμα*, of the word *Βάινω*, as *Eustathius* notes; and accordingly used by *Homer* for the Bases, whereon stood the gilded statues of boyes holding lights at a banquet;

Χρυσόισι δ' ἀεὶ κῆρες ὑδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν

"Ἐκατὰ, αἰδομένα δαΐδας καὶ χέρον ἔχοντας.

"So 2 Chron. 34.4. we reade, That *Iosiah* caused the
D d d 3 "Altars

Mark here,
who they
are, that
have turn-
ed the
Christians
Θυσιαστήριον
into the
Gentiles
Βωμὸς.

Sect. 3.

“ *Altars of Baalim to be broken down, and the Images that were on high above them.* Aaron when he set up the golden calf, is said in like manner to have built an Altar before it, *Exod. 32.5.* This connexion between the Gentile-altars, and Idol-statues or Images, may also be gathered out of that fore-cited passage of S. Cyprian, *Epist. 55.* where declaiming against some lapsed Christians, who having in time of persecution sacrificed unto Idols, would for all that, be admitted again into the Church, without due satisfaction; If this be suffered, (saith he) “ *Quid superest, quàm ut* “ *ECCLÉSIA Capitolio cedat, & recedentibus sacer-* “ *dotibus, ac Domini nostri ALTARE remouentibus* “ *in Cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque confessum* (i. “ *in sacrarium nostrum, seu* * τὸ ἁγιον Εἷμα) *SIMU-* “ *LACRA atque IDOLA cum ARIS suis transeant.* In this not long passage are many things worthy observing. 1. *Ecclesia* used for the place of Holy assembly, and opposed to *Capitolium*, which stands here for any Gentile Temple. 2. The place of the Clergie next the Altar, and distinguished from that of the Laity. 3. The coupling of *Simulacra* and *Idola cum Aris suis*, as *individui comites*, and the opposition thereof to *Altare Domini nostri*, i. *Christi*. 4. That the Latine Fathers sometimes imitated the Greek, in distinguishing as well as they could, the names of the Altars of Christ, and the Altars of Idols, calling Θυσιαστήριον ALTARE, and Βωμὸς ARA. Which the Author of the vulgar Latine so farre observes, that, throughout the canonickall Scripture, he never calls the Altar of the true God ARA, but the Altars of Idols onely, as the Septuagint useth the name Βωμὸς.

* Or, as this part of the Church is termed in a story of the same time in *Euf. 70* Ἀγίασμα the name whereby the LXX. call the Sanctuary in the Old Test. *Hist. Eccles. l. 7. cap. 18. de Marino* “ *Martyre,* “ *Addu-* “ *ctum ad* “ *Ecclesi-* “ *am sta-* “ *tuit in-* “ *tus pro-* “ *pe τὸ Ἅ-* “ *γίασμα.*

I have prosecuted this observation of the difference between *Θυσιαστήριον* and *Βωμὸς* the more largely, because it will help us through those doubtfull and stumbling passages, which are found in *Origen*, *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, in their disputes against the Gentiles. Who although they lived, the two first in the 3. Century, (after *Tertull.*) the two latter about the beginning of the fourth *seculum*, in the dayes of *Dioclesian* and *Constantine*, 50. years after *S. Cyprian*: during all which time, it is apparent, confessed, and may be invincibly proved against such as shall deny it, that Christians had *Oratories* and *Houses of worship* to perform the Rites of their Religion in; as also (by those testimonies alledged) that they usually called the HOLY TABLE there placed, by the name of ALTARE and ΘΕΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ: yet these Authors afore-named, when the Gentiles objected Atheism to the Christians, as who had no *Temple*, no *Ara*, no *Simulacra*, are wont in their Apologies to answer by way of Concession; not onely, that they had none; but more, that they ought not to have. What should this mean? why this: They answer the Gentiles according to the notion, wherein they objected this unto them: to wit, that they had no *Βωμὸς*, no *Idol-stools*, or *Simulacrorum scabellæ*; not that they had no *Θυσιαστήριον*. Therefore the word which *Origen* there useth is *Βωμὸς*. And in all those passages you shall ever finde *Ara* & *Simulacra* to go together.

“*Origen*, Ὁ Κέλσος φησὶν ἡμᾶς Βωμὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ναὸς ἰδρύειν
 “*φησὶν*” *Celsus* ait, nos *Ararum* & *statuarum*, *Templa-*
 “*rumque fundationes fugere*. *Minutius Felix*. *Cur nul-*
 “*las Aras habent? Tempa nulla? nulla nosa simula-*
 “*cra?*”

S

cō. 3.

* Perhaps he adds this by way of correction of his word *Altaria*.

* According to which stile S. Hierome *Ep. ad Riparium* saith *de Iul. Apostat. Quod sanctorum Basilicas destruxerit, aut in Templum converterit. Ep. 10.*
 * Galienus in ed. *ep. Eus. l. 7. c. 17.*
 * *Apud eund. Hist. l. 7. c. 1, 2.*
 * *Ibid. c. 3.*

*“ erat Amob. In hac consuetis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere— Quod non Deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus aut formam, non Altaria fabricemus, * NON ARA S. Lactantius. Quid sibi Tempia, quid Ara volunt, quid denique ipsa simulacra, &c.*

And as for Temples, their meaning was, they had no such *claustra Numinum*, as the Gentiles supposed Temples to be, and to which they * appropriated that name; *viz.* Places, whereunto the gods, by the power of spels and magicall consecrations, were confined and limited; and, for the presencing of whom a statue was necessary; places wherein they dwelt, shut up as birds in a cage, or as the Devil confined within a circle, that so they might be ready at hand, when men had occasion to seek unto them: That Christians indeed had no such dwellings for their God as these, for that their *God dwelt not in Temples made with hands*: but not, that they had not *θεῖον ὄργανον*, no *ἱερόν* *μεγιστήριον*, *Κυριακή*, or *Εκκλησία*. For such the stories and monuments of those times expressly inform us, they had; and the Gentiles themselves that objected this defect, knew it too well, as may appear by their Emperors Rescripts for demolishing them, and sometimes for restoring them, when the persecution ceased. All which he that will, may finde in *Eusebius* his Ecclesiasticall History, before either *Arnobius* or *Lactantius* wrote: Whither I refer them that would be more fully satisfied; yea to *Arnobius* himself in the end of his 4. Book *adversus Gentes*, where he speaks of the burning of the Christians sacred Books, and demolition of their Places of assembly. And thus I conclude my Discourse.

FINIS.

CHVRCHES,

THAT IS,

Appropriate Places

FOR

Christian Worship;

BOTH IN, AND EVER SINCE
THE APOSTLES TIMES.

A Discourse at first more briefly delivered in a Colledge Chappell, and since enlarged.

BY

JOSEPH MEDE B. D. and Fellow of *Christs*
Colledge in CAMBRIDGE.



L O N D O N,

Printed by M. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. *Peters* Church in Cornhill.
MDCXXXVIII.

CHURCHES

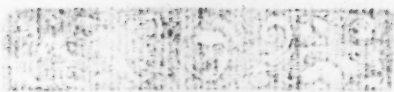
Appropriate Places

Christian Worship

For the People of the Church

and for the People of the World

and for the People of the Future



Printed by M. A. for John C. Clark, and
distributed under the name of the
M. A. C. L. A. S. S. I. C. S.

REV^{mo}. IN CHRISTO PATRI
ET DOMINO SVO SVMME
HONORANDO,

DOMINO

GVILIELMO

DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI,
METROPOLITANO,
TOTIVSQUE ANGLIÆ
PRIMATI.

Hanc suam de Ecclesiarum. (hoc est,
Locorum cultui Christiano dicatorum) jam
inde ab Apostolorum temporibus an-
tiquitate Dissertationem,

*Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ propugnatori, sublatiq; inter
sacrum & profanum discriminis assertori eximio,*

In grati & officiosi animi indicium
Eâ, quâ decet, submissione, & favoris spe

DICAT CONSECRATQUE

Pervna Paternitatis ipsius

Cultor & Sacellanus
observantissimus

I. M.

Ecc 2

REV. IN CHRISTO PATRI
ET DOMINO SVO SYMONE
HONORARI

GUILIELMO

METROPOLITANO

Hanc litteram de Beatis...

...in Christo...

DICT. CONSECUTOR

...oblationibus

L.M.

Rec. 2

CHVRCHES:

THAT IS,

APPROPRIATE

Places for Christian VVor-
ship both in, and ever since
the Apostles times.

1 COR. 11. 22.

Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?

[ἢ οὐκ ἔκκλησίᾳς τῷ Θεῷ καταρρονεῖτε ;] *Or de-
spise ye the Church of God?*



T is taken in a manner for granted by the most of our Reformed Writers, and affirmed also by * some of the other side : That in the Apostles times, and in the Ages next after them (whilest the Church lived under Pagan and persecuting Emperours) Christians had no Oratories, or places set apart for Divine worship ; but that they assembled here and there promiscuously, and uncertainly, as they pleased, or the occasion served, in places of common use, and not otherwise.

E e e 3

But

* Joseph.
Vicecom.
de anti-
quis Missæ
ritibus.
Vol. 3. l. 2.
c. 22.

1 Cor. 13.
22.

But that this is an error, I intend to demonstrate by good evidence, taking my rise from this passage of the Apostle, who reproving the *Corinthians* for using prophane banquetings and feastings in a sacred place; *Have ye not Houses* (saith he) *to eat and drink in?* ἢ τῆς ἑκκλησίας τῷ Θεῷ καταπονεῖτε; *Or despise you the Church of God?* Here I take the word ἑκκλησία, or Church, to note, not the assembly, but the place appointed for sacred duties, and that from the opposition thereof to “οἰκίας, their own Houses, Μὴ ὁ οἰκίας ἐν ἔστε, *Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?* These are places proper for ordinary and common repast, and not the Church or house of God: which is again repeated in the last verse of that Chapter, “Εἰ τις πεινᾷ ἐν οἴκῳ ἐδίδτω, *If any man hunger let him eat at home.*

Thus most of the Fathers took ἑκκλησία in this passage; namely, as most of the words signifying an assembly or company, are wont to be used also for the place thereof: as Ἀγορὰ, Βουλὴ, Συμβολιον, *Synagoga, Collegium, &c.*

Quest. 57.
sup. Levit.

S. *Austin* is so plain, as nothing can be more. For concerning expressions, where the continent is called by the name of the thing contained, he instances in this of *Ecclesia*: “*Sicut Ecclesia* (saith he) *dicitur locus, quo Ecclesia congregatur. Nam Ecclesia homines sunt, de quibus dicitur: Ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam. Hanc tamen vacari etiam ipsam Domum orationum, idem Apostolus testis est, ubi ait, Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum? an Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?*

S. *Basil* hath the same notion in his *Moralia Reg.*

xxx.

xxx. "Quid non oportet * loca sacra, missurâ eorum
 "qua ad communem usum spectant, contumelia afficere.
 "Which he confirms thus; Et intravit Iesus in
 "Templum Dei, & eiciebat omnes ementes & venden-
 "tes in Templo, & mensas numulariorum, & cathedras
 "vendentium columbas evertit, & dicit eis; Scriptum
 "est, Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, vos au-
 "tem fecistis eam speluncam latronum. Et ad Cor. I.
 "Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum & bi-
 "bendum? aut Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis? Si quis
 "esurit, domi manducet, ut non in iudicium conveniatis.

Again, in his Regula compendiosius explicata, In-
 terrog. & Respons. 310. answering that question,
 "Nunquid in communi domo sacra oblatio debeat cele-
 "brari: Quemadmodum, saith he, verbum non permit-
 "tit, ut vas ullum commune in sancta introferatur,
 "eodem modo etiam vetat, sancta in domo communi
 "celebrari: quum vetus Testamentum nihil isto modo
 "feri permittat; Domino item dicente, plusquam tem-
 "plum est hic; Apostolo item, Nunquid domos non ha-
 "betis ad manducandum & bibendum? &c. Ex qui-
 "bus erudimur, neque communem cœnam in Ecclesia
 "edere & bibere, neque Dominicam cœnam in privata
 "domo contumelia afficere: extra quam, si quis, cum
 "necessitas poscat, locum domûve puriorem delegerit
 "tempore opportuno.

The Author also of the Commentaries upon the
 Epistles, amongst the works of S. Hierome (whosoever
 he were) expounding "Ecclesiam Dei contemni-
 "tis, by Facientes eam Triclinium epularum, shoves,
 he took Ecclesia here to signifie the place.

The self-same words are to be found in the Com-

1 Cor. 11.
22.

mentaries of *Sedulius*, as many other passages of this Author *verbatim*; which I note by the way.

St. CHRYSOSTOM is of the same minde;
*"Ecce quarta accusatio (saith he) quod non pauperes
 tantum, sed Ecclesia leditur. Quemadmodum enim
 Dominicam cœnam privatam facis, ita & Locum,
 tanquam Domo Ecclesiæ usus. Ecclesia therefore here
 with him is Locus.*

And so it is with THEODORET, who paraphra-
 seth the words on this manner; *"Si acceditis, ut lau-
 de & opiparè epulemini, hoc facite in domibus. Hoc
 enim in Ecclesia est conumelia; & aperta insolentia.
 Quomodo enim non est absurdum, intus in Tem-
 plo Dei, præsentè Domino qui communem nobis men-
 sam apposuit; vos quidem laute vivere, eos autem
 qui sunt pauperes, esurire, & propter paupertatem
 erubescere?*

THEOPHYLACT and OECUMENIUS follow the same track, as he that looks them shall finde.

I have produced thus largely the Glosses of the Fathers upon this Text; that they might be as a preparative to my ensuing discourse, by removing or mitigating, at the least, that prejudice which some have so deeply swallowed, of an utter unlikelihood of any such places to have been in the Apostles times, or the times neer them. For if these Glosses of the Fathers be true, then were there places called *Ecclesia*, and consequently places appointed and set apart for Christian assemblies to perform their solemn service to God in, even in the Apostles times. Or suppose they be not true, or but doubtfull, and not necessary;

cessary; yet thus much will follow howsoever, That these Fathers, who were neerer to those Primitive times by above 1100. years then we are, and so had better means to know what they had or had not, then we, supposed there were such places, even in the Apostles times: If in the Apostles times, then no doubt in the Ages next after them. And thus we shall gain something by this Text, whether we accept this notion of the word *Ecclesia*, or not.

HAVING therefore gotten so good an entrance, we will now further enquire what manner of places they were, or may be supposed to have been, which were appropriated to such use; and that done, proceed to shew by such testimonies or footsteps of Antiquity, as time hath left unto us; That there were such places through every Age respectively, from the dayes of the Apostles unto the reign of *Constantine*; that is, in every of the first three hundred years; For the first, It is not to be imagined they were * such goodly and stately structures as the Church had after the Empire became Christian, and we now by Gods blessing enjoy; but such as the state and condition of the times would permit; At the first, some capable and convenient room within the walls or dwelling of some pious disciple, dedicated by the religious bounty of the owner, to the use of the Church, and that usually an Ἀνάγειον, or Ὑπερώϊον, an upper room, such as the *Latins* call *Cœnaculum*; being, according to

Where note that of two expressions of this in the same place, the words ἑστὶν ἐκκοσμη-
σθεα in the Printed Copie are deficient in the first of them; but to be supplied out of
this, the second, or repetition of the same thing, as the Reader that considers it, will ob-
serve the Antichrist requires.

1 Cor. 11.
22.

* Isidorus
Pelusiota.
lib. 2. Epi.
246. ἐστὶ
ἡ τῆς Ἀ-
ποστολῆς,
ἐκκλησίας
ἐστὶν ἑστὶ
ἐκκοσμη-
σθεα ὡς
ἐκκλησία ἡ
θεοῦ ἐ-
στὶν
ἐκκοσμη-
σθεα.

their

1 Cor. 11.

22.

their manner of building, as the most large and capacious of any other, so likewise the most retired and freest from disturbance, and next to heaven, as having no other room above it. For such uppermost places we find they were wont then to make choice of, even for private devotions; as may be gathered from what we read of S. Peter, *Act. 10. ἀνέβη ἐν τῷ δώμῳ προσεύξασθαι*, *That he went up to the house to pray*: for so δῶμα signifies, *ex usu Hellenistarum*, and is accordingly here rendred by the vulgar Latine, *in superiora*.

Such an *Hyperoon* as we speak of, was that remembered by the name of * *Cænaculum Sion*; where, after our Saviour was ascended, the Apostles and Disciples (as we read in the *Acts*) assembled together daily for prayer and supplication; and where being thus assembled, the holy Ghost came down upon them in Cloven tongues of fire at the feast of Pentecost. † Concerning which, there hath been a tradition in the Church; that this was the same room wherein our blessed Saviour, the night before his Passion, celebrated the Passover with his Disciples, and instituted the mysticall Supper of his Body and Blood, for the sacred Rite of the Gospel: The same place, where on the day of his Resurrection he came, and stood in the midst of his Disciples, the doors being shut; and having shewed them his hands and his feet, said, "*Peace be unto you, As my Father hath sent me, so I send you, &c. John 20.*" The place where eight dayes, or the Sunday after, he appeared in the same manner again unto them being together, to satisfy the incredulity of *Thomas*, who the first time was not with the rest: The place where *James* the Brother

* *Cænaculum dicitur, ad quæ scilicet ascenditur. Fest. Inde Ennio. Cænacula maxima cæli.*
† For these traditions, See *Adriani Nicæpbor. &c.* and *Bede infra, de locis sanctis.*

Brother of our Lord, was created by the Apostles, Bishop of Ierusalem: The place where the seven Deacons (whereof S. Stephen was one) were elected and ordained: The place where the Apostles and Elders of the Church at Ierusalem held that Council, and pattern of all Councils, for decision of that question; Whether the Gentiles which beleeyed were to be circumcised or not. And for certain, the place of this *Cenaculum* was afterwards enclosed with a goodly Church, known by the name of the Church of *Sion*, upon the top whereof it stood: Inſomuch that S. Hierome in his *Epitaphio Paula*, made bold to apply that of the *Psalm* unto it; "*Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis: diligit Dominus portam Sion super omnia tabernacula Jacob.*" How soon this erection was made, I know not; but I beleieve it was much more ancient then those other Churches erected in other places of that City by *Constantine* and his Mother; because neither *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, nor *Sozomen* make any mention of the foundation thereof, as they do of the rest. It is called by S. *Cyril*, who was Bishop of the place, ἡ ἀνωτέρα Ἐκκλησία "τῶν Ἀποστόλων, the upper Church of the Apostles; "τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (saith he) κατήλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀποστόλους ἐν αἷδι πνεύματι γλωσσῶν, ἐν ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἐν τῇ ΑΝΩΤΕΡΑΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. "The holy Ghost descended upon the apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues, here in Ierusalem, in the UPPER CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES. *Cyril Hierosol. Cat. 16.*

If this tradition be true, it should seem by it, that this *Cenaculum*, from the time our blessed Saviour first

1 Cor. 11.
22.

Epist. 27.

1 Cor. 11.
12.

first hallowed it by the institution and celebration of his mysticall Supper, was thenceforth devoted to be a place of prayer and holy assemblies. And surely no Ceremonies of dedication, no not of *Solomons* Temple it self, are comparable to those sacred gels, whereby this place was sanctified. This is the more easie to be beleaved, if the house were the possession of some Disciple at least, if not of kindred also to our Saviour according to the flesh; which both reason perswades, and tradition likewise confirmeth it to have been. And when we reade of those first beleevers, that such as had houses and lands sold them, and brought the prices and laid them down at the Apostles feet; it is nothing unlikely, but some likewise might give their house unto the Apostles for the use of the Church to perform sacred duties in. And thus perhaps should that tradition, whereof Venerable *Bede* tels us, be understood; viz. *That this Church of Sion was founded by the Apostles*: Not, that they erected that structure, but that the place, from the time it was a *Cænaculum*, was by them dedicated to be an house of prayer. His words are these, *De locis sanctis, cap. 3. in Tom. 3.* "*In superiori Montis Sion planicie, monachorum cellula Ecclesiam magnam circumdant, illic, ut perhibent, ab Apostolis fundatam; eo quod Ibi Spiritum Sanctum acceperint: In qua etiam Locus Cæna Domini venerabilis ostenditur.*"

And if this were so, why may I not think that this *Cænaculum Sion* was that *Oikos*, whereof we reade, concerning the first Christian society at Jerusalem, *Acts. 2. 46.* "*That they continued daily in the Temple, and breaking bread [εἰς τὸ οἶκον] in the House, ate their*"
"meat"

“meat with gladnesse and singlenesse of heart: the meaning being, that when they had performed their devotions daily in the Temple, at the accustomed times of prayer there, they used to resort immediately to this *Cenaculum*, and there having celebrated the mysticall banquet of the holy Eucharist, afterwards took their ordinary and necessary repast with gladnesse and singlenesse of heart: For so *ἐν οἴκῳ* may be rendred for *ἐν οἴκῳ*, and not *domatim*, or *per domos*, house by house, as we translate it, and so both the Syriack and Arabick render it, and the New Testament (as we shall see hereafter) elsewhere uses it. Moreover we finde this *Cenaculum* called *οἶκος* in the 2. ver. of this chap. And for the phrase of *breaking of bread*, we know that the same a little before in the 42. ver. is wont to be understood of the Communion of the Eucharist, and by the Syriack Interpreter is expressly rendred by the Greek word, *Fractio Eucharistia*, both there and again chap. 20. ver. 7. according to that of S. Paul, “The bread which we break, &c. why should it not then be so taken here? If it be, then according to the Interpretation we have given, this will also follow; that that custome of the Church, to participate the Eucharist fasting, and before dinner, had its beginning from the first constitution of the Christian Church: A thing not unworthy observation, if the interpretation be maintainable, of which let the learned judge.

It was an *ἑσπέραιον*, or *Cenaculum* also, where the Disciples at *Troas* came together upon the first day of the week to break bread, or to celebrate the holy Eucharist, *Acts* 20. 7. where S. Paul preached unto them,

1 Cor. II.
22.

Vt apud
Homerum
passim.

1 Cor. 11.

22.

them, and whence *Eurychus*, being overcome with sleep, sitting in a window fell down ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤφους, from the third story or loft, and was taken up dead. Such a one seems also to have been the place of the Churches assembly at *Cæsarea Cappadociae*, by that which is said *Acts 18. 22. viz. That S. Paul sailing from Ephesus, landed at Cæsarea*, where ἀναβὰς ἐς ἀνωτάτους τὸν ἑκκλῆσιαν, having gone up and saluted the Church, he went down to *Antioch*. Note, he went up to salute: whereby it should seem, that the place where the Church was assembled, was some upper place. See *Ludovic de Dieu* upon this place; where he tells us, that the Ethiopick translator so understood it, rendring, “*descendit Cæsaream, & ascendit in Domum Christianorum* (i. *Ecclesiam*) *& salutavit eos, & abiit Antiochiam*. Such as these, I suppose, were the places at first set apart for holy meetings, much like to our private Chappels now in great mens houses, though not for so generall an use.

In proceſſe of time, as the multitude of beleevvers encreased, some wealthy and devout Christian gave his whole house or Mansion place, either whilest he lived, if he could spare it, or bequeathed it at his death, unto the Saints, to be set apart and accommodated for sacred assemblies, and religious uses.

At length, as the multitude of beleevvers still more increased, and the Church grew more able; they built them structures of purpose, partly in the Coemeteries of Martyrs, partly in other publique places: even as the Jews (whose religion was no more the Empires then theirs) had, nevertheless, their Synagogues in all Cities & places where they lived among the Gentiles.



IN THE FIRST CENTURIE.



His being premised, I proceed now (as I promised) to shew, that there were such places as I have described, appointed and set apart among Christians for their religious assemblies, and solemn addresse unto the divine Majestic, through every one of the first three Centuries particularly; and that therefore they assembled not promiscuously, and at hap hazard, but in appropriate places; unlesse necessity sometimes forced them to do otherwise.

For the times of the Apostles therefore, or first Century in particular, which ends with the death of S. John the Evangelist, I prove it, first, from the Text I premised, where is a place mentioned by the name of *Ecclesia*, not to be despised or prophaned with common banquetings: at least from the authority of the Fathers, who by their so expounding it, give us to understand, they thought it not improbable, that there were such places in the Apostles times. For the further strengthening of this kinde of argument, know also that *Ensebius*, in that discourse of his, where he endeavours to prove, that the Essenes, or *Θεσωνίται* which *Philo* describes, were the first Christian Society of the Jewish nation at *Alexandria*, converted by S. Mark; amongst other Characteristicall notes (as he

* calt

Hist. Eccl.
l. 2. cap. 16.

* τὰ χα-
ρακτηρισ-
τικά τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
αὐτῆς.

a Μοι-
ρα.

b Σεμν-
βία.

c N. B.

d He
means the
Books of
the Law,
the Pro-
phets, and
Psalms,
and like
things of
sacred use.

e Author
Const. Ap.
vocat α-
κροσίνια
lib. 2. c. v.
al. 61. Ali-
us David
hymnos ca-
nat, & po-
pulus τα
ακροσίνια
ᾠσάντα-
λέτα, id
est, τὰ
ἀκρατῶ σι-
γῶν, ex-
tremities
versuum:
non versu-
um initia,
ut malè In-
terpres Ro-
mus.

* cals them) or badges of Christianity (however he were mistaken in his conclusion or inference) alledges this for one of the first, that they had sacred Houses, called Σεμνεία, or worshipping places; that is, Churches: His words are these, "*Deinceps ubi eorum domicilia quam essent descripserat, (nempe Philo) de Ecclesiis in variis locis extructis sic loquitur: Est in quoque agro ades sacra, qua appellatur Σεμνείον, vel Μοναστήριον, in quo illi ab aliis soli agentes, sancta religiosa; vita mysteria obeunt: nihilq; eo vel cibi, vel pottionis, vel aliarum rerum, qua ad corporis usum necessaria sunt, important, sed leges & oracula à prophetis divinitus edita, & hymnos, aliàque quibus scientia & pietas erga Deum crescat & perficiatur.* Afterwards reciting some other customs and particular observances of their discipline; as their frequent assemblies in their Σεμνεία, to hear the Scriptures read and interpreted; the distinction of places for men and women; their manner of singing Hymns and Psalms by a Præcentor, the rest answering, τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια, the extreams of the verses; the degrees of their Hierarchy, like those of Deacons and Bishops, and some other the like, he concludes; *Quod τὰ ἀρχαῖαν περὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔδει παραδεδομένα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτα ἔγραψε, παρὰ τῷ δῆλον: That Philo wrote these things, as one having knowledge of the customs at the beginning delivered by the Apostles, is manifest to any one.* But whether that be so manifest or not, this I am sure is; that Eusebius beleaved the antiquity of Churches or Oratories of Christians to have been from the Apostles times; yea, to have been an Apostolicall ordinance, or else he mightily forgot himself, to bring that for an argu-
ment

ment or badge to prove *Philo's* Essenes to be *S. Marks* Christians : then which otherwise there could not be a stronger argument to evince the contrary to what he intended. Now who could know this better then *Eusebius*, who had searched into, and perused all the writings and monuments of Christian antiquity then extant, for the compiling of his Ecclesiasticall history, and his Commentaries of the * *Acts of Martyrs* now perished ?

* He mentions it
Hist. Eccl.
l. 5. cap. 1.

Adde to this, what I a little before observed out of *Bede*, *de locis sanctis*; of a tradition, that the Church of *Sion* was founded by the Apostles. And so I leave my first argument.

My next argument why may I not take from that singular character given to some one above other in the Apostles salutations, as their peculiar ? *Salute such a one*, καὶ τῷ κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, and the *Church at his house*: As *Colos. 4. 15. of Nymphas*, Ἀσπάσιν καὶ Νυμφᾶν, καὶ τῷ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶ ἐκκλησίαν, *Salute Nymphas, and the Church at his house*. To *Philemon* also; *To Philemon our dear brother and fellow-labourer* (to *Appia our beloved, and Archippus our fellow-souldier*), καὶ τῇ κατ' οἶκόν σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, and *to the Church at thy house*. See, he forgets it not after a parenthesis, neither attributes it to *Archippus*, but as proper to *Philemon* alone. The like he hath of *Aquila* and *Priscilla* two severall times, once sending salutation to them, *Rom. 16.* " *Salute Priscilla and Aquila, and the Church at their house*. Again sending salutation from them, *1 Cor. 16. 19.* " *Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the Church at their house*. Which I understand not, to be spoken of their families,

Fff

lies,

lies, as it is commonly expounded, but of the congregation of the Saints, there wont to assemble for the performance of divine duties; that is, *τὸν οὐρανὸν ἑκκλῆσιαν*. Whence (if it be granted) it will follow; First, that the Churches then, used to assemble, not in mutable and promiscuous, but in definite and appropriate places. Secondly, that those who are here saluted with that appendix, were such as, in their severall Cities, had bestowed and dedicated some part, or some place within their dwellings, to be an Oratory for the Church to assemble in, for the performance of divine duties according to the rule of the Gospel; *Nymphas at Colosse, Philemon at Laodicea* (for there *Archippus*, who is saluted with him, was Bishop, saith * *Author constit. Apost.* as *Philemon* himself was afterwards of the neighbouring City *Colosse*;) *Aquila and Priscilla* first at *Rome*, till *Claudius* banished them with the rest of the Jews from thence, *Act. 18. 2.* afterwards at *Ephesus*, *Ibid. ver. 19.* whence *S. Paul* wrote that first Epistle to the Corinthians.

* Lib. 7. c.
penult.

I am not the first (I think) who have taken these words in such a sense. *Oecumenius* in two or three of these places (if I understand him) goes the same way, though he mention the other exposition also: As to that of *Aquila and Priscilla*, *Rom. 16.* his note is; *Ad id virtute spectati erant, ut suam etiam domum Ecclesiam fecerint. Vel dicitur hoc, Quia omnes domestici fideles erant, ut jam Domus esset Ecclesia.* He mentions as I said both interpretations. So upon that of *Nymphas*, *Col. 4.* His words are, *Magni nominis hic vir erat, nam domum suam fecerat Ecclesiam.* And unless this be the meaning, why should this ap-
pendant

pendant be so singularly mentioned in the salutations of some, and not of others? and that not once, but again, if the same names be again remembred, as of *Aquila* and *Priscilla*? Had none, in those Catalogues of salutation, Christian families, but some one onely who is thus remembred? It is very improbable; nay if we peruse them well, we shall finde they had, but otherwise expressed; as in that prolix Catalogue, *Rom. 16.* "we finde *Aristobulus* and *Narcissus* saluted "with their household, *Asyncretus*, *Phlegon*, &c. with "the brethren which are with them; others, with the "Saints which are with them. *2 Tim. 4. 19.* *The household of Onesiphorus.* This therefore so singular an Appendix must mean some singular thing, not common to them with the rest, but peculiar to them alone: And what should this be but what I have shewed?

Now because this exposition concludes chiefly for a *Cenaculum* devoted to be an house of prayer: let us see, if out of a Pagan writer, who lived about the end of this Centurie, we can learn what manner of ones they were. For * *Lucian* in his Dialogue *Philopatris*, by way of derision (*sed ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?*) brings in one *Critias*, telling, how some Christians went about to perswade him, to be of their religion; and that they brought him to the place of their assembly, being an *Hyperoon*, which he describes thus; "*Pertransivimus* (saith he) *ferreas portas*, & "*arca limina; multisque jam superatis scalis, in Domum* "*aurato fastigio insignem ascendimus, qualem Home-* "*rus Menelai fingit esse: atque ipse quidem omnia con-* "*templabar, — video autem, non Helenam, sed me-* "*hercle viros in faciem inclinatos & pallescentes.* So he.

Fff 2

My

* Or who-
soever else
were the
Author
thereof un-
der *Trajan*,
whose then
fresh suc-
cess in
subduing
the *Parthi-*
ans and *A-*
rabians
(contrary
to the un-
lucky pre-
sages of
some) his
scope
seems to
have been
to gratu-
late. See
Jacobus
Micyllus
in *Argu-*
mento.

My third proof is from a tradition the Church hath had, of the houses of some devout and pious Christians, as afterwards, so even in the Apostles time, converted into Churches or Oratories; as the house of *Theophilus*, a potent man in *Antioch*, (the same, as is supposed, to whom *S. Luke* (who was also an Antiochean) inscribes both his Gospel and Acts of the Apostles) who, being converted unto the Faith by *S. Peter*, converted his house into a Church, where *S. Peter* had his first See, or Episcopall Residence. This tradition is derived out of the Recognitions of *Clemens*, where it is first found. Which, though it be an Apocryphall writing, yet is of no small antiquity; and this passage is of such a nature, as it cannot be well imagined, to what end it should be devised or fained.

The like is reported of the house of *Pudens*, a Roman Senator and Martyr, in the *Acta Pudensis*; That it was turned into a Church after his Martyrdom. This is that *Pudens* mentioned by the Apostle in the 2. Epist. to *Timothy*, and coupled with "*Linus; Pudens and Linus* (saith he) *salute you*. All this comes not of nothing; but surely argues some such custom to have been in those times.

4.

* Pag. 5:
Vid. Grec.

I will seal up all my proofs for this Centurie of the Apostles with one passage of *Clemens* (a man of the Apostolicall age) in his genuine* Epistle ad *Corinthios*: "*Debemus omnia rite & ordine facere, quaecumque nos Dominus peragere iussit: praestitutis temporibus oblationes & liturgias obire. Neque enim temere vel inordinatè voluit ista fieri, sed statuis temporibus & horis. Vbi etiam, & A QUIBUS peragi vult, ipse excelsissima.*

“*excelsissima sua voluntate definivis, ut religio om-*
 “*nia, secundum beneplacitum ejus, adimpleta, volunta-*
 “*ti ipsius accepta essent.* Here *Clemens* saith expressly,
 That the Lord had ordained (even now in the
 Gospel) aswell appropriate places W H E R E, as ap-
 propriate Times and Persons (that is, Priests,) When
 and W H E R E B Y he would be solemnly served,
 that so all things might be done religiously and in or-
 der. Who then can beleieve, that in the Apostles times
 (when this *Clemens* lived) the places were not distinct
 for holy services, as well as the Times and Persons
 were? or that *Clemens* would have spoken in this man-
 ner, unlesse he had known it so to have been? The
 Corinthians, it seems, in that their notorious sedition
 and discord, had violated this order, at the correcti-
 on whereof this passage aymeth.

This one passage therefore makes all my former
 proofs credible, and may supply their defect, where
 they are not enough convictive. And it is the more
 precious, in regard of the penury of written Monu-
 ments by any Disciples of the Apostles remaining
 unto us, of that Primitive Age.

If any man shall ask, where this divine ordinance,
 which *Clemens* here mentioneth, is to be found? I an-
 swer, in the Analogy of the Old Testament, whence
 this principle is taught us: That, as the divine Ma-
 jestie it self is most sacred and incommunicable, (the
 reason why the worship and service given unto him
 must be communicated with no other) so is it likewise
 a part of that honour we owe unto his most sacred,
 singular and incommunicable eminency, that the
 things wherewith he is served, should not be promif-

cious and common, but appropriate and set apart to that end and purpose. And thus I conclude the first *Seculum*.

IN THE SECOND CENTHRIE.

Ab Ann.
100. ad
200.

I.



NOW for the second, and that too for the beginning thereof, we have a witness not to be rejected; the holy Martyr *Ignatius* who suffered *An. 107.* and wrote the most of his Epistles in his bonds. He in his confessed Epistle *ad Magnesios* speaks thus; "*Omnes ad orandum in idem loci convenite, una sit communis precatio, una mens, una spes in charitate & fide inculcata in Iesum Christum: quoniam praestantius est. Omnes velut Vnus, ad Templum Dei [sic & Nativitatis] concurrere, quemadmodum ad VNUM Altare, ad VNUM Iesum Christum Pontificem ingeniti Dei.*" Lo here a Temple with an Altar in it, whither the *Magnesians* are exhorted to gather themselves together to pray; To come together in one place, that so they might all join together in one common prayer, spirited with one intention, with one and the same hope in the Charity and Faith they have to Christward: Secondly, to come thither *as one*, that is, in unity of affection and brotherly love one towards another, as if all were but *one* and not many, even as the *Altar*, before which they presented themselves, was but *one*; and the high Priest and Mediatour between them and the Father, *Iesus Christ*, but *one*.

For it is to be observed that in those primitive times they had but *One Altar* in a Church, as a Symbole,

bole, both that they worshipped but *one* God through *one* Mediatour Jesus Christ, and also of the unity the Church ought to have in it self: whence *Ignatius*, not onely here, but also in his Epistle to the Philadelphians urges the unity of the Altar for a monitive to the congregation to agree together in *one*. For *Vnum Altare* (saith he) *omni Ecclesie*, & *unus Episcopus cum Presbyterio & Diaconis conservis meis*. This custom of *one* Altar is still retained by the Greek Church. The contrary use is a transgression of the Latins, not onely symbolically implying, but really introducing, (as they handle it) a *πολυθεϊα*, or multiplying of Gods and Mediators, in stead of that *one* God, and *one* Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

Nay more then this: It should seem, that in those first times, before Diocesses were divided into those lesser and subordinate Churches, we now call Parishes, and Presbyters assigned to them, they had not onely *one* Altar in *one* Church or *Dominicum*, but *one* Altar to a Church, taking Church for the Company or Corporation of the Faithfull, united under one Bishop or Pastor; and that was in the City and place where the Bishop had his See and Residence: like as the Jews had but one Altar and Temple for the whole Nation, united under one high Priest. And yet, as the Jews had their Synagogues, so perhaps might they have more Oratories then one, though their Altar were but one, there namely where the Bishop was. *Die Solis*, saith *Iustin Martyr*, *omnium*, *qui vel in oppidis vel ruri degunt*, *in eundem locum conventus fit*; Namely, as he there tels us, to celebrate and participate the holy *Eucharist*. Why was this, but

Fff 4

because

because they had not many places to celebrate in? And unlesse this were so, whence came it else, that a Schismaticall Bishop was said *constituere* or *collocare aliud Altare*: and that a Bishop and an Altar are made *correlatives*? See S. Cyprian Ep. 40, 72, 73. *de unitate Ecclesia*. And thus perhaps is Ignatius also to be understood in that fore-quoted passage of his: "Εὐχαριστοῦν, *Vnum Altare omni Ecclesia, & unus Episcopus cum Presbyterio & Diaconis*. Howsoever, I here determine nothing, but refer it to the judgement of those who are better skilled in Antiquity: onely adding this, that if it were so, yet now that Parishes are divided into severall Presbyteries as their proper Cures, every one of them being as it were, a little Diocess, the reason and signification of unity is the same, to have but *one* Altar in a Parish Church.

To this testimony of Ignatius of the use in his time, I will adde another of his, in his Epistle *ad Antiochenos*, where, in his Salutes he speaketh thus: "Αποδοῦναι τὰς οὐρὰς τῷ ΑΤΙΩΝ ΠΥΛΩΝΩΝ τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ Διακόνους, *I salute the keepers of the Holy Doors the Deaconesses which are in Christ: that is, the Doors the women entred entred in at*. For so we may learn from the Compiler of the Apostolicall Constitutions, *Li. 2. c. 12. al. 61.* describing a Church assembly; *Stent ostiarii*, saith he, *ad introitus virorum, illos custodientes; Diaconissa ad introitus fœminarum*. But if they had in Ignatius his time *Holy doors*, (or, as some render it, *sacra vestibula*) who can beleeve also but they had *holy Houses*?

This Epistle indeed is none of the confessed ones. The title is excepted against; as that Ignatius wrote

no Epistle *ad Antiochenos*, because *Eusebius*, and after him *S. Hierom*, when they rehearse his Epistles, make no mention of any such. Yet were the *Antiochians* his flock, his pastorall charge. Who would not then think it unlikely, that, amongst so many Epistles written to other Churches in his going that long journey from *Antioch* to *Rome*, to receive the crown of Martyrdom (yea to *Smyrna*, through which he had passed) he should not remember with one farewell Epistle that Church whereof he was Bishop and Pastor, as well as the rest? Thus much I dare say; that this is as strong an argument every whit, to perswade that he wrote such an Epistle (especially there being one extant under that Title) as *Eusebius* his silence (for *S. Hierom* did but follow his steps) is that he did not. For why should it be thought more necessary, that *Eusebius* should have met with all the Epistles of *Ignatius* in the Library of *Elia* or *Ierusalem* (whence he * professeth to have collected the whole matter of his History,) then he did with all the works and Commentaries of some other Ecclesiasticall men whom he mentioneth; many of whose writings, besides those he rehearseth, he confesseth not to have come to his hands, or knowledge, either what, or how many they were? See him *Hist. Li. 5. c. 26. & Li. 6. c. 10.* This will be yet more considerable, if we remember, that some Books, even of the Canon of the *New Testament* were not known to some Churches at the same time with the rest, and therefore a while doubted of, after they had notice of them. Besides it is to be noted, that *Eusebius* in expresse terms undertakes onely to recite those Epistles of *Ignatius*, which he wrote,

* *Lib. 6. c. 14. al. 21.*
Vid. Græc.

a *In Græc. co 27.*
b *In Græc. co 12.*

as

as he passed thorow *Asia*: but after his comming into *Europe* (whence those Epistles are dated, which he mentions not) whether any thing were written by him or not, he informs us nothing. Nay, which is yet more, *Vedelius* grants the words and sentences of this Epistle to be the most of them, by their style and character, the words and sentences of *Ignatius*; but he would have them therefore to be taken out of some of his other Epistles; to wit, according to a new and strange conceit of his, that the genuine Epistles of *Ignatius* have been robbed and gelded of much of their contents, to make up more Epistles under new Titles. He excepts only in this Epistle against the salutations at the end thereof; because there were not so many, or no such ^a Church offices in *Ignatius* his time, as are there mentioned. But what is this else, but to beg the question? Till therefore some body shall not only affirm, but prove, there were no such, no not in the Church of *Antioch* (^b whence divers Ecclesiasticall customs had their first beginning, which were afterwards imitated by the rest of the Churches) I can see no just cause hitherto, why I should not beleieve this passage, as well as the rest, and so the whole Epistle to have had *Ignatius* for its Author. And so I leave it.

For the middle of this *Seculum*, or thereabouts, there are ^a extant two short Epistles of *Pius* the first Bishop of Rome, to one *Iustus Viennensis*; none of the Decretals (for they are indeed counterfeit) but others diverse from them, which no man hath yet, that I know of, proved to be supposititious. In the first whereof there is mention made of one *Enprepia*, a pious and devout Matron, who consigned the title of her house

a *Aray-
rasai, λα-
ται, τυλα-
εσι, κοπι-
ωτες, ε-
ποικισαι,
εμμελεν-
ται, Vid.
Epiphan.
Exposit.
Fidei ca-
thol. c. 21.
De duobus
ultimis,
Const. A-
post. l. 8.
c. 24, 26.
b See *AE.*
11. 26.
*Socr. lib. 6.
c. 8. Theod.
l. 2. c. 24.
2.**

a In *Tom.
1. Biblioth.
Patrum
edit. Pa i-
sens. ex
Archivo
Viennensi.*

house unto the Church for the use of sacred assemblies. "*Antequam Roma exiisset*, saith he, *soror nostra* "*Euprepia* (sicut bene recordaris) *titulum domus sue pauperibus assignavit: ubi nunc cum pauperibus nostris commorantes, Missas agimus*. He seems by *pauperes*, to note the Clergy, which in his other Epistle he calls *Senatus pauperum*, *Salutat te Senatus pauperum*: Otherwise the whole Christian flock might be so called; according to that in the Gospel, *Pauperes Evangelizantur*, (Mat. 11. 5. Luc. 7. 22.) and that of *Esa. c. 61.* applied by our Saviour *Luc. 4.* "*The Lord hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor*: and according to that in the Parable, *Luc 14. 21. Introduc pauperes, Bring in hither the poor*. Perhaps in those perilous times, they were wont to make their donations of this kinde under such covert names.

In his 2. Epistle to the same *Iustus*, he mentions certain Martyrs, who had then newly (as he there speaks) *triumphed over the world*: Amongst which he mentions one *Pastor*; by Office a *Presbyter*; who before his death, had erected or created a *Titulus*, that is, a Church, as that name is vulgarly known to signify: "*Presbyter Pastor* (saith he) *Titulum condidit, & dignè in Domino abiit*. Why the Roman Church called such places by the name of *Tituli*, whether because by their dedication the name of Christ our Lord was, as it were, inscribed upon them, (as the manner then was to set the names or titles of the owners upon their Houses and possessions;) and so it would concur in notion with those other names of *Κυριακόν* & *Basilica*, *The Lords, and the Kings*: or whether because they gave a title of Cure or denomination to the Pres-

b The word *Missa* seems to have been long used in Italy before it was else where.

Presbyters, to whom they were committed, (for the chief or Episcopall Church I doubt whether it were so called or not) let others determine.

I shall not do amisse, I think, if I adde to this testimony a passage of *Theophilus Antiochenus*, (who lived at the same time) which though, I grant, it be indifferent to be otherwise understood; yet seems very prone to be construed for our purpose: It is to be found in his second Book *ad Autolycum*, where having compared the world to the Sea, he follows the Allegory thus; "*Quemadmodum* (saith he) *in Mari insulae quaedam prominent habitabiles, frugiferae, & quibus est aqua salubris, necnon navalia, & portus commodi, quod se naufragi reciperent; Sic Deus dedit mundo, qui peccatorum tempestatibus & naufragiis iactatur, Synagogas, quas Ecclesias sanctas nominamus, [Gr. τὰς συναγωγὰς λεγόμενας ἑκκλησίας ἁγίας] in quibus veritatis doctrina fervet, ad quas confugiunt veritatis studiosi, quotquot salvari, Deique iudicium & iram evitare volunt. It is ambiguous what he means here by Ecclesia: but if it were probable, that Synagoga were here taken, as it is usually in the *New Testament*, for a place; then might we determine, that Ecclesia were so taken also, and not for a Company or Assembly onely.*

3. Well, howsoever Ecclesia be taken in this passage (which I reckon not upon,) yet thus much I am sure of, that toward the end of this Century, it was used for a place of sacred assembly: witnesse *Clemens Alexandr.* (who then lived) *Lib. 7. Strom.* where speaking "of the Church or ἑκκλησία: Οὐ γὰρ τὸν τόπον, saith he, ὁμολογῶ τὸ ἄστρον τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἑκκλησίαν καλεῖσθαι, I call not now the Place, but the congregation of the Elect, Ecclesia:

Ecclesia: whereby it appears, that in his time *Ecclesia* was used for the place of the assembly of the Elect, *τόπος τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν*, as he calls them, that is, of the Saints, and not for the congregation onely. For otherwise this caution needed not. And so himself uses it in that story of the young man, whom S. *John* committed to a Bishop of Asia to be instructed and trained up in the Christian piety and discipline, and who afterwards was by ill company withdrawn to lewd and debauched courses, and became Captain of a band of robbers in the Mountains. For there when S. *John*, after a time coming again to visit the Churches, demanded of the Bishop an account of the charge he had committed to him; The Bishop answers, *“He is become a villain and a robber, καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ ἐν ἐσὶ κατέλαβε μὲν ὁμοίῳ τροπῇ, and now instead of the Church, he hath laid hold of a Mountain, with a company like himself.* To conclude, if the name were in *Clemens* his time, undoubtedly the thing was. And this is my proof for the latter end of this Centurie.

Oratories) whereof *Gaius* speaks, in *Euf. & ca's Tropaea Apost. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

Clem. Alex in Opere, Quis sit ille dives, qui salvetur, Apud Euf. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 17. & c. 27. Also in this Centurie undoubtedly were extant those fabricks in the Coemeteries of S. Peter, in the Vatican, & of S. Paul in via Ostiensis (which could be no other then some Christian

IN THE THIRD CENTURIE.



OW are we arrived at the third *Seculum*, and the last under the Ethnic and persecuting Emperours: Wherein the Testimonies of the Christians Oratories do abound, and are such as will out-face any that shall dare contradict them.

For the beginning of this Centurie, *Tertullian* shall give in evidence; First, In his Book *De Idololatria*. Where declaiming against some Christian Artificers, who,

Ab Anno 200. ad 300.

who, because it was their occupation and trade, thought it lawfull to make Idols for the Gentiles, so themselves worshipped them not; he speaks thus :
 “ *Tota die, ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit, inge-*
 “ *mens Christianum ab Idolis in ECCLESIAM venire, de*
 “ *adversaria officina in DOMUM DEI venire; attollere ad*
 “ *Deum patrem manus matres Idolorum, his manibus*
 “ *adorare, qua (nempe in operibus suis) foris (i. in Tem-*
 “ *plis Gentium) adversus Deum adorantur; eas manus*
 “ *admove re Corpori Domini, qua Damonis corpora con-*
 “ *ferunt.* Mark here, *DOMUS DEI*, & *ECCLESIA* expound-
 ed by it; *In Ecclesiam venire, id est, In Domum Dei*
venire, & both of the set in oppositiō to an Idol-shop.

Of this *Domus Dei* or House of God, in his Book
adversus Valentinianos, cap. 2. he describes unto us the
 form and posture, upon this occasion. He compares
 the *Valentinian* heresie, in respect of their affected se-
 crecie, & reservednesse in hiding the mysteries of their
 doctrine, to the *Eleusinian Holies*; whose Temple had
 many Curtains and doors, through which those, that
 were to be initiated, were five years in passing, before
 they could be admitted unto the *Adytum* or Sacrarie,
 where the Deity was: Whereas contrariwise, he pro-
 veth out of Scripture, the badge and genius of the
 Religion of Christ, to consist in a Dove-like simplici-
 ty and opennesse, and accordingly had its Oratories
 or Houses of worship, not like that of the *Eleusinian*
Holies, concealed with multiplicity of walls, vails,
 turnings and windings, but agreeable to, and as it were
 figuring its disposition. “ For, *Nostra Columba domus*
 “ (saith he) *simplex, etiam in editis & apertis; & ad*
 “ *lucem. Amat figuram Sp. sancti, Orientem Christi fi-*
 “ *guram:*

"*guram: Nihil veritas erubescit, &c..... Nostra Co-*
lumbæ domus, i. Domus religionis nostra columbina,
 or *Catholici Christi gregis, qui Columba figuratur;*
 namely, as he said a little before, *Christum Columba de-*
monstrare solita est, serpens vero tentare; meaning, as I
 suppose, not so much Christ personall, as Christ my-
 sticall, that is, the Disciples, or Religion of Christ.
 For it is the conclusion of his proofs brought out of
 Scripture, to shew, that simplicity was the Livery of
 Christs Disciples or Religion; *In summa*, saith he,
Christum columba demonstrare solita est, &c. And o-
 therwise, that *solita est* would scarcely be true; since
 Christ personall is but once pointed out by a Dove,
 namely, at his Baptism. This House, saith he, is *sim-*
plex, that is, *sine tot portarum & sipariorum involueris:*
Also in edicis & apertis, places which Doves delight
 in: *Et ad lucem*, that is, toward the place whence light
 springeth, or the Sun-rising: For *Amat figuram Sp.*
sancti, that is, the Dove, as also *Orientem Christi fi-*
gurans; wherein he alludes to that *Oriens ex alto*, or
Day-spring from on high, in Zacharies Benedictus, and
 hath reference to the word, *Et ad lucem i. ad locum vel*
plagam lucis. For, that the Churches of Christians
 anciently were turned toward the East, appears by the
 Author of the * Apostolicall Constitutions, which
 surely are as ancient as *Tertullian*. *Domus sit oblonga,*
ad Orientem conversa, saith he; Besides it appears out
 of * *Tertullian* himself, that Christians then worship-
 ped towards the East, and therefore more then pro-
 bable, their houses were sited and accommodated ac-
 cordingly. Thus I have done my best to clear this
 passage, because the Author is crabbed and obscure.

There.

* *Avatod*
τὸ πῶτος
τὸ καὶ πῶτος.
Cyrl. Hier.
 * *Lib. i. c.*
 57 al. 61.

a *Apol. c.*
 16.

b De Spect.
c. 25. Ad
Vxor. l. 2.
c. 9. De co-
ron. milit.
cap. 3. De
velandis
virginibus,
c. 3. & 13.

There are two or three ^b more places in the same Father, where the Christian Oratories are mentioned by the name of *Ecclesia*: but because the ambiguous and indifferent signification of this word, either for a Place or an Assembly, makes them not convictive, unlesse some circumstance be annexed, which determines it; I will onely produce that *De corona Militis*, Cap. 3. where concerning the Sacrament of Baptism he speaks thus; "*Aquam adisuri, ibidem, sed & al-
quanto prius in ECCLESIA, sub Antistitis manu, conte-
stamur, nos rennunciare Diabolo, & Pompa & Angelis
ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur.*" I say *Ecclesia* here signifies the Place. For the clearing whereof, know, that the Baptisteries, or places of water for Baptism, in those elder times, were not, as now our Fonts are, within the Church, but without, and often in places very remote from it. When therefore *Tertullian* here saith; That those, who were to be baptized, first made their abrenunciation in the Church *sub manu Antistitis*, (that is, as I suppose, the Bishop or Priest laying hands upon them, either in the mean time, or as soon as they had done) and afterward again at the Water: He must needs by *Ecclesia* mean the Place; otherwise, if it were taken for the Assembly of the faithfull, the Church in that sense was present also at the Water. But *Ecclesia* here and the *Water* are supposed to be two distinct places; in both of which (according to the rite of the African Churches) Abrenunciation was to be performed: "*Aquam adisuri, IBIDEM (i. apud aquam) sed & aliquando prius in Ec-
clesia, contestamur, nos rennunciare Diabolo, &c.*" And thus much for the testimony of *Tertullian*.

My

My next witnesse is *Hippolytus*, who flourished between the twentieth and thirtieth year of this Century in the reign of *Alexander Mamea*. He in his Treatise *De consummatione mundi seu de Antichristo*, describing the signes and impieties which should precede the persecution of Antichrist (as he conceived thereof,) hath this passage concerning the irreligion and prophanenesse which should then reign; “Οἱ Ναὶ τῶ Θεοῦ οἱ οἶκοι ἐσονται, *Templa Dei domorum communium* “*instar erunt; ubique Ecclesiarum eversiones fient; scriptura contemnentur.* And in his description of the persecution it self, This; “τὰ Ἱερὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αἵς * ὑπορουλάκιον γυνήσονται, &c. *Sacræ Ecclesiarum* “*ades instar Pomorum custodia erunt, pretiosamque corpus & sanguis non exstabit in diebus illis, Liturgia extinguetur, Psalmorum decantatio cessabit, scripturarum recitatio non audietur.* No man of reason can beleieve, but that he that speaks thus, knew & was well acquainted with such Places in his own time; though his description be of that which was to be in time to come. For it would be a marvellous conceit, to think he prophesied of them, having never seen them. Nay, a prophane Testimony will further confirm us, the needed not: For *Lampridius* reports of this *Alexander Mamea*, (in whose time *Hippolytus* lived) *Quod* “*cum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra Popinarii dicerent, sibi eum debere: rescripsit Imperator, Melius esse, ut quomodocunque* “*illuc Deus colatur, quàm Popinariis dedatur.*

About the middle of this Century flourished that famous *Gregorie of Neccasarea*, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*. He in his *Epistola Canonica*: (as the the Greeks

* Ex Psal.
79. 2. &
ceteris similibus
juxta
LXX.

Cap. 49.

call it) describing the 5. degrees or admissions of Pœnitents, according to the discipline of his time (which
 "he calls Πόρταντες, ἀρχαίτες, ὑποθήκτες, αἰσάντες, & μετέθετες)
 "Πόρταντες (saith he) ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς πορτᾶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ο-
 "RATORII, ubi peccatorum stantem oportet fideles in-
 "gredientes orare, ut pro se precentur. Ἀρχαίτες (.i. Au-
 "ditio) ἐστὶν ἰντρά πορτᾶν ἰν τόκῳ οὗ Νάεδνῆς δicitur, ubi
 "οπορεύεται ἐκ τῶν πεccάτων ἵνα ἔσθῃ ἐκ τῶν Κατεχουμένων,
 "ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐγείρεται. ὑποθήκτες (.i. substratio) ἵνα ἐκ τῶν
 "τῶν τῶν ΝΑΟῦ τῶν πύλων ἵνα ἐγείρεται, ut ἰντρά Τεμπλὸς πορτᾶν
 "consistens cum catechumenis egrediatur. Σύναντες (.i.
 "congregatio, seu consistentia) ἐστὶν ut cum fidelibus consi-
 "stat, & cum catechumenis non egreditur. Postremo ἐστὶν
 "μετέθετες, participatio Sacramentorum. Who sees not
 here, that Christians in his time had Oratories or sa-
 cred Houses to worship in, and those accommodated
 with distinct places of remoter and nearer admission?
 Nay further we finde in this Gregories life written
 by Gregorie Niffon, that he was himself a great Foun-
 der and erecter of these sacred Edifices; whereof the
 Church built by him at Neocæsarea in Pontus, (where
 he was Bishop) was still standing in Gregorie Niffens
 time. Hear his words, where he relates the speedy and
 wonderfull successe this Thaumaturgus had in the con-
 version of that City: "Cum omnibus omnia fieret,
 "saith he, tantum sibi auxilio spiritus reponere populum
 "adjuvante, ut ad Templi fabricationem animum adiceret
 "(ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων Νάεδνῆς ὑποθήκτες) cum omnes offeren-
 "do, tam pecunias quam operas suas, studium ejus ad-
 "juvarent. Hoc est Templum quod usque hodie ostendi-
 "tur, quod magnus ille vir statim aggressus, quasi fun-
 "damentum atque ὑποθήκτες Sacerdotii sui (.i. Episcopatus)

"in

"in maxime conspicuo urbis loco constituit. He adds besides, that, whereas in his own time there had happened a most grievous Earthquake; "*Quo omnia tam publica quam privata edificia disiecta essent; solum illud Templum Gregorianum illa sum & inconcussum mansisse.*"

Nor is this all; He tels in the same place, how that a little before the persecution of Decius (which was Anno Christi 252.) this *Thaumaturgus*, having converted, not the City of Neocæsarea onely, but the whole territory adjoining, to the faith of Christ, [*Βασίλειον* & *ἱερὰ, καὶ εἰδόμενα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνατεταγμένα*], the converts "*pulling down their Idol-Altars, and Idol-Temples, and in every place erecting* *ἐκτίθειεν δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὁσίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ* "*Oratories in nomine Christi* Ades, stirred up the fury and indignation of the Emperour.

About the same time with this *Gregory*, lived *S. Cyprian* at Carthage. In him I observe the Christian Oratories twice remembred; once by the name of *Dominicum*, [*Κυριακόν*]; another time of *Hoclesia*. The first in his Book *De opere & elemosynis*, speaking against communicating the holy Eucharist without an offering. "*Matrona*, saith he, *qua in Ecclesia Christi locuples & dives es, Dominicum (sacrificium) celebrare te credis, qua corbonam omnino non respicis? quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, qua partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit, sumis?*" The other in his 55. Ep. or 3: *ad Cornelium*; where declaiming against some lapsed Christians, who having in time of persecution sacrificed unto Idols; would neverthelesse, without due penance and satisfaction, be admitted again into the Church: If this be once permitted (saith he)

He was made Bishop, Ann. 249. lived until 260.

Scrip. an. 253.

“*Quid superest quàm ut Ecclesia Capitolio cedat; & recedentibus sacerdotibus ac Domini nostri Altare remonentibus, in Cleri nostri sacrum venerandum; ne concessum (i. in Presbyterium, seu τὸ ἀγιον Βήμα) simulacra atque Idola cum Aris suis transeant?* Note, that Ecclesia here and Capitolium, Christs House and Jupiters Temple, stand in opposition one to the other; also that Capitolium by *Antonomasia* is put for a Gentile Temple in generall; that in the one (to wit, Ecclesia) was *Altare Domini nostri, & sacer venerandusque concessus Cleri*; in the other, *Idola & simulacra cum Aris Diaboli*.

Contemporary with S. Cyprian was that famed Dionysius Alexandrinus, made Bishop somewhat before him, but out-lived him some 5. years, namely untill 265. There is an Epistle of his extant (which is part of the Canon Law of the Greek Church) to one Basilides resolving certain quæres of his, Amongst the rest, whether a woman during the time of her separation might enter into the Church or not; To which, his answer is negative. This *Quære* he expresseth thus; “*De mulieribus quæ sunt in abscessu, an eas sic affectas oporteat Domum Dei ingredi*, gr. εἰς τὸ ὄικον εἰσέρχαι τῷ Θεῷ. By which, and his answer thereunto, we learn not onely that the Christians had then Houses of Worship, but a religious respect also to difference them from common places.

And here, because the time fitly presents it in our way, take notice, for some reason that we shall hear of ere we have done: That this of the Christians having such houses for their devotiōs, was a thing publicly known to the Gentiles themselves, together with the

name:

name whereby they called them: as appears by two Imperiall Rescripts, the one of *Galiennus* about the year 260. recorded by *Eusebius*, *Hist. lib. 7. cap. 12.* which calls them Τ'ΟΠΟΙ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΣΙΜΟΙ, *Worshipping Places*; which having been a little before, in the persecution of *Valerianus* his Father, taken from the Christians, and then in the hands of the Gentiles, *Galiennus* graciously restored them unto them, with liberty freely to exercise their Religion. The words of the Rescript, so much of them as is needfull to our purpose, are these; "*Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Galiennus, &c. Dionysio, Punia, Demetrio, & ceteris Episcopis, salutem. Mea munificentia beneficium per univrsam divulgari Orbem praecepi: Vt ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν Θρησκευσιμῶν, i. à locis religionis cultui dicatis discedatur. Et propterea vos mearum literarum exemplari uti poteritis, quo nemo deinceps vobis quicquam facezzat molestia, &c.*"

The other is of *Aurelianus*, *De libris Sibyllinis inspicendis*, when the *Marcomanni* invaded the Empire, *Anno Ch. 271.* recorded by *Vopiscus*, in these words: "*Miror vos, Patres sancti, (he writes to the Senate) tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris; perinde quasi in Christianorum Ecclesia, non in Templo Deorum omnium tractaretis; that is, in the Capitol, where the Senate used sometimes to sit.*"

Add to this, if you please, that which *Eusebius* relates of this Emperour, to wit, that when *Paulus Samosatenus*, being deposed by the Councell from his Bishoprick, and *Domnus* chosen in his room, would not yeeld up the possession of the Church τῆς Ἐκκλησίας: The matter being brought before *Aurelianus*

the Emperour, he decrees, that it should be given to those of the Sect, unto whom the Bishops of Rome and Italy should send Letters of communion: *Sic de-*
"mum Paulus (saith Eusebius) à seculari potestate, sum-
"mo cum dedecore, ex Ecclesia expellitur. For that by *τῆς ἑκκλησίας δίκης* is here meant the Christians Oratorie or house of sacred assembly at *Antioch*, (and not the Bishops house, as some would have it) appears, both because *Eusebius* elsewhere so uses it, as namely *Lib. 8. cap. ult. & Lib. 9. cap. 8.* as also, because he expounds himself presently by *Ecclesia*, when he saith; *" Sic Paulus summo cum dedecore, à potestate seculari, ex*
" Ecclesia exigitur. For surely he meant not, that he was by the *secular arm* cast out of the Church, as Church is taken for the company of the Faithfull, but as it signifies the Place of sacred assembly, where this *Paulus* kept possession, after he was deposed for herefie by the Councell.

But what need we trouble our selves thus to gather up Testimonies for the latter half of this *Seculum*? I have one Testimony behinde, which will dispatch it all at once, yea, and if need be, depose for the whole also. It is that of *Eusebius* in his eight Book *Hist. Eccl.* in the beginning: where describing those peacefull and Halcyonian dayes, which the Church enjoyed for many years, from the time of the Martyrdome of *S. Cyprian* unto that most direfull persecution of *Dioclesian*, and how wonderfully the number of Christians was advanced during that time, he speaketh on this manner: *" Quomodo quisquam inf-*
" nitâ illos hominum turbâ frequentatos conventus, cæ-
" tuumque in singulis urbibus congregatorum multitu-
" dinem,

“*dinem, illustresque in* * *Oratoriis concursus describere*
 “*valeat* : *Quorum causa, quum in* : *Antiquis illis*
 “*Ædificiis satis amplius loci non haberent (vel, anti-*
 “*quis illis ædificiis hucusquam amplius contenti)*
 “*amplas spatiosasque in omnibus urbibus ex funda-*
 “*mentis crexerunt Ecclesias.* Lo here, how in those
 Halcyonian dayes, Christians had not onely Churches
 or Houses of worship, but such as might then be cal-
 led τὰ παλαιὰ οἰκοδομήματα, *ancient ædifices*; which how
 far it may reach, let others judge. Secondly, that the
 number of Christians being grown so great, that those
 ancient Fabricks were no longer sufficient to contain
 them, they erected new and more spacious ones in e-
 very City from the foundations: And all this testifi-
 ed by one that himself lived and saw part of those
 times. These sacred *Ædifices*, *Dioclesian*, and those
 other surrogated Emperours, (which continued that
 direfull ten years persecution begun by him) comman-
 ded by their Edicts to be every where demolished, as
 we may read in the same *Eusebius* at large. The like
 whereunto seems never to have happened in any of the
 former persecutions; in which they were onely taken
 from the Christians; but again, when the persecuti-
 on ceased, for the most part restored unto them: as in
 the former persecution they were by *Galiennus*, under
 the name of τόποι θρησκευτικοί.

And thus I think I have proved, by good and suf-
 ficient Testimonies, that Christians had Oratories or
 Churches, that is, appropriate Places for Christian
 worship in every of the first 300. years: I am well as-
 sured (whosoever be Judge) long before the dayes of
Constantine. I will adde to these authorities two or

three reasons, why they must, in all likelihood, have had such Places; First, because it is certain, that in their sacred assemblies they used then to worship and pray towards the East: which how it could be done with any order and conveniencie, is not easie to be conceived; unlesse we suppose the Places wherein they worshipped, to have been situated and accommodated accordingly; that is, chosen and appointed to that end. Secondly, because of their discipline, which required distinct and regular Places in their assemblies, for the *Penitentes*, *Auditores*, *Catechumeni*, & *Fideles*, and therefore argueth, they met not in every place promiscuously, but in Places already fitted and accommodated for that purpose. Lastly, because they had before their eyes an example and pattern in the *Proseucha's* and *Synagogues* of the Jews, from whom their Religion had its beginning; which though as contrary to the Religion of the Empire as theirs, yet had places appropriate for the exercise thereof, wheresoever they lived dispersed among the Gentiles. Who can beleieve, that such a pattern should not invite the Christians to on imitation of the same, though we should suppose, there were no other reasons to induce them, but that of ordinary conveniencie.

Wheresoever ten men of Israel were, there ought to be built a Synagogue.
Maimon. Tephilla. c. 1. § 1.

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTIONS.

Objeſt. I.

I Come now to answer the Objections brought by such as maintain the contrary opinion, which are two. First, say they, It is not likely, no not possible, they should have any such places living under a Pagan

Pagan and persecuting State and Empire. I answer; this Objection is ready confuted by matter of fact: For it is to be noted, that the greatest and most cruell Persecutions, and the five last of the ten, fall within the third or last Centurie; In which, that Christians had Oratories or Houses of Christian worship, we have before proved by most indubitate and irrefragable testimonies: But if in this, why not aswell in the former Ages, wherein the persecutions were, as no more in number, so far lesse bitter? For it is to be taken notice of, that these Persecutions were not continuall, but as it were by fits, and those of the two first Centuries of no long durance: so as the Churches enjoyed long times of peace and quietnesse between them.

Besides, why should it seem to any one lesse credible, that Christians should have their Oratories or Houses of worship under the Roman Empire, whilst the State thereof was yet Gentile and opposite to the faith of Christ; then that they had them in the Kingdom of Persia, which never was Christian? For, that they had them there as old as the days of *Constantine*, *Sozomen* testifieth, *Lib. 2. c. 8.* The occasion of the demolishing whereof by *K. Isdigerdes*, and of that most barbarous persecution of the Christians of those Countries for thirty years together, about the year 400. *Theodore* relates *Lib. 5. c. 38.* namely, that one *Audas*, out of an indiscreet and unseasonable zeal, (though otherwise a vertuous and godly Bishop) having demolished the Persians *Pyraum*, or Temple where the Fire was worshipped, and refusing to build it up again as was enjoyned him; the King thereupon mightily

mightily enraged, caused all the Christians Oratories or Churches in his Dominions to be demolished likewise, and that horrible persecution before mentioned, to storm against them. Could the Christians finde means and opportunity to erect Churches, that is, houses for their Religion under a Pagan government in Persia, & could they not under the Roman Empire?

Objeſt. 2.

The other Objection is from the Authors of Apologies against the Gentiles, *Origen* against *Celsus*, *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*, who when the Gentiles object Atheism to the Christians, as having no *Templa*, no *Ara*, no *Simulacra*; these Authors are so far from pleading they had any such, that they answer by way of concession, not onely granting they had none, but (which is more) affirming, they ought not to have, and condemning the Gentiles which had. *Celsus*, saith *Origen*, ait nos *Ararum*, & *statuarum*, *Templorumque* *fundationes* *fugere*: *Origen* denies it not, but gives the reason: *Templorum* *fundationes* *fugimus*, *quia* *ubi* *per* *Iesu* *doctrinam* *comperimus*, *quem* *admodum* *colendus* *ſit* *Deus*, *ea* *nos* *evitamus*, *qua* *sub* *pietatis* *prætextu* & *opinionē* *quadam* *impios* *reddant*, *qui* *à* *vero* *per* *Iesum* *cultu* *aberrando* *falluntur*, *qui* *utique* *ſolus* *eſt* *veri* *cultus* *via*, *verè* *que* *illud* *profatur*, *Ego* *ſum* *via*, *veritas*, & *vita*.

MINUTIUS FELIX when *Cecilius* objects, *Cur* *occultare* & *abscondere*, *quicquid* *illud* *quod* *colunt* *magnopere* *nituntur*? *Cur* *nullas* *aras* *habent*? *Templa* *nulla*? *nulla* *nota* *Simulacra*? *nisi* *illud* *quod* *colunt* & *interpretantur*, *aut* *puniendum* *eſt*, *aut* *pudendum*; brings in his *Oſtavius* answering thus: *Putatis* *autem* *nos* *occultare* *quod* *colimus*, *ſi* *Delubra* & *Aras* *non* *habe-*

mus

mus ? Quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, cum si rectè existimes, sis Dei homo ipse simulacrum ? Templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus, ejus operâ fabricatus, eum capere non possit ? & cum homo latius maneam, intra unam Ediculam vim tanta Majestatis includam ? nonne melius in nostra deducendus est mente ? in nostro imo consecrandus est pectore ?

ARNOBIVS: *In hac consuetis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque Edes sacras venerationis ad officia extruamus, non Deorum aliqujus Simulacrum constituamus aut formam, non altaria fabricemus, non Aras. He denies none of this, but answers: Tempia quarimus, in Deorum quos usus ? aut in cuius rei necessitatem, aut dicitis esse constructa, aut esse rursus adificanda censetis ? &c.....*

LACTANTIUS condemns the Gentiles for having them: *Cur, inquit, oculos in cælum non tollitis ? & advocatis Deorum nominibus, in aperto sacrificia celebratis ? Cur ad parietes & ligna & lapides potissimum, quàm illò spectatis, ubi Deos esse creditis ? Quid sibi Tempia ? Quid Ara volunt ? quid denique ipsa simulacra ?* Who would now think, that Christians had any Churches or Houses of worship in these Authors days ?

This Objection indeed looks very big at the first sight, but it is no more but a shew, and we shall deal well enough with it. For we are to take notice, that these Authors all four of them lived and wrote with in, and after the third *Sæculum* was begun, and the eldest of them *Minutius Felix* after *Tertullian*; *Origen* after him: yea, why do I say, after the third *Sæculum* was begun, or within it ? when as two of them, *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, lived and wrote rather after it was ended,

*Institut.
adversus
Gentes, lib.
2. cap. 2.*

ended, and in the beginning of the fourth; *Arnobius* in the time of the Persecution of *Diocletian*, *Lactantius* somewhat after him: for he was his Scholler and dedicates his Institutions *adversus Gentes*, to *Constantine* the Great.

Now then remember, what authorities and testimonies were even now produced for the Christians Oratories all that *Seculum* throughout, not probabilities onely, but such as are altogether irrefragable and past contradiction. This they seem not to have considered, unless they dissembled it, who so securely urge these passages, to infer a Conclusion point-blank against evidence of Fact. As for example; (I will alledge no more, but what is out of possibility to be denyed or eluded.) Had the Christians no Oratories or Churches in *Gregory Thaumaturgus* his time? Had they none in *S. Cyprians*? Had they none in the days of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*? Had they none, when *Gallienus* released their τ' ο' π' ο' ι θρησκασμοι? Had they none in those halcyonian days whereof *Eusebius* speaks, when the multitude of Christians was grown so great, that τὰ πάλαι οἰκοδομήματα, the ancient Edifices were no longer able to contain their Assemblies; but that they were fain to build new and spacious Churches in every City from the foundations? Had they none, when the Edict of *Diocletian* came forth for demolishing them? For all these were before, that either *Arnobius* or *Lactantius* wrote. Let those therefore, who put so much confidence in these passages, tell us, before they conclude, how to unite this knott, and then then they shall say something.

What then, will you say, is the meaning of these passages

passages, and how may they be satisfied, and this
 scruple taken off? I answer: The Gentiles in these
 Objections had a peculiar notion of what they called
 a *Temple*, and these Fathers and Authors, in their dis-
 putes with them, answer them according unto it. For
 they defined a Temple by an Idol, and the inclosure
 of a Deity; not of the statue or Image onely, but of
 the *Demon* himself: that is, they supposed their gods
 by the power of spels and magicall consecrations, to
 be retained and shut up in their Temples, as birds in
 a Cage, or the devill within a circle; that so their sup-
 pliants might know where to have them, when they
 had occasion to seek unto them; and that, for such
 retaining or circumscribing of them in a certain Place,
 an Idol was necessary, as the center of their colloca-
 tion. Thus much *Origen* himself will inform us in
 those his disputes against *Celsus*, as in his 3. Book
pag. 135. Editionis Græcolat. where he describes, Νεὸς
 καὶ ἰδόλωμα, Temples and Idols to be places where
Demons are ἱερόμνητοι, enthroned or seated, either having
 præoccupied such places of themselves, ἢ ἡ δὲ πρῶτον
 τελετῶν ἀχθέντες καὶ μαγανειῶν, ὡς περ οἰκῶσι, or brought
 thither by certain ceremonies and magicall invoca-
 tions, do as it were dwell there. And again, *Lib. 7.*
pag 385. in fin. telling us, that *Demons* τοιοῖς δὲ παρα-
 καθίζονται σχήμασι καὶ χωρίοις, set in those kinde of forms,
 and places, (*viz.* Idols and Temples) ἢ τοι ὑπὸ πρῶτον
 μαγανειῶν κατεκλιθέντες, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως συνθέντες περιεταλα-
 βεῖν ἑαυτοῖς τόπους, &c. either lodged and confined thi-
 ther by magicall consecrations, or otherwise having
 præoccupied the places of themselves; where they
 are delightfully fed and refreshed (for so the Gen-
 tiles

“tiles thought) with the midor and savour of the Sacrifices. I shall not need to produce the rest of his sayings to the same purpose; let him that will, consult him further in the end of that 7. Book pag. 389. and a little before pag. 387. *in fine*. To this confining of gods in Temples (that so those that had occasion to use their help might not be to seek, but know where to finde them;) that also of *Menander* cited by *Iustin Martyr*, in his *De Monarchia Dei*, hath reference.

‘Ουδείς (saith he) μ’ ἀρέσκει πειπατῶν ἔξω Θεός,

‘Ουδείς δικίαν παραλείπων ἐπὶ τῷ σαρδίῃ.

————— ἢ δίχαιον δὲ Ἰ Θεόν

‘Οἱκοι μένειν σώζοντα τὰς ἰδρυμένους.

*No God pleaseth me that gods abroad,
None that leaves his house shall come in my Book.
————— A just and good God ought
To tarry at home to save those that placed him.*

According to this notion of a Temple, these Authors alledged grant, that Christians neither had any Temples, no nor ought to have; Forasmuch as the God whom they worshipped, was such a one as filled the heaven and the earth, and dwelt *not in Temples made with hands*. And because the Gentiles appropriated the name of a Temple to this notion of encloistering a Deity by an Idol; therefore the Christians of those first Ages, for the most part, abstained therefrom, especially when they had to deal with Gentiles; calling their houses of Worship *Ecclesiæ*, or οἶκοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἀγὰ (whence is the Dutch and our English *Kirk* and *Church*) in Latine *Dominica*; Εὐκτήρια & προσευκτήρια, that is, *Ooratories*, or οἶκοι εὐκτήριος, or προσευχήν, or the like: seldom Ναοί, or *Templa*; that appella-

appellation being grown, by the use of both sides, into a name of distinction of the houses of Gentile superstition from those of Christian Worship. Which that I affirm, not upon bare conjecture, these examples will make manifest: First, that of *Aurelian* the Emperor, before alledged, in his Epistle to the Senate, "*De libris Sibyllinis inspiciendis: Miror vos, Patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris, perinde quasi in Christianorum Ecclesia, non in Templo Decurum omnium tractaretis.*" And that of *Zeno Peronensis* in his Sermon *de Continentia: Proponimus itaque, ut saepe contingit, in unum sibi convenire diversa religionis diem, quo tibi Ecclesia, illis adenda sint Tempora.* (He speaks of a Christian woman married to a Gentile.) That also of *S. Hierom* in his Epistle *ad Riparium*, saying of *Julian* the Apostate, "*Quod sanctorum Basilicas, aut destruxeris, aut in Tempora converteris.*" Thus they spake, when they would distinguish: Otherwise, now and then, the Christian Fathers use the words *Nave* or *Templum*, for *Ecclesia*; but respecting the Temple of the true God at Jerusalem; not the notion of the Gentiles.

That this answer is true and genuine, I prove, first, because the Gentiles themselves, who objected this want to the Christians, neither were, nor could be ignorant, that they had Oratories where they performed their Christian service, when they were so notoriously known (as we saw before) to the Emperours *Galenus* and *Aurelian*; and a controversy about one of them referred unto the latter; when also the Emperours Edicts flew about in every City for demolishing them. Why therefore do they object in this manner,

According to this notion of *Templum*, *Textull.* cap. 15. de Idololatria. Si Templis renuncias, nesceris Templum januam tuam. Et de corona mil. Excubabit (nempe Christianus) pro Templo quibus renuaciaris? & canabit illic ubi Apostolo non placet? Id est, in Idoleo. 1 Cor. cap. 8. 10.

1.

• manner, but because, for the defect of something they thought thereto necessary, they esteemed not those Oratories for Temples ?

2. Secondly, because in that dispute between *Origen* and *Celsus*, it is supposed by both, that the Persians and Jews were, as concerning this matter, in like condition with the Christians; neither of both induring to worship their Gods in Temples. Hear *Origen* speak, *Lib. 7. p. 385, 386.* “*Licet Scythæ, Afrique, Numidæ, & impii Seres, aliaque gentes, ut Celsus ait.....atque etiam Persæ averfentur TEMPLA, ARAS, STATUUS, non eandem averfandi causam, esse illis & nobis: and a little after; Inter abhorrentes à statuarum, templorum, ararum ceremoniis, Scythæ, Numidæ, impiique Seres & Persæ, aliis moventur rationibus, quàm Christiani & Judæi, quibus religio est sic numen colere. Illarum enim gentium nemo ab his alienus est....quod intelligat, Demonas DEVINCTOS habere CERTIS LOCIS & STATUIS sive incantatos quibusdam magicis carminibus, sive aliàs incubantes locis semel præoccupatis, ubi luncum more, se oblectant victimarum nidoribus.... Caterum, Christiani homines, & Judæi, sibi temperant ab his, propter illud legis; Dominum Deum suum timebis, & ipsi soli servies: item propter illud; Non erant tibi alieni Dii præter me, & Non facies tibi ipsi simulacrum, &c.* Lo here, it is all one with *Origen* to have *Templa*, as to worship a other gods: as it was a little before with *Minutius Felix* his *Octavius* (if you mark it) to have *Delubra & Simulacra*.
Yet certainly neither *Celsus* nor *Origen*, whatsoever they here say of the Persians and Jews, were ignorant, that the Persians had their *Pyra* or *Pyra-thæa*

a So with
Tertullian
in the places
before
alledge in
the margin
Renunciasset
Temples
dicitur qui
Idolis.

b Strabo li.
15 in ap-
pend. ad
Herodot.
Theod. li. 5.
c 38. Yca,
Sic de I po
Nance in
Elymaide
Persidis.
1 Mac. 6. 2.
2 Mac. 1. 1.
ver. 13.

thaa (Houses where the Fire was worshipped) though without Images or Statues: also, that the Jews had both then, and also formerly, in their *Synagogues* and *Proseucha*, in the places and Countries where they were dispersed; and once a most glorious and magnificent Temple or Sanctuary: *Ergo*, by *Temples* they understand not houses of prayer and religious rites in the generall; but *ἱερὸν*, places where *Demons* were incloistered by the position of an Idol, or consecrated Statue. And here let me adde (because it is not impertinent) what I have observed in reading the *Itinerarium* of *Benjamin Tudelensis*, the Jew; namely, that he expresses constantly after this manner, the Oratories of Jews, Turks, and Christians by differing names: those of the Jews he calls *בית מדרש*. i. Houses of assembly, or *Synagogues*: The Turkish Mosques *مدرسة* *Houses of prayer*; but the Christian Churches, because of Images (yea that renowned Church of *S. Sophie* it self) he called alwayes *בית עמוד* *BAMOTH*, the name of the Idol-Temples in the Old Testament, which we translate *High-places*. This I note for an example of that proneness in Religions of a contrary Rite, thus to distinguish, as other things, so their Places of worship by diversity of names, though they communicate in the same common nature and use.

Thirdly, that the answer I have given to these objected passages is genuine, I prove: because some of these Authors acknowledge elsewhere, that Christians had houses of sacred worship in their time: As namely *Arnobius* (whose words were as pressing as any of the rest, yet) in the self same Books acknowledges the Christians Oratories by the name of *CON-*

c. i. *secundum*
not *Naoi*.

VENTICULA, or Meeting places; by that name endeavouring I suppose, to expresse the Greek word *Ἐκκλησία*. The place is about the end of his 4. Book *adversus Gentes*: "*Quod si haberet vos* (saith he) *aliqua vestris pro religionibus indignatio, has potius literas,* (he means the Poets absurd and blasphemous fictions and "*tales of their gods)* *hos exurere debuistis olim libros;* "*demoliri, dissolvere Theatra hac potius, in quibus infamia numinum propudiosis quotidie publicantur in fabulis,* (of this their scurrilous dishonouring of their gods upon the Stage he had spoken much before;) "*Nam nostra quidem scripta, cur ignibus meruerint dari? cur immaniter CONVENTICULA dirui? in quibus* "** summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis & venia postulatur, magistratibus, exercitibus, Regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, & resolutis corporum vincione, &c.* He alludes unto the burning of the Books of Scripture, and demolition of the Christians Oratories by *Diocletian*; of which see *Eusebius*, *Li. 8. c. 3.* And know from hence when *Arnobius* wrote.

Nay *Origen* himself, one of the first brought to depose against us, (if *Rufinus* his Translator, deserve any credit) will in his Homily upon the 9. cha. of *Ios.* testifie both for Churches and Altars among Christians in his time. For thus he allegorizeth there the story of the Gibeonites, whose lives *Iosua* and the Elders spared, but gave them no better entertainment, then to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Congregation, and for the Altar of the Lord. "*Sunt quidam in Ecclesia* (saith he) *credentes quidem, & habentes fidem in Deum, & acquiescentes in omnibus divinis praeceptis, quique etiam erga servos Dei religiosi sunt* "*&*

* Liturgia
Christiane
descriptio.

" & servire eis cupiunt ; sed & ad ornatum ECCLESIAE
 " vel ministerium satius prompti paratique sunt : in acti-
 " bus vero suis, & conversatione propria, obscenitatibus
 " & vitiis involuti, nec omnino deponentes veterem ho-
 " minem cum actibus suis, sed involuti vetustis vitiis &
 " obscenitatibus suis, sicut & isti (.i. Gabeonita) pannis
 " & calceamentis veteribus obiecti ; prater hoc, quod in
 " Deum credant, & erga servos Dei, vel ECCLESIAE cul-
 " tum (.i. ornatum) videntur esse devoti, nihil adhibent
 " emendationis vel innovationis in mores, &c..... And
 " a little after : Veruntamen sciendum est, quantum ex
 " hujuscemodi figurarum adumbrationibus edocemur,
 " quod si qui tales sunt in nobis, quorum fides hoc tan-
 " tummodo habet, ut ad ECCLESIAM veniant, & inclinent
 " caput suum sacerdotibus, (mark here a custome) officia
 " exhibeant, servos Dei honorent, ad ornatum quoque
 " ALTARIS vel ECCLESIAE aliquid conferant, non tamen
 " adhibent studium, ut etiam mores suos excolant, actus
 " emendent, vitia deponant, castitatem colant, iracundi-
 " am mitigent, avaritiam reprimant :..... sciant, sibi,
 " qui tales sunt, qui emendare se nolunt, sed in his usque
 " in senectutem ultimam perseverant. partem, sortemque
 " ab Jesu Domino cum Gabeonitis esse tribuendam.

Thus Origen by his Interpreter. And if any where
 Rufinus may be trusted, sure he may in this, foras-
 much as in his Peroration in Epist. ad Romanos, he hath
 given us his word, that in his translation of this and
 the next Book, he took not his wonted liberty, to in-
 sert or alter any thing, but simply expressed every
 thing, as he found it. Hear his Words; " Illa (saith
 " he) que in Jesu Nave & in Judicum librum & in
 " 36, 37, & 38. Psal. scripsimus, simpliciter expressimus

"ut invenimus, & non multo cum labore transtulimus.

"Vide locum & Erasmi Censuram. Lib. Origin. Besides, he that but considers the matter, together with the brevity of this Homily, cannot see a possibility, how these passages can be an addition or supplement of the Translators, unless he made the whole Homily: because the contents of them are the onely argument thereof, and being taken from it, nothing would be remaining.

Lastly, because the fore-alledged words of *Lactantius* are so usually brought against us, though they be nothing urgent, and his time be altogether repugnant to any such inference: yet absolutely to take away all scruple, let us hear him also, *Instit. Lib. 5. c. 2.* expressly giving evidence for us, and that even by the name of *Templum*. "Ego (saith he) *cum in Bithynia literas a-torias accitus docerem; contigissetque eodem tempore,*
 "ut Dei Templum everteretur: duo existerunt ibidem,
 "qui jacenti atque abjecta veritati (the Christian verity) *nescio utrum superbius an importunius, insultarunt.* See the rest which follows. This was when the Edict of *Proclerian* came forth for the demolishing of the Christians Churches.

And thus, having removed that stumbling stone, which hath been the main inducement to the contrary opinion, so prejudiciall to those works of religious bounty and piety: I hope my proofs will finde the freer passage with those of understanding and judgement; to whose pious consideration I have devoted this my Discourse.

FINIS.

THE
REVERENCE
OF
GODS HOUSE.

A Sermon preached at
St. Maries in Cambridge,

Before

THE UNIVERSITIE ON
St. MATTHIES day, Anno 163 $\frac{1}{2}$.

BY

JOSEPH MEDE B. D. and late Fellow of
Christs Colledge in Cambridge.

LEVIT. 19. 30.

Reverence my Sanctuary.

Concil. Gangrense Anno Christi 325. can. 5.

Εἰ τις ἀνδραγα, ἢ θύραν τῆς οἰκίας καταρήνηται ἢ, ἀνὰ
θεῶν ἔσται.

*Si quis docet, domum Dei contemptibilem esse, Anashe-
ma sit.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by M. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. Peters Church in Cornhill.

MDCXXXVIII.

THE
REVEREND

GODS HOUSE

A sermon preached at
the house in Cambridge

on the 11th of May 1741
by the Rev. Mr. John

Wheatley, Minister of the Gospel
in the said Church

In answer to
a sermon preached

at the same place
on the 11th of May 1741

by the Rev. Mr. John

Wheatley, Minister of the Gospel
in the said Church

on the 11th of May 1741
by the Rev. Mr. John

Wheatley, Minister of the Gospel
in the said Church

THE
REVERENCE
OF GODS HOUSE.

ECCLESIASTES C. 5. ver. 1.

Look to thy foot [or feet] when thou comest to the House of God: and be more ready to obey, then to offer the sacrifice of fools; for they know not that they do evil.

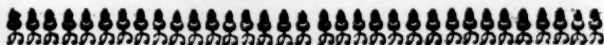


SOLOMON, whom God chose to build that sacred and glorious Temple to his Name, it hath pleased his holy Spirit to make also our principall Instructor how we ought to demean our selves in such sacred places. This appears, as by that his solemn and famous prayer made at the dedication thereof, so also by this Scripture which I have now begun to read; the first seven verses of this chapter, if we will rightly understand them, being wholly spent upon that argument, and containing præcepts and instructions fitted to the severall duties of holy worship we are to perform,

Sect. 1. perform, both at our coming thither, and whilest we remain there.

To unfold them all, were too much for the shortness of the time allotted me: May it please you therefore to vouchsafe me your Christian patience, and charitable attention, whilest I utter my thoughts upon the words I have now read. For the better and more distinct explication whereof, consider in them these two parts: An *Admonition*, and a *Caution*.

1. An *Admonition* of reverent and awfull demeanour when we come to Gods House; *Look to thy foot, or feet, when thou comest to the House of God.* 2. A *Caution*, Not to præfer the secondary Service of God before the first and principall; *Be more ready to obey, then to offer the sacrifice of fools; for they know not, that they do evil.* In the first, or *Admonition*, I will consider two things. 1. The *Place, Gods House.* 2. The *Duty* of those who come thither; *Look to thy feet.* Of these in order, and first of the *Place, Gods House.*



SECTION I.



THe House of God is the place set apart for his worship and service, and so hath peculiar Relation unto him, wherewith being invested, it becomes sacred and holy; not onely whilest divine duties are performed therein, as some erroneously affirme, but as long as it is for such

such use: namely, according to the nature of other sacred things, which continue their state of separateneſſe and ſanctitie; ſo long as that relation they have unto God (wherein this *Sanctity* conſiſts) be not quite aboliſhed.

To erect and ſet apart ſuch places as theſe for the exerciſe of the Rites of Religion, is derived from the inſtinct of nature, and approved of God from the beginning. It began not with that Tabernacle or ambulatorie Temple which *Moses* cauſed to be made by Gods appointment at Mount Sinai; but was much more ancient. *Noah* built an *Altar*; as ſoon as he came out of the *Ark*: *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, (whereſoever they came to pitch their Tents) erected places for divine worſhip, (that is, Altars with their ſepts and encloſures) without any ſpeciall appointment from God. *Jacob* in particular vowed a place for divine worſhip, by the name of *Gods Houſe*, where he would pay the tithes of all that God ſhould give him, *Genes.* 28. Lo here a Church endowed! Yea *Moses* himſelf, *Exod.* 33. 7. before the *Ark* and that glorious Tabernacle were yet made, pitched a Tabernacle, for the ſame purpoſe, without the Campe, "*whither every one that ſought the Lord was to go.*" And all this was done *tanquam recepti moris*, as a thing of cuſtome, and as mankind by tradition had learned to accommodate the worſhip of their God, by appropriating ſome place to that uſe; nature teaching them, that the work was honoured and dignified by the peculiarienneſſe of the place appointed for the ſame, and that if any work were ſo to be honoured, there was nothing it more beſeemed, then the

Sect. 1. worship and service of Almighty God, the most peculiar and incommunicable act of all other.

○ Nay more then this: It was beleev'd in those elder times, that that Country or Territory, wherein no Place was set apart for the worship of God, was unhallowed and unclean. Which I think, I rightly gather from that Story in the Book of *Josua*, of the Altar built by *Achen*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manassah* upon the bank of the River Jordan: which *Josua* and the Elders, as their words intimate, supposed they had done, lest the land of their possession, being by the River Jordan cut off from the land of Canaan, where the Lords Tabernacle was, and so having no place therein consecrated to the worship of their God, might otherwise be an unclean and unhallowed habitation. Hear the words of *Phinehas* and the Princes sent to dissuade them, *Josua* 22. 19. and judge whether they import not as I have said. "If the land (say they) of your possession be * unclean, then passe ye over unto the Land of the possession of the LORD, where the LORD's Tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession amongst us: but rebell not against the LORD, nor against us, in building you an Altar, besides the Altar of the LORD your God."

* Note that our Copies of the Lxx here corruptly read *μικρα* for *μακα*.

Now concerning the condition and propertie of Places thus sanctified or hallowed, what it is; whence can we learn better, then from that which the Lord spake unto *Moses*, *Exod.* 20. immediately after he had pronounced the Decalogue from Mount Sinai: where premising, that they "should not make with Him gods of gold and gods of silver; but that they should make him an Altar of earth (as namely their ambula-

ambulatory state then permitted, otherwise of stone) Sect. 1.
 "and thereon sacrifice their burnt offerings and peace-
 "offerings: he adds; In all places where I record my
 "Name, I will come unto thee and blesse thee,
 בְּכָל-מָקוֹם אֲנִי רוֹצֵן בְּנִי אֶשְׁמְרֵם In every place where the
 remembrance or memoriall of my Name shall be, or
 wheresoever that is, which I have, or shall appoint to
 be the remembrance or memoriall of my Name and
 presence, there I will come unto thee, and blesse
 thee. Lo here a description of the Place set apart for
 divine worship: It is the Place where God records
 his Name, and comes unto men to blesse them. Two
 things are here specified; the monument, record or
 memoriall of Gods Name: secondly, His coming
 or meeting there with men. Of both let us enquire
 distinctly, what they mean.

I know, it would not be untrue, to say in generall,
 that Gods Name is recorded or remembred in that
 place upon which his Name is called, or which is cal-
 led by his Name, (as the Scripture speaks) that is,
 which is dedicate to his worship and service: but
 there is some more speciall thing intended here;
 namely, the Memoriall or Monument of Gods
 Name, is that token or Symbole whereby he testifi-
 eth his Covenant and commerce with men. Now al-
 though the Ark, called the Ark of the Covenant, or
 Testimonie (wherein lay the two Tables, namely, the
 Book or Articles of the Covenant, and Manna, the
 Bread of the Covenant) were afterwards made for
 this purpose, to be the standing Memoriall of Gods
 Name and presence with his people: yet cannot that
 be here, either onely, or specially aimed at; because
 when

Heb. 9. 4.

Sect. 1. when these words were spoken, it had no being, nor was there yet any commandment given concerning the making thereof. Wherefore the *Record* here mentioned, I understand with a more generall reference to any Memoriall, whereby Gods Covenant and commerce with men was testified: Such as were the Sacrifices, immediately before spoken of, and the seat of them the Altar; which therefore may seem to be in some sort, the more particularly here pointed unto. For that these were Rites of remembrance, whereby the Name of God was commemorated or recorded, and his Covenant with men renewed and testified, might be easily proved. Whence it is, that that which was burned upon the Altar is so often called the *Memorial*; as in *Leviticus* the 2. 5, 6. and 24. chapters. Accordingly the son of *Syrach* tels us, *Eccles.* 45. 16. "that Aaron was chosen out of all men living, to offer Sacrifices to the Lord, incense and a sweet savour, for a Memoriall, to make reconciliation for his people. Adde also that, *Isay* 66. 3. *Qui recordatur thure, quasi qui benedicat Idolo.* He that (without true contrition and humiliation before the Lord) recordeth or maketh remembrance with incense, is as if he blessed an Idol. But I must not stay too long upon this.

You will say; What is all this to us, now in the time of the Gospel? I answer, Yes. For did not Christ ordain the holy Eucharist to be the Memoriall of his Name in the New Testament? *This* (saith he) "is my Body, ~~by this we are made one with him~~ *by this we are made one with him* *And* *do this* "for my commemoration, or in Memoriall of me. And what if I should affirm, that Christ is as much present

sent here, as the Lord was upon the Mercy-seat between the Cherubims? Why should not then the Place of this *Memoriall* under the Gospel have some semblable sanctitie to that, where the Name of God was recorded in the Law? And though we be not now tyed to one onely Place, as those under the Law were; and that God heareth the faithfull prayers of his Servants, wheresoever they are made unto him, (as also he did then :) yet should not the Places of his *Memoriall* be promiscuous and common, but set apart to that sacred purpose. In a word, all those sacred Memorials of the Iewish Temple are both comprehended and excelled in this One of Christians, the *Sacrifices*, *Shew-bread*, and *Ark of the Covenant*; Christs Body and Blood in the Eucharist being all these unto us in the New Testament, agreeably to that of the Apostle, *Rom. 3.25.* "*God hath set forth Jesus Christ to be our imediator, through faith in his blood*, that is, our *Propitiatory* or *Mercy-seat*, for so it is called in the Greek both of the old and new Testament, nor is the word I think ever used but in that sense, unlesse in *Ezekiel 43.* for the *Settle* of the Altar.

But you will say, This Christian *Memoriall* is not alwayes actually present in our Churches, as some one or other at least of those in the Law were in the Temple. I answer; It is enough, it is wont to be; as the Chaire of State loses not its relation and due respect, though the King be not alwaies there. And remember, that the Ark of the Covenant was not in Ierusalem; when *Daniel* opened his windows and prayed thitherward; yea, that it was wanting in the Holy

Holy

Sect. I. Holy Place (I mean that sacred Cabinet made by *Moses*) all the time of the second (or *Zerobabels*) Temple, and yet the place esteemed notwithstanding as if it had been there.

You will yet except and say; That in the Old Testament those things were appointed by divine Law and Commandment; but in the New we finde no such thing. I answer, in things for which we finde no new Rule given in the New Testament, there we are referred and left to the *analogy* of the Old. This the Apostles proof taken from thence for the maintenance of the Ministers of the Gospel, 1 Cor. 9. [*viz.* Thus were they, *Ergo* so God hath ordained that we;] will give us to understand: likewise the practice of the Church in baptizing Infants, derived surely from the *analogy* of Circumcision: The hal-
lowing of every first day of the week, as one in every seven, from the *analogy* of the Jewish Sabbath, and other the like. S. Hierome witnesseth the same in that saying of his, "*Ut sciamus, traditiones Apostolicas sumptas ex Vet. Test. quod Aaron, & Filii ejus, atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt; hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri, atque Diaconi vendicant in Ecclesia: That we may know (saith he) that the Apostolick traditions were derived from the Old Testament: that which Aaron, his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, the same do Bishops, Priests and Deacons claim in the Church.* For we are to consider, that the end of Christs comming into the world was not properly to give new laws unto men, but to accomplish the Law already given, and to publish the Gospel of reconciliation, through his Name, to those who had trans-

Ad Ev-
grium.

Mat. 5. 17,
18.

SECT. I.

transgressed it. Whence it is that we finde not the style of the New Testament to carry a form of en-acting Lawes, almost any where: but those which are there mentioned, to be brought in occasionally, onely by way of proof, of interpretation, exhortation, application, or the like, and not as by way of constitution or re-enacting. Mean while, lest I should be mistaken, mark well that I said not, the Old Testament was to be our rule simply in the case mentioned, but the Analogy thereof onely; that is, this regulation is to be made according to that proportion, which the difference of the two Covenants, and the things in them admits, and no further; the more particular application and limitation of which Analogy, is to be referred to the judgement and prudence of the Church.

There comes here very fitly into my minde a passage of *Clement* (a man of the Apostolick age, he whose name *S. Paul* saith was written in the Book of life) in his genuine Epistle *Ad Corinthios*, lately set forth, pag. 52. "Πάντα (saith he) τάδε ποιῶν ἀσκεῖσθαι, ὅτι ὁ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁπταλῶν ἐκέλευσεν" ἢ χρόνους τετυγμένους τὰς τε "προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ὁπταλῶν. Καὶ [28] ὅτι οὕτως ἡ ἀ- "τάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐοικέναι χρόνους καὶ ἄρτους. "ΠΟΤΕ καὶ διὰ ΤΙΝΩΝ ὁπταλῶν θέλει, αὐτοὶ δεῖον τῇ "ὁπταλῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκλήσθαι" that is; *All those duties, which* "the Lord hath commanded us to do, we ought to do them "regularly and orderly: Our Oblations and divine "Services to celebrate them on set and appointed times. "For so he hath ordained, not that we should do them "at hap hazard, and without order, but at certain deter- "mined times and times. WHERE also, and by WHOM " he

Phil. 4.3.

Sect. 1.

“he will have them executed, himself hath defined according to his supreme will. But where hath the Lord defined these things, unlesse he hath left us to the Analogy of the Old Testament ?

It followes in the text alledged ; *There I will come unto thee, and blesse thee.* In the Place where the Lords *Memoriall* is, where his Colours, as I may so speak, are displayed and set up, there, in a speciall manner, he vouchsafes his presence with the sons of men to blesse them : or to speak *rotundè*, where his *memoriall* is, there His שְׁכִינָה *S H E C I N A H* or Δεξα is, (as the Hebrew Masters term it,) that is, His *GLORY*. The Gentiles ascribed the presence of their gods to the places where Images and Statues were erected and consecrated for them. But such personall similitudes the God of Israel abhors, and forbids to be made unto Him ; yet promisseth his presence in every place where the *Memoriall* or record of his Name shall be ; but of his own appointment, not of mans devising. For thus, I suppose, is the text there to be understood, and to be construed by way of Antithesis or opposition : “*You shall not make with me gods of silver, nor gods of gold : An Altar onely of earth, or of * stone, shalt thou make unto me, to offer thy Sacrifices upon. For in every place, where I shall record my Name, I will come unto thee, and blesse thee.* And here take notice, that for this reason the *Tabernacle of the Lord* was called מִדְּבַר יְהוָה *The Tabernacle of meeting* ; not of mens meeting together, as is commonly supposed, when we translate it, *Tabernacle of the Congregation* ; but of Gods meeting there with men. I have a good author for it ; For so the Lord himself gives

Hermes
Trism. in
Asclepio.
Athenag.
Legat. pro
Christ. Ori-
gen. contra
Cels. l. 7. &
3. Euseb.
Præpar.
Ev. lib. 5.
c. 15.

* Ver. 25.

gives the reason of the name in three severall places of the Law; *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד אֲשֶׁר אֶמְצָא לָכֶם שָׁמָּה* "The Tabernacle of meeting, where I will meet with you." See *Exod. 29.41. | 30.36. | Num. 17.4. and Masius in Ios. c.18.*

Sect. 2.



SECTION 2.



Hus We have seen, what is the condition and property of that Place, which in my Text is called *Gods House*. But before I proceed to speak of the Duty of those who come thither (which was the second thing I propounded) there is one thing yet to be cleared, concerning that which I last mentioned; namely, How God is said to *come unto*, or to be present with men in one place more then another; seeing his Presence fills every place, heaven being his throne, and the whole earth his footstool. For although we read often in holy Scripture of such a *SHECINAH*, or specialtie of the divine presence, and have it often in our monthes; yet, what it is, and wherein the *Ratio* thereof consisteth, is seldom, if at all, enquired into. When we speak of Churches, we content our selves to say, that Gods speciall presence there, is in his Word and Sacraments: But though it be true, that the Divine Majesty is there specially present, where his Word and Sacraments are; yet seems not this

Sect. 2. this speciality of presence to be the same with his Word and Sacraments, but a diverse relation from them. This may be gathered, in some sort, out of those words of *Exodus*, whereupon we have so long dwelt, as where the recording of Gods Name, and his coming thither, are spoken of as two: but is more strongly evinced by such instances of Scripture, where the Lord is said to have been specially present in places where this Record of his Word and Sacraments was not; as for example, to *Moses* in the Bush, to *Jacob* at *Bethel*, and the like. The true *Ratio* therefore of this *SHECINAH* or Speciality of divine presence must be sought, and defined by something which is common to all these, and not by that which is proper to some onely.

Well then, to hold you no longer in suspense: this Specification of the divine presence, whereby God is said to be in one place more then another; I suppose (under correction) to consist in his *train* or *retinue*. A King is there where his Court is, where his *train* and *retinue* are: So God the Lord of Hosts is there specially present, where the heavenly *Guard*, the blessed Angels keep their sacred station and *rendevouz*.

That this is consonant to the revelation of holy Scripture, I shew first from the collection or inference which the Patriarch *Jacob* makes, upon that divine vision of his at *Bethel*: where having seen a ladder reaching from heaven to earth, and the Angels of God ascending and descending upon it: "Surely
 " (saith he) *the Lord is in this place, and knew it not.*
 " *How dreadfull is this place! It is no other but the*
 " *House*

Gen. 28.

"House of God, even the gate of heaven; that is, Heavens Guildhall, Heavens Court; namely because of the Angels. For the Gate was wont to be the Judgment Hall, and the Place where Kings and Senators used to sit, attended by their guard and ministers.

Secondly, I prove it from that interpretative expression used in the New-Testament of the Lords descent upon Mount Sinai, when the Law was given; intimating that the specification of the presence of the Divine Majesty there, also consisted in the Angelicall retinue there encamping. For so S. Steven, Act. 7. 53. "You who have received the Law by the disposition of Angels, and have not kept it. S. Paul twice; First, Gal. 3. 19. "The Law was added because of transgressions, δια της διὰ τῶν Ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσότητος, "ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator. And again, Heb. 2. 2. he calls the Law, "ῥήμα τοῦ ἀγγέλων, the word spoken by Angels. Howbeit in the story itself we finde no such thing expressed, but onely that the Lord descended upon the Mount in a fiery and smoking cloud, accompanied with thunders and lightnings, with an earthquake, and the voice of a trumpet. Whence then should this expression of S. Steven and the Apostle proceed, but from a supposition, that the speciall presence of the Divine Majesty, wheresoever it is said to be, consisted in the encamping of his sacred retinue the Angels: for that of himself, he, who filleth the heaven and the earth, could not descend, nor be in one place more then another.

Yea all the Apparitions of the Divine Majesty in Scripture are described by this retinue: That of the Ancien-

Scā. 2. Ancient of dayes coming to judgement. *Dan. 7. 10.*
 “*Thousand thousands ministred unto him, and ten thou-*
 “*sand times ten thousand stood before him; to wit, of*
 Angels. Whence we reade in the Gospel, that Christ
 our Saviour shall come in the glory of his Father, that
 is, with an host of Angels, as the Holy Ghost him-
 self in the same places expounds it. For Διξα or *Glory*
 here signifies the presence of the Divine Majesty.

In the same style, of the same Appearing prophesied
Enoch, the seventh from *Adam*, *Iude vers. 14.*
 “*Ἴδού, ἦλθε Κύριος ἐν ταῖς ἀρίαις μυριάδων αὐτοῦ, Behold, the*
 “*Lord cometh with his holy Myriads, or ten thousands:*
 For so it ought to be rendred, and not as we have it,
 with *ten thousand of his Saints*. Wherefore here the
 vulgar Latine comes nearer, which hath, *Ecce, venit*
Dominus in sanctis millibus suis. A like expresseion
 whereunto of the Divine presence we shall finde in
Moses Blessing, *Deut. 33.* “*The Lord (saith he) came*
 “** from Sinai unto them, (.i. unto Israel) & rose up from*
 “*Seir unto them, he shined forth from mount Paran, he*
 “*came with his holy ten thousands, or holy myriads, (for*
 “*so it should be translated; then it followes) from his*
 “*right hand went a fiery law for them.* From whence
 perhaps that notion of the Jewish Doctors, followed
 by *S. Steven* and the Apostle, that the Law was given
 by Angels, had its beginning. And thus you have
 heard out of Scripture, what that is, whereby the spe-
 ciall presence of the Divine Majesty is (as I suppose)
 defined, that is, wherein it consists; namely, such as
 is applicable to all places, wherein he is said to be thus
 present, even to Heaven it self his throne and seat of
 glory, the proper place (as every one knowes) of An-
 gelicall residence.

Now,

* That is,
 came unto
 them re-
 sisting up-
 on Sinai.
 Compare
Psal. 68.
ver. 17.
 or 18.

Sect. 2.

Now, according to this manner of presence, is the Divine Majesty to be acknowledged present, in the Places, where his Name is recorded: as in his Temple under the Law, and in our Christian Oratories, or Churches under the Gospel; namely, that the heavenly Guard there attend, and keep their rendezvous, as in their Masters House: according to that vision which the Prophet *Isay* had thereof, *Isay* 6. "I saw the Lord (saith he) sitting upon a Throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the Temple, [Septuagint, and *John* 12. *ἀγγέλων*] that is, the Angels and Seraphims his stipatores; as may be gathered from that which immediately follows, where it is said, "The Seraphims cried one unto another, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of hosts; the whole earth is full of his Glory.

This King *Agrippa* in * *Josephus* intimates, in that Oration he is said to have made unto the Iews, a little before that fatall siege, dehorting them from rebelling against the Romans. Where speaking to the people hard by, and in view of that sacred Temple, he hath these words; *Μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὴ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ Θεοῦ*, I call to witnesse your sacred Temple, and * the holy Angels of God; namely, which encampe there.

The same is implied in that of the 138. Psalm, according to the translation of the Septuagint and Vulgar; "Εναντίον ἀγγέλων, In conspectu Angelorum psallam tibi, adorabo ad Templum sanctum tuum, & confitebor Nomini tuo. Before the Angels I will sing praise unto thee. I will worship towards thy holy Temple, and praise thy Name.

* De Bello Iud. l. 2. cap. 16.

* To whom some think that voice may be referred before the destruction of the Temple, *Aggravamus* binc.

K k k

And

Sect. 2.

And according to this sense I understand that of Solomon in this Book of Ecclesiastes within a two or three verses of my Text, concerning vows to be made in Gods House: "*When thou vowest a vow, deserve not to pay it, ——— Better it is, thou should'st not vow, then vow and not pay. Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin, neither say thou BEFORE THE ANGEL, It was an error: ———* that is, Let not such a foolish excuse come from thee in the house of God, before the holy Angels. For note, that the word *Angel* may be taken * collectively, for more then one.

* As tree
or trees,
leaf for
leaves,
Gen. 3. 2,
7, &c.

For this cause all the curtains of the Tabernacle were filled with the pictures of Cherubims, and the walls of Solomons Temple within with carved Cherubims; the Ark of the Testimony overspread and covered with two mighty Cherubims, having their faces looking towards it and the Mercy-seat, (*παρουσία*) with their wings stretched forth on high, called *Heb. 9. 5. The Cherubims of glory*, that is, of the divine Presence: all to signifie, that where Gods sacred Memoriall is, the ensigne of his Covenant and commerce with men; there the blessed Angels out of duty give their attendance.

Nor is it to be overpassed, that the Jews at this day continue the like opinion of their modern places of worship: namely, that the blessed Angels frequent their assemblies, and praise and laud God with them in their Synagogues: notwithstanding they have no other memoriall of his there, then an imitative one onely; to wit, a Chest with a volume or roll of the Law therein, in stead of the Ark with the two Tables.

bles. For thus speaks the *Seder Tephilloth*, or Form of prayer used by the Jews of Portugal; *O Lord our God, the Angels that supernall company, gathered together with thy people Israel here below, do crown thee with praises, and all together do thrice redouble and cry that spoken of by thy Prophet; Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.* They allude to *Isayes* Vision of the Glory of God, abovementioned.

Sect. 2.

You will say; such a presence of Angels perhaps there was in that Temple under the Law; but there is no such thing in the Gospel. No? why? Are the Memorials of Gods Covenant, his *Insignia* in the Gospel, lesse worthy of their attendance, then those of the Law? or have the Angels, since the nature of man, Jesus Christ our Lord, became their Head and King, gotten an exemption from this service? Surely, not. *S. Paul*, if we will understand and beleeve him, supposes the contrary, in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, chap. 11. vers. 10. where treating of a comely and decent accomodation to be observed in Church assemblies, and in particular of womens being covered or veiled there, he enforces it from this presence of Angels. *For this cause* (saith he) *ought the woman to have a covering on her head, ἀνάμνησις, because of the Angels;* namely, which are there present. For otherwise reason holds not, that she should more be covered in the Place of Prayer, then any where else; unlesse the Angels be more there, then elsewhere. This place much troubleth the Expositors: but see, what it is, to admit a truth: for now there is no difficulty in it.

K k k 2

And

Sect. 2.

* In Moral.

And that the ancient Fathers conceived no lesse venerably of their Christian Oratories in this particular, then the Jews did of their Temple, appears by Saint *Chrysostom*, who is very frequent in urging an awfull and reverent behaviour in Gods house from this motive of Angelicall presence. As in his Homily * 36. in 1 *Corinth.* where reproving the irreverent behaviour of his Auditory in that Church, in talking, walking, saluting, and the like, (which he saith, was peculiar unto them, and such as no Christians elsewhere in the world presumed to do) he enforces his reproof, with words that come home to our purpose: "*Non constrina, inquit, neque unguentaria officina, neque ulla alia opificum qui sunt in foro, taberna, est Ecclesia; sed Locus Angelorum, Locus Archangelorum, regia Dei, ipsum cælum.* The Church (saith he) is no Barbers, or Drug-sellersshop, nor any other crafts-mans or merchants workhouse or warehouse in the market place: but the place of Angels, the place of Archangels, the palace of God, heaven it self.

And in his 4. Homily *de incomprehensibili Dei natura*, towards the end; "*Cogita apud quem proximè stas, quibuscum invoces Deum; scilicet cum Cherubim, cum Seraphim, cum omnibus cæli Viriutibus: animalverte quos habeas socios: satis hoc tibi sit ad sobrietatem, cum recorderis te corpore constantem, & carne coagmentatum ad mitti cum Viriutibus incorporeis celebrare omnium Dominum.* Think near whom thou standest, with whom thou invokest God; namely, with Cherubims

“Cherubims and Seraphims, & all the Powers of heaven:
 “consider but what companions thou hast: let it be suf-
 “ficient to perswade thee to sobriety, when thou remem-
 “breſt, that thou, who art compounded of flesh and blood,
 “art admitted with the incorporeall Powers, to celebrate
 “the common Lord of all. But all this you will say,
 the Angels may do in Heaven: well, let it be so, yet
 is it not altogether out of our way: but the next places
 I shall bring, will not be so eluded.

Namely, that in his 15. Homily upon the Epistle
 to the Hebrews, against those that laughed in the
 Church: “*Regiam quidem ingrediens, & habitu,*
 “*& aspectu, & incessu, & omnibus aliis te ornas & com-*
 “*ponis. Hic autem verè est Regia, & planè hic talia*
 “*qualia cœlestia, & rides? Atque scio quidem, quod tu*
 “*non vides. Audi autem, quod ubique adsunt Angeli,*
 “*& maxime in Domo Dei adsistunt Regi, & omnia sunt*
 “*impleta incorporeis illis Potestatibus.* When thou goest
 “into a Kings Palace, thou composest thy self to a come-
 “liness in thy habit, in thy look, in thy gate, and in
 “all thy whole guise. But here is indeed the Palace of a
 “King, and the like attendance to that in heaven, and
 “doest thou laugh? I know well enough thou seest it not.
 “But hear thou me, and know, that Angels are every
 “where, and that, chiefly in the house of God, they at-
 “tend upon their King, where all is filled with incor-
 “poreall Powers.

The like unto this you shall finde in his 24. Homi-
 ly upon the Acts of the Apostles; Knowest thou not,
 “that thou standest here with Angels, that with them
 “thou singest, with them thou laudest God with hymns?
 “and dost thou laugh? See the rest.

Sect. 2.

I will alledge but one passage more of his, left I should grow tedious, and that is out of his 6. Book de Sacerdotio, not very far from the beginning, where speaking of the time when the holy Eucharist is celebrated: « τότε (saith he) ὅτε ἄγγελοι περιέσταντο τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἔγανον θυμῶνα. ἅπαν τὰ ἐκτα βόα, καὶ « ὁ δὲ τὸ θυμῶνα πᾶσι τοῖς, ἐκ τῶν τῶ καμῖν »
 « Then the Angels stand by the Priest, and the whole
 « Quire resounds with celestiall Poyers, and the place
 « about the Altar is filled with them, in honour of him
 « who is laid thereon, that is, of his Memoriall. Com-
 pare with it a like passage in his 3. Hom. de incom-
 prehensibili Dei natura, Item Hom. 1. de verbis Isaia.

S. Ambrose acknowledgeth the same in c. 1. Luc.
 « Non dubites assistere Angelum, quando Christus assi-
 « stit, Christus immolatur.

Yea Tertullian (in whose time, which was within 200. years after Christ, some will scarcely beleieve, that Christians had any such places as Churches at all) if I understand him, intimates as much in his lib. de Oratone c. 12. where reprehending the irreverent gesture of some in sitting at the time of prayer in the Church: « Si quidem (saith he) irreverens est assidere
 « sub conspectu, contraque conspectum ejus, quem cum
 « maxime revereris ac venereris: quanto magis sub
 « conspectu Dei vivi, ANGELO adhuc ORATIO-
 « NIS adstante, factum illud irreligiosissimum est;
 « nisi exprobramus Deo, quod nos oratio fatigaverit?
 « If it be an irreverent thing to sit in the sight and be-
 « fore him, whom thow in a speciall manner honourst and
 « reverecest: how much more is it an act most irreligi-
 « ous to do it in the presence of the living God, the A N-

lin I

E J J J

G E L

Sect. 2.

“GEL OF PRAYER yet standing by, unlesse we
 “upbraide God, that we have wearied our selves with
 “praying? Mark, In the presence of the living God,
 the Angel of prayer standing by] that is, in the presence
 of the living God specified by his Angel; the latter
 being an explanation of the former. It is like unto
 that in this chapter of my Text; Say not thou before
 the Angel, It was an error: yet I beleeve not bor-
 rowed thence; forasmuch as the Septuagint, whose
 translation *Tertullian* was onely acquainted with, and
 every where followes, have no mention of Angel in
 that place, but of God; rendring it, *Μὴ εἰπὼς οὐκ ὁμοιω-
 τὰ τῷ Θεῷ*. Say not before the presence of God. Which
 shewes how they understood it.

I cite the passages of these Fathers thus at large,
 lest I might to some seem to broach a novelty. And
 though some of those of *S. Chrysostome* be hyperbo-
 lically expressed; yet for the main and substance of
 what heintended, I beleeve it to be true, and ground
 my beleeif upon the authority of *S. Paul* before alled-
 ged, *Διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων*, Because of the Angels. If any shall
 say, whatsoever were then, they will not beleeve there
 is any such kinde of presence in our Churches now:
 I must tell them; If it be so, it is because of our irre-
 verent and unseemly behaviour in them, which
 makes those blessed spirits loath our companie. For
 though they be invisible and incorporeall creatures,
 yet can they not look into our hearts. (that is God
 their Masters prerogative) but are witnesses of our
 outward behaviour and actions onely; and it was
 a case of externall decorum, wherein the Apostle
 mentions this presence of theirs for a motive or

Kkk 4

reason:

Sect. 3. reason: "*For this cause ought the woman to have a covering on her head, because of the Angels.* For they love not to behold any thing that is uncomely and unbecoming, but flye from it: and if we lose their company, the best members of our congregation are wanting.

Thus you have heard what is the dignity and prerogative of Gods House. Who now that considers and beleeves this, (and there was a time when it was beleev'd) will not say with the Patriarch *Iacob*, when he saw the Angels ascending and descending at *Bethel*, *Quam reverenda sunt hac loca! How reverend are these places!* For every Place where the Name of God is recorded is *Bethel*, where the Angels of God are ascending and descending, that is, God in a special manner present and meeting with men. How seemly therefore, orderly and lawfully should we compose our selves in them? how reverent should our manner be at our coming into them? which is the second thing I propounded to speak of. Thus much therefore of Gods House; I come now to the Duty of those who come thither; *Look to thy feet when thou comest to the House of God.*

SECTION 3.



LOOK TO THY FEET, שמר רגליך: for so the *Cethib* or textuall reading hath it; the Masorites in the margine note another reading רגלך in the singular number. But which way soever of the two it be read, the sense is still the same; *Look to thy feet* being

to be expounded plurally *Look to thy feet*; as in other places of Scripture. The symbolically application of this precept to the purifying and ridding the minde of corrupt and fleshly thoughts, though it be usefull, and the thing it self true, yet I will let passe, as being not argumentative; and betake my self wholly to the *απαγματικόν* or literall meaning, which the symbolically or tropologicall signification destroyeth not, but presupposeth. The meaning therefore in generall is: *Have a care, that thy feet be as they should be, when thou goest, (or comest) to the house of God.* But what is that? Most of the Interpreters (saith *Aben Ezra*) compare it with that which is said of *Mephibosheth*, 2 Sam. 19. *לֹא צִטְטָהּ רַגְלָיו* *He dressed not his feet*, that is, *He washed them not.* So here, *Look to thy feet, when thou goest to the House of God*, is as much as to say, *Come not into Gods House illotis pedibus*, with unwashed feet. This is true, but goes not far enough. For I suppose here is an allusion in particular to that rite of *Discalceation* used by the Jews and other nations of the Orient, at their coming into sacred places; namely, that whereof the Lord spake to *Moses*, *Exod. 3.* and again to *Josua*, *Jos. 5.* "*Exue calceamenta tua de pedibus tuis*; *locus enim in quo stas, terra sancta est.* Put thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.

For although the verb *לך* here used, signifies properly *motum à loco*, that is, *to go*; and not *in locum*, *to come*, (in which respect the rite of washing the feet perhaps, being a preparatory act, might agree better with it) yet is it not alwayes so used: besides, it is an usu-
all

Sect. 3.

all trope in Scripture, *ex antecedente intelligere consequens*, which hath place here. That whereby I gather it, is because the precepts following my text, whereunto this word of motion belongs *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐ*, (that is, *in camman*) are, not of things to be done, when we are going to the House of God, but when we are come thither: as, "When thou comest to the House of God, be not rash nor hasty to utter any thing before God, &c. When thou comest to the House of God, and makest a vow before him, defer not to pay it, ——— neither say thou before the Angel, &c.

—— To which may be added the latter part of my text, *When thou comest to the House of God, be more ready to hear, or obey, then to offer the sacrifice of fools.* All, as you see, are of things to be done, when we are come into Gods house. Therefore *כְּתִיב וְעָלִיתָ* which is common to them, should rather note *motum in termino ad quem*; not when thou goest, but when thou comest to the House of God; and accordingly this admonition of care to be had of the feet, to intend something to be observed, when we come there, rather then when we are going thither. Which was, as I have said, among the Jews and other Nations, of the Orient especially, that rite of Discalceation, or putting off their shoos; still used and continued amongst them unto this day, when they come into their Temples and sacred places.

Which that I affirm not without good warrant, in case any one shall doubt thereof, these testimonies following will sufficiently evidence; First, that symbole of *Pythagoras*, *ἀνομιόδοτος δύνει καὶ προσκύνει*; OFFER SACRIFICE AND WORSHIP

WITH

Accordingly the vulgar Latin hath *ingrediens Domum Dei.*

Apud Iamblich. Protrept. 21.

Sect. 3.

WITH THY SHOOS OFF. What mysticall or symbollicall sense he intended, I enquire not : but it is plain, his expreffion alludes to some such custome then used by those who came to worship in the Temples of their gods.

Wherein that my collection fails me not, *Justin Martyr* will bear me witnesse in his second Apology where he tels us, That those who came to worship in the Sanctuaries and Temples of the Gentiles, were commanded by their Priests ἀπολύνειν, that is, *to put off their shoes*. Which their gods learned (saith he) by way of imitation, from that which the Lord spake to *Moses* out of the flaming Bush; *Loose thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.* This testimony for the antiquity of the practice is without exception. Yet by the Fathers good leave I am prone to think, that those words unto *Moses* gave not the first beginning unto it; but were an admontion onely of the divine presence, thereby commanding the rite then accustomed in places so hallowed: and that therefore it was rather; as other religious rites, derived unto the Gentiles by tradition from the Patriarchs before *Moses*; of whom both the Jews, and those Nations of the Orient, which agreed with them in this custom, were descended. Concerning whose present custom, *Drusius* in his notes upon *Josua* affirmeth, *Quod etiam nunc apud plerasque Orientis gentes, piaculum sit, calceato pede Templorum pavimenta calcasse: That even to this day, among most of the nations of the Orient, it is reputed a piaculary crime, to tread upon the pavements of their Temples with their shoes on their feet.*

Edit. Paris.
pag. 95.

For

Sect. 3. For the Jews in particular, that this rite of veneration was anciently used by them in places sanctified by the divine presence, *Maymonides* puts us out of doubt, telling us in his *Beth habechirah*, cap. 7. "That it was not lawfull for a man to come into the mountain of Gods House, with HIS SHOES ON HIS FEET, or with his staffe, or in his working garment, or with dust on his feet, and the like. The same hath Rabbi Solomon upon the 19 of *Levit.* vers. 30.

It is further confirmed by their modern practice in their Synagogues; even here in these Western and colder parts of the world: where though no such custom be in use, as in the Orient, nor our manners with conveniencie capable thereof; yet they still observe it, as far as the guise of the West will permit them; an argument it descends unto them by a strong and rooted tradition from their forefathers. My author is *Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. lib. 5. c. 5.* where he hath these words; "*Ante Synagogam vel Scholam ipsorum ferrum quoddam habent immuratum; ad quod quilibet calceos immundos, aut cænosos abstergere tenetur; idque Solomonis autoritate, qui, Custodi, ait, pedem tuum—— Quisquis crepidis indutus est, is eas immundas de pedibus suis detrahere tenetur——* prout scriptum est; *Solve calceamenta tua de pedibus tuis, &c.* that is, Before their Synagogues they have a certain iron fastned in a wall, whereat every one is bound to make clean his soul or dirty shooes; and that by the authority of Solomon, who saith, Look to thy foot, &c. Whosoever hath slippers on, is bound, they being foul, to put them quite off, (viz. before he enters in-

“to the Synagogue) according as it is written, Loose thy shooes from off thy feet, &c.

And for the Mahumetans , what they do in their Mosques , *Bartlemew Georgievz* , who was a long time a captive amongst them, can best inform us, in his Book *de ritu & ceremoniis Turcorum*. “ *Quicumque* (saith he) *veniunt ad orationem , debent abluer*
“ *manus, pedes, &c. postremò ter spargunt aquam super*
“ *capita, recitando hæc verba, E L H E M D V L I L*
“ *L A N I, (.i. gloria Deo meo :) Deinde exutis cal-*
“ *ceamentis Patismagh dictis , iisque ante januam*
“ *Templi relictis, introeunt, alii NVDIS PEDI-*
“ *BVS, alii habentes munda calceamenta Mesth di-*
“ *sta.* That is, *Such as come to pray, their duty is first*
“ *to wash their hands, feet, &c. at last they sprinkle wa-*
“ *ter over their heads thrice, repeating these words, E L*
“ *H E M D V L I L L A N I, that is, Glory be to my*
“ *God. Then putting off their shooes , called Pat-*
“ *smagh, and leaving them before the door of the*
“ *Temple, they enter, some barefooted, others having*
“ *a cleankinde of Sandall, which they call Mesth : name-*
“ *ly as the custom is with us, when we pull off our hats,*
“ *to wear a cap.*

Lastly, that we may not want an instance among Christians : *Zaga Zabo* an Æthiopian Bishop , sent Ambassador from *David* King of the Abyssines to *John* the 3. King of Portugal, above an hundred years since ; in his Description of the Religion and rites of the Abyssine Christians, thus informs us : “ *Prohibi-*
“ *tum est apud nos (saith he) ne aut gentes, aut canes, aut*
“ *alia hujusmodi animalia, in Templis nostris intrent. Item*
“ *non datur potestas nobis ad eundi Templum, nisi NVDIS*
“ *PEDIBVS ;*

Sect. 3.

“**P E D I B V S**; neque licet nobis in ipso Templo ride-
 “re, obambulare, aut de rebus prophanis loqui, neque
 “spuere, aut screare in ipso Templo. Quia Ecclesia
 “*Ethiopum* non sunt similes terre illi, ubi populus *Is-*
 “*rael* comedit Agnum Paschalem decedens ab *Egypto*
 “(in quo loco, propter terra pollutionem, iussit eos Deus
 “comedere indutos calceamentis & Zonis accinctos) sed
 “similes sunt monti Sinai, ubi Dominus locutus est Mo-
 “si, dicens: Exue calceamenta tua de pedibus tuis, quo-
 “niam terra quam pedes tui premunt, sancta est. That
 “is, It is prohibited amongst us, that either Pagans or
 “any other beasts should come into our Churches. More-
 “over, it is not permitted to us to go into the Church,
 “but **BARE FOOTED**; nor is it lawfull for us
 “in the Church to * laugh, or to walk up and down, or to
 “speak of secular matters; no not to spit, hawk or hem
 “in the Church. Because the Churches of *Ethiopia* are
 “not like unto that Land, where *Moses*, ready to depart
 “out of *Egypt*, eat the Paschal Lamb (where, because
 “of the pollution of the country, God commanded them
 “to eat it with their shoes on their feet, and their loyns
 “girded;) but they are like unto Mount Sinai, where
 “God spake unto *Moses*, saying; Put off thy shoes from
 “thy feet, for the ground whereon thy feet treadeth, is
 “holy Thus *Zagu Zabo* of the Abyssine Christians,
 “whereof he was a Bishop: And till the contrary be
 “shewed me, I am prone to beleieve that some other
 “Christians of the *Iacobite*-sect may have the like cu-

* Eadem
 plane In-
 staurum
 magistri
 prohibent
 a suis in
 Synagogis
 fieri, apud
 Maumoni-
 dem Mis-
 nae Part 2.
 l. 2. Trac. 7.
 De bene-
 dictionibus
 & consecr.
 per preces
 quae & in
 Templo
 olim obser-
 vari solita.

Et *Greg. Nazian.* in orat. suo. pro patre laudat matrem suam Nonnam, quod in Tem-
 plo Dei ne vocem quidem emitteret, nisi de rebus mysticis & divinis, neque unquam
 tergum altari obrueret, aut sacrum pavimentum confunderet. Le quibus Lector pro
 prudentia sua statuat, ut & quousque nobis imitari conducat.

stome,

stone, as it is certain that in most of their rites they agree with them. Sect. 3.

Now the religious guise of the Jews and other Nations of the Orient, having anciently been (and still being) such as you have heard, when they entred into their Temples, or remained in them; the words of my text, *Look to thy foot or feet*, being taken for an expression borrowed from, and alluding thereto; will have the same sense; as if we, infecting them to our manners, should say; *Look unto thy head*, (that is, have a care thy head be fitted as it ought to be) *when thou comest into the House of God*; meaning that he should put off his hat, or be uncovered, when he comes thither, and use such other reverence, as is wont to accompany it. For know, that the Holy Ghost, mentioning or specifying but one rite, is yet so to be understood, as implying therewith the rest of the same order accustomed to go with it; according to that usuall trope of Scripture, by a part, or that which is more notable or obvious in any kinde or rank of things to imply the rest; the rule whereby we interpret the Decalogue, and is the more fitly applicable here, because this guise of Discalecation was a leading ceremonie to the other gestures of sacred veneration then used, as that of *putting off the hat* (in civil use at least) is wont to be with us. Not as if Solomon or the Holy Ghost in this Admonition intended the outward ceremonie onely, and no more, (that were ridiculous to imagine) but the whole act of sacred reverence commenced in the heart and affection, whereof this was the accustomed and leading gesture: to wit, the very same, and all that which the Lord

Sect. 3. Lord commandeth in that originall law, *Lev. 19.30. Sanctuarium meum reueremini*, *Reverence my Sanctuary*; which *Jonathans Targum* explaineth; *Ye shall go to the House of my Sanctuary with reverence*; *Solomon* paralleleth here with, *Look to thy foot when thou goest to the House of God*. For so is the manner of Scripture almost every where, under the name of the gesture onely, to understand and imply the whole dutie of veneration, which such gesture representeth and importeth.

But as this is most true, so is it on the other side as false, if any shall from hence collect, That therefore the outward worship may securely be neglected (in time and place where and when it may be done,) so the inward be performed. Nay the contrary follows: For if the inward worship be chiefly intended, when the outward or bodily is onely named, as it is granted; is it not then absurd to imagine, that where that which is not expressly named is meant, there that which is onely mentioned should be excluded? Nay surely, where the outward is mentioned (as here in my Text) there no doubt, but the outward, in one kinde or other, is a part of the dutie commanded, whatsoever besides it be intended. And because it is a disease almost proper to our time (for our forefathers were mostly sick of the other extreme,) so farre to sleight and disesteem (that I may not say, disdain) the worship of God by the body, as to think it may be omitted and neglected, even in time and place convenient, as in Gods House and publick service, without all guilt of sin: Give me therefore leave to propound a few considerations, for the cure of such as
are

are sick of that maladie. For as that which seems but some lighter symptome at the first, if the cure thereof be neglected and contemned, oftentimes proves fatal, and destroyes life it self; so may this. I would have them therefore consider;

1. That we all look not onely for the glorification of our souls, but of our bodies in the life to come: Now a reward presupposeth a work. It is meet and right therefore we should worship and glorifie God here in this life with the bodie as well as the soul, if we look that God should one day glorifie both.

2. That as the outward worship without the inward is dead, so the inward without the outward is not complete; even as the glorification of the soul separate from the bodie is not, nor shall not be consummate, till the bodie be again united unto it.

3. That those who derogate so much from bodily worship, in the service of the true G O D, as kneeling, bowing, and the like, make by consequent Idolatrie a sin far lesse hainous in degree then it is. For is not Idolatrie to communicate that honour with a creature, which is due unto the Creator alone? By how much therefore the worship of gesture and posture is lesse due unto God, when we do our homage unto him; by so much is the sin the lesse hainous and grievous, when the same is given unto an Idol. For I beleeve, they will not deny, but part of the sin of Idolatrie consists even in the outward worship given unto an Idol, as kneeling, bowing, and falling down before it, and the like.

4. Lastly, that although bodily worship, being considered in it self, be one of the *minora legis*, of the lesser

Sect. 3. lesser things of the law, and the honour done unto God thereby of no great value (though not of none) in his sight; yet may a voluntary and presumptuous neglect, even of so small a duty, be a great and hainous sin; because such a neglect proceeds from a prophane disposition and election of the heart. For a sin is not alwayes to be esteemed according to the value of the duty omitted, but from the hearts election in omitting it. *Non est bonum per se* (saith Seneca) *munda vestis, sed munda vestis electio, quia non in re bonum est, sed in electione*: that is, *A clean garment hath no goodnesse of it self, but it is the election of a clean garment which is commended, because the goodnesse consists not in the thing, but in the election thereof.* So say I here: it is not the value or merit of the work, which aggravates the sin in omitting the doing thereof, but the electio not to do it.

Epist. 93.

Now therefore to return to my hypothesis. By that which hath been delivered it appears, That it is not onely lawfull to use some reverentiall gesture, when we come into Gods House (which yet some think, they are very liberall, if they grant) but that it is a duty commanded by God himself, and so no will-worship: As namely in that divine admonition given first to Moses, and afterward, to Iosua; *Put thy shoes from off thy feet, &c.* in that Law, *Reverence my Sanctuary*; in this instruction by Solomon, *Look to thy feet when thou comest to the House of God*: That the Saints and people of God in the Old Testament, and Christians in the New, have used such reverence: That the neglect thereof is condemned of prophanenesse, by the practice of Jews, *Gentiles, Pagans, Mahumetans, all Religions whatsoever. If any be to be excepted (*probat r & dolor!*) it is our selves.

But

* Seneca
lib. 7. nat.
qq. c. 30.
Intramur
Templa
compositi,
ad sacrifici-
um access-
uri vul-
tum sub-
mittimus,
togam ad-
ducimus, in
omne argu-
mentum
modestie
insimul.

Sect. 3.

But without doubt, in this we are not in the right, nor was it so from the beginning. Whatsoever is dedicated unto God, in generall, or (to speak in the phrase of Scripture) whatsoever is *called by his Name*, that is, is His by peculiar relation, ought to be used with a different respect from things common: and Gods House (as you have heard) hath something singular from the rest. Should we then come into it, as into a Barn or Stable? It was not (once) good manners so to come into a mans house: For our blessed Saviour, when he sent forth his Disciples to preach the Gospel, *Mat. 10. said, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀκούετε, ὅταν εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς οἶκον, εὐλογεῖτε αὐτόν, ὅταν ἐξέλθῃτε, εὐλογεῖτε αὐτόν.* *when ye enter into an house, salute it.* Why should we not think it a part of religious manners to do something answerable, when we come into the House of God? that is, to *blesse* the Master thereof, (you know, how far that word extendeth;) and if not to say, *God be here*, (which hath been the form, and is somewhere still, when we enter into a mans House) yet to say with *Jacob at Bethel, God is here*; and to testifie in some manner or other, as the Saints of God were wont to do, that we acknowledge it; and that both at our first coming thither, and while we continue there; for the one follows from the other. And because I paralleled before that Orientall rite of Discalceation (whereunto I supposed the words of my Text to have reference) with ours of uncovering the head, by the name of a *leading* ceremony; if any shall therefore ask me, what other gesture I implied thereby, as fitting to accompany this, in the case we speak of? I answer, That belongs to the discretion of our Superiours, and the authority of the

Sect. 3. Church to appoint, not to me to determine. For here, as in other ceremonies, the Church is not tyed; but hath liberty to ordain (having respect to the analogy of the Old Testament) what she shall judge most suitable and agreeable to the time, place, and manners of the people where she lives. But if I may without offence or presumption, speak what I think; then I say, That adoration, or bowing of the body, with some short ejaculation, (which the Church of Israel used in their Temple; together with discalcation, and which the Christians of the Orient use at this day, and time out of minde have done at their ingresse into their Churches) is of all other the most seemly, ready and fitting to our manners: which yet I submit: namely, according to that of the 132. *Psalm*. v. 7. *«Introibimus in Tabernacula ejus, incurvabimus nos scabello pedum ejus: We will go into his Tabernacle, and worship before (or toward) his Footstool; that is, the Ark of the Covenant or Mercy seat; which you shall finde thus styled, 1 Chron. 28. 2.*

And according to that *Psalm*. 5. 8. *«I will enter in to thine House in the multitude of thy mercies; in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy Temple, (i. e. Naor; for they stood in the Courts when they worshipped) which is the form the Jews use at this day, when they come first into their places of worship, and so might we too, for any thing I know. The ordinary form among the Greeks is that of the Publican, God be mercifull to me a sinner: yet sometimes they premise this of the Psalm before it.*



SECTION 4.



And thus I have done with the first part of my text, which for distinction sake I called the *Admonition*: I come now to the second, which I termed a *Caution*; "*Be more ready to obey, then to offer the sacrifice of fools*": as much as to say, Preferre not the secondary service of God before the first and principall. Our translation hath, *Be more ready to hear, then, &c.* whereby some have taken occasion childishly to apply this Scripture against that custom of a short and private prayer at our first coming into the Church, before we join with the congregation. For we should (say they) rather hear and listen to what the Minister is reading or speaking, (as *Solomon* here bids us) then at such a time to betake our selves to any private devotion; which, say they, is but *the sacrifice of fools*. But I would themselves who thus argue, were as wise as they should be: For if they were, they would consider both that *Solomon* (according to the time wherein he spake) must needs mean of another kinde of Sacrifice, then what so loose a notion importeth; namely of such as were then used in the Temple he had built; and besides that this sense of theirs directly thwarts the purport and meaning of the words going

Sect. 4. before: which is, that we ought to use some signe of reverence when we come into the house of God; such, as according to the custome of the West, is this. But though none of these things were, yet would this text be nothing to their purpose: Forasmuch as by *Hearing* in this place is not meant auricular hearing, but practically, that is, obedience to Gods commandments; according as the Vulgar hath, "*Melior est obedientia quam victimæ stultorum*". For it is the same with that proverbiall sentence of Scripture, *Obedience is better then sacrifice*; which Samuel used in that bitter reproof of K. Saul, for sparing Agag, and the best of the spoil of the Amalekites, upon a pretence of sacrificing to the Lord in Gilgal. "*Hath the Lord (saith he) as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better then sacrifice, and to hearken then the fat of rams*". The word here twice rendered *obey*, is *you* the same which is in my text, and it is an ordinary signification thereof in Scripture. The case is cleer.

1 Sam. i. 5.

But was not the offering of Sacrifice, will some man say, part of the obedience due unto the divine Law? How come they then to be thus opposed one to the other? Give me leave therefore, before I give my full explication of this passage, to enquire and consider of some others, of much more difficulty in this respect, yet their meaning conducing to the understanding of this.

There are divers places in Scripture disparaging and vilifying sacrifices; yea so farre, as if sacrifice were a service which God neither appointed nor approved:

proved: As Psal. 51. "Thou desirest not sacrifice
 "(saith David,) else would I have give it thee; but thou
 "delightest not in burnt-offerings. The sacrifice of God
 "is a troubled spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O
 "God thou wilt not despise. Hosea 6.6. I will have mer-
 "cy and not sacrifice. Micah 6. vers. 6, 7, 8. Where-
 "with shall I come before the Lord, and bow my self be-
 "fore the most High? shall I come before him with
 "burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? 7. Will
 "the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, and with
 "ten thousands of rivers of oyl? shall I give my first
 "born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the
 "sin of my soul? 8. He hath shewed thee, O man, what
 "is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to
 "do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with
 "thy God? Nay Jer. 7. ver. 21, 22. he seems to say
 expressly, that he never commanded them: "Put
 "(saith he) your burnt-offerings unto your sacrifices,
 "and eat flesh. For I spake not unto your Fathers, nor
 "commanded them, in the day that I brought them out
 "of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and
 "sacrifices: But this thing commanded I them, saying,
 "Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be
 "my people, and walk ye in the wayes that I have com-
 "manded you, that it may be well with you.

Yet nothing is more plain, then that God ordain-
 ed Sacrifices at Mount Sinai. How then shall this
 difficulty be resolved? Some, & those of the ancients
 too, have affirmed, that these ordinances of Sacrifice
 were not given to Israel at first, nor *prima intentione*
Dei; but were (as they call them) *imposita*, *superin-*
ducta, afterwards imposed upon them, when they had

Sect. 4. committed idolatry in making and worshipping the golden Calfe. But the contrary to this is also apparent. For to passe by *Cain* and *Abels* sacrifices, and the sacrifices of *Noah* and *Abraham*; when the Lord pronounced the Decalogue from Mount Sinai, he added this, as it were an appendix thereto: "*Thou shalt not make with me gods of silver, neither shalt thou make unto thee gods of gold: Only an Altar thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen, &c.*" and this before *Moses* came down from the Mount, or the Calf was yet made. Nay, more then all this, when *Moses* and *Aaron* were sent unto *Pharaoh*, the effect of their Embassie was, "*The God of the Hebrews saith, Let my people go, that they may sacrifice unto me, three dayes journey in the wilderness.*" And when *Pharaoh* would have given them leave to have sacrificed to their God in the Land; "*No (saith Moses) we will go three dayes journey into the wilderness, and there sacrifice to the Lord our God, as he hath commanded us.*" What shall we answer then to those passages of Scripture, where God disclaimeth sacrifice, saying, he required no such service at his peoples hands; yea, that he commanded them no such thing, when he brought them out of the Land of *Aegypt*?

Exo. 3. 18.
& 5. 1, 3, 8.

Exo. 8. 27.

For the assoyling of this difficultie, according to the differing qualitie of the passages, which are, or may be produced to this purpose, I lay down these three propositions: First, That according to the proprietic and *genius* of the Hebrew tongue, a Comparative sense is often exprest after the form of an *Antithesis*: As in that of *Joel*, "*Rent your hearts, and*"
"not

“not your garments; that is, more, or rather than your garments. *Prov. 8. 10.* “Receive my instruction, “and not silver: that is, rather than silver; as the words following teach us to construe it; *And knowledge rather than choice gold.* Likewise in the New Testament: *Lay not up treasures for your selves on earth, but lay up for your selves treasures in heaven;* that is, Treasures in heaven, rather than treasures on earth; have more care to lay up the one, than the other.

According to this construction onely, without more ado, some of the aforesaid passages will be discharged of their difficulty: as namely that of *Hosea*, “*I desired mercy and not sacrifice*, that is, more or rather than sacrifice; as the following words give us to understand, which are; “*And the knowledge of God more then burnt-offerings*; and according as the same sense is elsewhere expressed; as *Prov. 21. 3.* “*To do justice and judgement is more acceptable to the Lord, then sacrifice.* But all will not be thus salved.

Wherefore I lay down this second proposition; That antecedenter it is true, that God commanded not sacrifice should be offered unto him, neither when the Law was given, nor before; but consequenter, consequently onely. For the understanding whereof we must know, That Sacrifice was a rite whereby men renewed a covenant with God, by making atonement for their sinne: Therefore it presupposed a breach and transgression of the Law. But the will of God was not, that men should transgress his Law, and violate the covenant he had made with them, but that they should observe and keep it;

which

Sect. 4. which if they did, sacrifice would have no place. This is that I mean, when I say, That God required not, nor commanded sacrifice antecedently, but that men should keep his Commandments. But in case sin were committed, and the Articles of his covenant violated, then and in such a state God ordained, and admitted of Sacrifice for a rite of atonement and redintegration of his covenant with men: that is, he commanded Sacrifice *onely consequenter*, as a remedy, if sin were committed. And if those Ancients could be thus understood, who say, that sacrifice was not ordained when the Law was first given, but after it was transgressed; namely, if their meaning were onely, that the ordinance of sacrifice presupposed a transgression of the Law, then their assertion were true; but otherwise historically taken, it cannot be defended. Now according to this proposition is that of *Jeremy* chap. 7. to be understood, (on if there be any other like it :) *"I shake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the Land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices: But this thing commanded I them; Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you."*

My third proposition is this: That when sacrifice was to be offered, in case of sin; yet even then God accepted not thereof *primario*, *primarily* and for his self; as though any refreshment or emolument accrued to him thereby, (as the Gentiles fondly supposed of their gods) but *secundarily* onely, as a testimony of the conscience of the offerer, desiring, with humble

re-

repentance, to glorifie him with a present, and by that rite to renew a covenant with him. For Sacrifice (as I have said) was *oblato federalis*. Now Almighty God renews a covenant with, or receiveth again into his favour, none but the repentant sinner, and therefore accepts of sacrifice in no other regard, but as a token and effect of this. Otherwise it is an abomination unto him, as whereby men professed a desire of being reconciled unto God, when they had offended him, and yet had no such meaning. Hence God rejects all sacrifices wherein there is no contrition, nor purpose to forsake sin, and keep his commandments, which are the parts of repentance. So is to be taken that in the first of *Isay*: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me. Wash ye, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil: then (if you offer sacrifice unto me) though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow, &c." And that *Isay* the last: To this man I look, to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit. He that killeth an ox (namely otherwise,) is as if he slew a man: he that sacrificeth a lamb, (unless he comes with this disposition) as if he cut off a dogs neck, he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered blood, he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an Idol. And surely, he that bleisseth an Idol, is so farre from renewing a covenant with the Lord his God, that he breaks it. So did they, who without conscience of repentance presumed to come before him with a sacrifice, not procure atonement, but aggravate their breach.

Accor-

Sect. 4.

According to one of these three senses are all passages in the Old Testament, disparaging and rejecting sacrifices, literally to be understood; Namely, when men preferred them before the greater things of the law; valued them out of their degree, as an antecedent duty; or placed their efficacy in the naked rite, as if ought accrued to God thereby: God would no longer own them for any ordinance of his; nor indeed in that disguise put upon them were they. I will except onely one passage out of the number, which I suppose to have a singular meaning; to wit, that of *David* in the 51. *Psalm*, which the ancient translations thus expresse: "*Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium, dedissem utique; sed holocaustis non oblectaberis*" (*vel, holocaustum non acceptabis.*) *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus, &c.* — If thou wouldest have had a sacrifice, I would have offered it; but thou wilt accept no burnt-offering, &c. — For this seems to be meant of that speciall case of adulterie and murder, which *David* here deplores: for which sins the Lord had provided no sacrifice in his law. Wherefore *David* in this his poenitentiall confession tells him, That if he had appointed any sacrifice for expiation of this kinde of sin, he would have given it him: but he had ordained none, save onely a *broken spirit* and a *contrite heart*: which, thou O God (saith he) wilt not despise, but accept that alone for a sacrifice in this case, without which, sacrifice in no case, is accepted.

Now out of this discourse we are sufficiently furnished for the understanding of this caution of *Solomon* in my Text: *Be more ready to obey, then to offer the sacrifice of fools*; or as the words in the Original im-

port,

Sect. 4.

port, Be more approaching God with a purpose and resolution of obedience to his commandments, then with the sacrifice of fools; that is, Have a care, rather to approach the Divine Majesty with an offering of an obedientiall disposition, then with the bare and naked rite; but the sense is still the same, namely, the House of God at Jerusalem was an House of sacrifice, which they who came thither to worship, offered unto the Divine Majesty, to make way for their prayers and supplications unto him, or to finde favour in his sight. *Solomon* therefore gives them here a caveat, not to place their religion, either onely or chiefly in the externall rite, but in their readinesse to hear and keep the Commandments of God, without which, that rite alone would avail them nothing, but be no better then the sacrifice of fools, who when they do evil, think they do well. For without this readinesse to obey, this purpose of heart to live according to his Commandments, God accepts of no sacrifice from those who approach him, nor will pardon their transgressions when they come before him. He therefore that makes no conscience of sinning against God, and yet thinks to be expiate by sacrifice, is an ignorant fool; how wise and religious soever he may think himself to be, or appear unto men, by the multitude or greatness of his sacrifices. The reason, because the Lord requires obedience antecedently and absolutely, but sacrifice consequently onely: and then too, not *primario*, or chiefly and for it self, but secundarily onely, as a testimony of contrition, and a ready desire and purpose in the offerer, to continue in his favour by obedience.

This

Sect. 4.

This is *Solomons* the Preachers meaning : Wherein behold, as in a glasse, the condition of all externall service of God in generall ; as that which he accepteth no otherwise then secundarily ; namely, as issuing from a heart respectively affected with that devotion it importeth. For God, as he is a living God, so he requires a living worship. But as the body without the soul is but a carcasle ; so is all externall and bodily worship, wherein the pulse of the hearts devotion beats not.

But if this be so, you will say, it were better to use no externall worship at all of course, as we do the worship of the body in the gestures of bowing, kneeling, standing, and the like, then to incur this danger of serving God with a dead and hypocriticall service ; because it is not like, the heart will be alwayes duly affected, when the outward worship shall be required. I answer, Where there is a true and reall intent to honour God with outward and bodily worship, there the act is not hypocrisie, though accompanied with many defects and imperfections. Here therefore that rule of our Saviour touching the greater and lesser things of the law must have place : *ἡ δὲ ἡμεῖς μὴ οὐκ, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ μὴ ἀφαιρέσας, These things* (that is, the greater things of the Law) *we ought to do, and not to leave the other* (though the lesser) *undone.* For otherwise, if this reasoning were admitted, a man might upon the same ground absent himself from coming to Church upon the dayes and times appointed, or come thither but now and then, alledging the indisposition of his heart to join with the Church in her publike worship at other times : Or if he came thither, act a mute, and

Mat. 23. 23
& Luk. 11.
42.

and when others sing and praise God, to be altogether silent, and not open his mouth, nor to say *Amen*, when others do. For all these are external services, and the service of the voice and gesture are in this respect all one, there is no difference. But who would not think this to be very absurd? We should rather upon every such occasion rouse and stir up our affections with fit and seasonable meditations, that what the order and decency of a Church-assembly requires to be done of every member outwardly, we may likewise do devoutly and acceptably. *These things we ought to do, and not leave the other undone.*

But you will say, What if I cannot bring my heart unto that religious fear and devotion, which the outward worship I should perform requireth? I could say that some of the outward worship which a man performs in a Church-assembly, he does not as a singular man, but as a member of the Congregation. But howsoever, I answer: Let the worship of thy body, in such a case, be at least a confession and acknowledgement before God, of that love, fear, and esteem of his Divine Majesty thou oughtest to have, but hast not. For though to come before God without that inward devotion requisite, be a sin: yet to confesse and acknowledge, by what our outward gesture importeth, the duty we owe unto him, but are defective in, I hope is not; no more then the confession of any other sin. For our worship, in such a case, if we will so intend it, is an act of repentance: and as the modern Greeks are wont to call their *Adorations*, *Metanoias*, *Repentances*, so may we in this case make ours to be; namely, as if we said, Lord, I ought to come before

Sect. 4. fore thee with that religious fear, humble reverence, and lifting up of heart, which the gesture, the posture, I here present, importeth: *but Lord be mercifull to me a sinner.* If any mans heart be so prophane and irreligious, as not to acknowledge thus much; I yeeld; that such a one might better spare his labour, and not come into the presence of God at all. Otherwise I conclude still with our blessed Saviours determination in the like case, *Those greater things we ought to do, and not to leave the other undone.*

FINIS.

DANIELS WEEKS.

AN
INTERPRETATION
of part of the Prophecy of
DANIEL:

BY
JOSEPH MEDE, late Fellow of
Christs Colledge in CAMBRIDGE.



LONDON,
Printed by M. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to
be sold at his Shop under S. Peters Church in Cornhill.
MDCXLIII.

DANIELS

W. L. B. K. S.

NOTICE

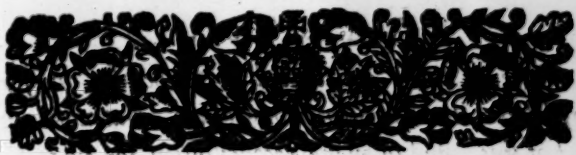
of the

DANIELS

and

and

and



DANIELS WEEKS.

Dan. 9. 24. &c.



THE *Weeks of Daniel* are a Divine Chronology of the Time, which the Sanctuary, with the Legall Service, should continue, when it should be restored after the Captivity of Babylon. During which time, also the City of Jerusalem it self should be re-inhabited, and the walls thereof rebuilt; and some Lxij. weeks after that began to be, should Messiah the Redeemer be anointed, yea, and cut off and rejected of his own: For which, when the whole Lxx. weeks (the time allotted) should expire, their Sanctuary and City should again be razed, and their Commonwealth utterly dissolved.

M m m 2 / Vers.

Verf. 24. Cap. 9.

Seventy weeks are allotted for thy people, and for thy Holy City, to finish transgression, and make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to fulfill vision and prophecy, and to anoint the MOST HOLY.

S*eventy weeks are determined or allotted:] That is, The Holy City shall again be restored, and Lxx. weeks of years are allotted and limited for the continuance thereof, and thy people with it: and that for this end, that during the standing thereof, the Messiah, according to vision and prophecy, may come to expiate sinne, and be anointed in his Kingdom.*

The word *קצת* here translated *determined or allotted*, signifies properly *to be cut*, or *cut out*, and so may seem to imply such a sense, as if the Angel had said to *Daniel*, Howsoever your bondage and Captivity under the Gentiles shall not altogether cease, untill that succession of Kingdoms, which I before shewed thee, be quite finished: yet shall God for the accomplishing his promise concerning the Messiah, as it were, *cut out* of that long term a certain limited Time, during which, the Captivity of Judah and Jerusalem being interrupted, the Holy City and Common-wealth in some measure shall again be restored, and so continue till Lxx. Weeks of years be finished.

Here

Here I distinguish the beginning of the Times of the Holy City, from the beginning of Ierusalem; For the Holy City is so called of the Temple as the principall part; and therefore the Time of the restitution thereof, to be reckoned from the Time the Temple was builded. But by Ierusalem is understood (as appears in the next verse) the externall buildings and wals of the City, which were not restored, till some time after the Temple and Sanctuary was finished.

As for the impletion, all are now agreed, That the Beginning of these Weeks is to be reckoned from some Restoring either of the Temple; and that in the second, third, or sixth year of the Reign of some *Darius*; or of the City in the seventh or twentieth year of some *Artaxerxes*, Kings of *Persia*. But it cannot be from *Darius* the first surnamed *Hystaspis*; for then they would come out long before the Birth of Christ. Nor from the first *Artaxerxes* surnamed *Longimanus*, for he was an hinderer of the work of the Temple, and forbad the building thereof, *Ezra cap. 4. vers. 11. ad finem*. Nor from the second *Artaxerxes* surnamed *Mnemon*: for so they would far overreach the Destruction of Ierusalem. Therefore it remains that they be counted from *Darius* the second, surnamed *Nothus*; in the second year of whose reign the work of the Temple, after a long interruption, began to revive. *Ezr. 4. v. 24. Hag. c. 1. & 2. Zachar. c. 1. & c.* and in the sixt year of his reign was finished, *Ezra 6. ver. 15.*

Secondly, these Lxx. Weeks are the time allotted for the continuance of the Holy City, and therefore

M m m ?

mult

must they last, as long as it lasted, and end with the end thereof: but this cannot be, unless we fix their Epoch in the beginning of *Darius Nothus*. Ergo.

Which in the event is most true. For from the third year of *Darius Nothus*, when the work of the Temple (by the incitement of *Haggai* and *Zachary* renewed the year before) was now confirmed by a new Edict from the King to be finished, unto the Destruction of Jerusalem by *Titus*, are exactly 490 years, that is, Lxx. Weeks of years fully complet.

Artaxerxes Longi-
mannus died (saith *Di-* } *An. Olym-*
odorus li. 11.) *Olymp.* } *piadico* 352
88.4. that is—

Mens. Nouem-
bris, or therea-
bout, for Win-
ter was entred.
Thucyd. lib. 4.

Ergo

Xerxes (who reigned next } *An Olym-*
after him one year (*ex eod.*) } *piadico.* 353. *Mens. Nom.*
dying—

Sogdianus also who suc- }
ceeded *Xerxes* reigning but }
seven Months. } *Anno Olymp.*

Darius Nothus his *Ann. 1.* } *eodem.* *M. Maio.*
begins—

Annus 2. Anno Olympiad. 354 M. Maio.

Annus 3. Anno Olympiad. 355 M. Maio.

In this third year of the King, and at the end of this Olympiadical year, in the beginning of *August* (as may be supposed) came forth the Edict of *Darius*, some

some ten moneths after *Zerobabel* and *Jeshua* had begun to renew the work the year before, *Hag.* i. 14, 15. And so much time (half thereof being Winter) may well be allowed for their enemies, to hear of the work, to go see and do their best to hinder it, when they could not, to write and send unto the King, the searching of the Rolls, and obtaining a new Edict.

The Destruction of }
Ierusalem by *Titus*, 1 } *Anno Olymp.* 845. *finiente*, 846. *incunte*.
 take as granted

The Edict of *Da-* }
rius, as is shewed } *Anno Olymp.* 355. *finiente*, 356. *incunte*.

Distantia

490

490

The Account by years of *Nabonassarex Canane*
Ptolomei Astronomico.

The last year, or year of *Nero's* death (*June 9.*) in *Ptolomei* }
Canon answers to *An.* 815. *Nabonass.* } *An.* 817. *finiendus in*
Ergo, the year of *Ierusalem's* Defolation (3. years after) } *Nabonass.* *Augusto.*
 is concurrent with

The first of *Darius No-* }
thus, in *Canone Ptolomei*, }
 answers *An.* 325. *Nabonass.* } *An.* 327.
Ergo, the third year of *Darius*, is concurrent } *Nabonass.* *Ordinendus à Decembris præcedent.*
 with

Differentia

490

M m m 4

Not-

The Temple was now finished in 4. years, which argues it was well forwarded before, and much I suppose in the days of liberty under *Darius Hystaspis*: For I take him to be that *Darius* mentioned *Ezra* 4. 5. and never to have hindred the building, but permitted the Jews to go on as their poverty would suffer them, which was but slowly.

Notwithstanding all this, I had rather begin the Accompt from the sixth year of *Darius*, in the Moneth *Adar*, when the Temple was quite finished, (for then it first began to continue, and not till then,) although the Destruction of Jerusalem will then fall out three years and an half sooner, namely, when the last week is but half run out. And what if it do? The Angel, as I conceive, tells us so much in the last verse, when he sayes, *That in the midst of a Week the Sacrifice and Oblation should cease, and the City be made desolate.* But how will the Prophecy be made good, if the *Seventieth* Week be not compleat? I answer, It should be observed (though it useth not to be) that the Angel reckons not by single years, but by Weeks. If he had said, there should be 490. years to the *Excidium* of Jerusalem, then indeed to make good the prediction, the City and Sanctuary must have been destroyed the last year. But when he sayes, there shall be Lxx. Weeks allotted for the continuance of the Holy City, it is enough if it be made desolate in the seventieth week: For if those who reckon by years, when the year designed answers the event, will not stand upon the compleatnesse of months and dayes; nor those who reckon any thing by dayes, upon the compleatnesse of hours and minutes: no more in the Angels reckoning here by weeks, if so the number of the weeks be compleat, are the parts of a week to be exacted.

The

The time of the De-
struction of Ierusalem
as before

Ann. Olymp. 845. Mens. 6. August.

If the third of Darius
began about May or
June, Anno Olymp. 355.
then the sixt year of his
reign begins in May or
June, An. 358: But the
latter part thereof in
February or Adar, when
the Temple was fini-
shed, falls in

An. Olymp. 359. Mens. 12. Feb. or
Adar.

Distantia Anni 486 Mens. 6.

That is just 69 Weeks and an halt.

The Account by years of Nabonassar.

The time of the De-
struction of Ierusalem
as before

Anno 817 Nabonass. Mens. 6.

If the third year of
Darius Nothus, were
for the first and grea-
test part concurrent
with An. 327. Nab. as
is afore shewed; then
his sixt year (in like
manner for the first and
greatest part) must con-
cur with An. 330. But
the head of the Nabo-
nassarean year, being
then about the 5. of
Dec. the latter end of
this sixt year in Adar or
Feb. will fall in

Anno 331 Nabonass. Mens. 12.

Distantia Anni 486 Menses 6.

Verse 25.

Also know and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to cause to Return and to Build Ierusalem, unto MESSIAH the PRINCE, shall be sevens of Weeks; even threescore and two Weeks; the Street shall be built again and the Wall, even in a strait of times.

From the going out of the Commandment] I take not this *Epocha* to be that of the whole Lxx. Weeks, but a second Root of another, and lesser period of time comprehended in them; whose Beginning was to be after the Lxx. were begun, and the end before they should be ended. The Root of this second Computation is described to be a time when two things should be done: A Commandment should go forth both to cause to Return and also to Build, not the Temple, (for that should be done before) nor some few houses onely, but the whole Area or Street, and the wals of Ierusalem, which should then be re-edified, though in a *strait of Times*; that is, it should be such a time, when a Commission to cause the people to return and re-inhabite, should be seconded with another, to build the wall of Ierusalem, and the Plot within the wall. For by *וָיָוָה* here, I understand properly that circuit bounding out the limits of the City, whereon the wall was builded, and anciently used to be marked out with a Ploughearing a furrrow round about. By *רָחֹב*, which implies a
broad

broad place, I understand the *Area*, or Plot of ground within, whereon the houses were to be build-
ed. From such an *Epocha*, and a Commission thus
characterized as ye have heard, must this second
computation be reckoned.

¶ *Vnto MESSIAH the PRINCE*] that is, unto
Xpists *Bornness*, *Luke 23.2.* *Mark 15.32.* Or Xpists *Kdea-*
os, as the Angel styles him, *Luke 2.34.* There is no
exposition, no interpretation of any passage in this
Prophecy could seem so harsh, but I would be con-
tent to admit it, rather then yeeld that by MES-
SIAH the PRINCE here named, should be
meant any other then CHRIST our LORD
and Redeemer. For I am perswaded that the Church
of Israel in the Gospel (and from them the Apostles
took it,) had no other place of Scripture, whence
they did or could ascribe the name of Christ and
Messiah unto him they looked for, but onely from
this of *Daniel*. For there is no other Prophecy in all
the Old Testament besides this, where that Name is
directly given him, but onely by way of type.

¶ *Shall be sevens of weeks, or 70 weeks*] The nu-
merall word *70* I have here translated distributive-
ly, understanding by *70* *70* *Hebdomathe septem-*
na, that is, many seven Weeks, or as our English
handsomely expresseth, Sevens of Weeks: the sense
to be as if the Angel had said, As the whole time li-
mited for the continuance of the Holy City from the
first beginning to the last ending, consisteth of many
Sevens of Weeks, *viz.* Lxx. Weeks: So from this
after-*Epocha* here mentioned unto MESSIAH,
should be likewise *Sevens of Weeks*, (*plures septennio-*

rum hebdomades) even *Sexty two Weeks of years*. For as in Lxx. are ten Sevens of Weeks; so in Lxij. are ix. times seven wanting one, and that little want makes no matter, there being eight whole sevens besides in that number, and you shall see in that which follows, examples of the like. The Hebrews want those numbers which the Grammarians call Distributive or Divisive, *Terni, quaterni, quini, seni, septeni, &c.* which they most what supply by repetition, as שבעה שבעה *septem septem*, but not alwayes, as may appear 2 Sam. 18.4. And all the people came out למאות ולאלפים *ad centum & millia .i. centeni & milleni*, by hundreds and by thousands. 1 Kings 18.4. "Obadiah hid the Prophets of the LORD וְהַשִּׁימָם בְּמַעְרֵה בְּמַעְרֵה *quingenta viros in spelunca, id est, quinquagenos, by fifty in a Cave*. Gen. 6.19. Of all flesh thou shalt bring into the Ark אַרְבָּעָה שְׁנֵי *duo, .i. bina*, Twos; and therefore afterward c. 7. ver. 9. it is doubled שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי *two and two*: yet of clean Beasts whereof he was to take seven, there is an odde one. To these I adde Ezra 1. v. 9. &c. "This is the number of the vessels (to wit, of the House of the LORD which Cyrus by the hand of Mithredath numbred unto Shefbazzar Prince of Judah) thirty Chargers of gold, a thousand Chargers of silver, twenty nine knives: thirty Basins of gold: silver Basins of a second sort, four hundred and ten, and other vessels אַרְבָּעָה (not mille, a thousand, but millena (Tremel. per millia) Thousands; to wit, almost three thousand wanting but one hundred. Otherwise if we translate it as a Cardinall number [a thousand] the summe will far exceed the Parts. For it follows in the next

next words, "All the Vessels of gold and of silver" were 5400. But unlesse the last number be taken divisive, the particulars * make but 2500. wanting one. Nor do I see how this difficulty would otherwise be solved.

Now whether these examples be sufficient to make probable the Translation which I have given, I will not affirm; let others judge. I propound it to the consideration of the learned, who can do it, without whose approbation I shall not satisfy my self. Yet thus much I am sure of; that if this שבועים שבועים, which we are wont to translate *seven weeks*, could be well bestowed, the chiefest difficulty were taken from this Prophecy. For the *Threescore and two Weeks* alone counted from the *Epocha* here named, so well befits the distance from thence to CHRIST, that the event seemeth to argue, that they should be there fixed, and not reckoned from any other Beginning.

Moreover that שבועים שבועים should be a generall expression of what in the Lxij. Weeks is after more particularly determined, may seem probable for these reasons: 1. Because the Angel ascribes no proper event unto them; but having presently named the Lxij. Weeks, makes no farther reckoning of those other, but follows and dwels upon these onely, as though the other were implied and contained in them. 2. Those who count them for Xlix. years, and continue the Lxij. Weeks from the end of them to make up Lxix. Weeks in all, can give no sufficient reason why they should be thus separated and divided asunder. For that which the followers of *Funccius*, (who reckon from *Artaxerxes Longiman.*) assign to be

* 30
1000
29
30
410
1000
2499

be done in seven Weeks of years (to wit, that during all that time Ierusalem with the rest of the Cities of Iudah were building and repairing) is grounded neither upon Scripture, nor other Story, but pure and meer conjecture. *Scaliger* findes (*Nehem. cap. 13. 6.*) That *Nehemiah* returned again to *Artaxerxes* his Court, in the 32. year of his reign, and thence supposeth that the building of the City, about which he was sent, was finished but the year before, and that to be the determination of those *seven Weeks*; there being then 49. years expired from the time the Lxx. began at the Building of the Temple under *Darius Nottus*. But to make this good, he is fain to raise the *Epocha* of the Lxx. so high in the reign of *Darius*, that they end before the destruction of Ierusalem. Besides, he seems not to be aware, that these seven Weeks are by the Text to be counted from a time, when a Commission came out to cause to return and to build Ierusalem, and not from the time of building the Temple. Nor does it follow, *Nehemiah* staid so long there, therefore the City was till then in building: Nay, what if the Text rightly construed, imports not that *Nehemiah* in the 32. year of *Artaxerxes* returned to the Court; but rather that obtaining new leave of the King, he came then to Ierusalem the second time, whence he had been long absent: For the particle \square *Cap. 13. ver. 6.* seems not to be taken rationally for [*Quia*] but discretively for \square \square *id est*, [*Sed, But*] as *Ezra 4. 3.* *2 Sam. 16. 18.* *Gen. 4. 8.* and so that Text of *Nehemiah* to be read after this sense, And in all this time (saith he) I was not there; But in the 32. year of *Artaxerxes*, &c I came

to the King, that is, into his presence, to ask new leave; which after a little waiting he obtained. Nor is it very credible, that the time he first set the King, cap. 2. ver. 6. should be twelve years.

If therefore *שבע* *שבועות* be granted to be a general expression of what the Lxij. Weeks more particularly determine, the way whereby it may be translated to such a sense is as I have before represented: yet is it not the only one; I can add two wayes more: as first this, *שבע* *שבועות* seven useth, we know, to be taken indefinitely for *plurimi*, *multoties*, &c. Thus *שבע* *שבועות* would without any anomaly or novelty at all, signifie indefinitely [*Many Weeks*] if it might seem probable, that in a passage of reckoning by definite numbers, some numeral word may be taken indefinitely. The sense would be all one with that I have followed. *viz.* As the whole time limited for the continuance of the Holy City consisted of many Weeks, even Lxx. Weeks: So also this lesser period contained therein, from the *Epocha* mentioned unto MESSIAH, shall be a time of many Weeks, even Lxij Weeks. Another way, were it not somewhat harsh, might be this. The Hebrew *Nouns* of Cardinal numbers do sometimes substantivise, signifying their numbers in abstracto, like those Greek Numeralls, *Monas*, *Dyas*, *Trias*, *Tetras*, *Hebdomas*. So Gen. cap. 7. 10. cap. 8. 12. we have *שבוע* *שבועות* *שבועות* *שבועות*, i. *hebdomas ditrum*, Exo. 34. 29. *עשר* *עשרות* *עשרות* *עשרות*, *Decis verborum*, *Decalogus*. Gen. 17. 12. *עשר* *עשרות* *עשרות* *עשרות*, *Filius quatuordecim dierum*. Joshua 14. 2. *עשר* *עשרות* *עשרות* *עשרות*, *Novenarius* or *Enneas tribuum*. If they be Substantives in statu constructo, were

Wherefore
ever be-
sides in
Scripture
Seven
weeks are
mentioned
the words
are

שבע
שבועות
or
שבועה
שבועות

were they not, or may they not be so *in absoluto*? In the third Chapter and 29. *ver.* of Daniel שבועה *in absoluto*, seems to be a Substantive having an Adjective joined with it, חזר שבועה, which we translate [*one seven times.*] If this therefore may be admitted, שבועות שבועה in our Text of Daniel will sound *per Ellipsin conjunctionis Hebdomades & Hebdomas, Weeks and a Week*, the sense being all one with the former, saving that one Week is implied as singular from the rest, which may be that which the Angel afterward mentions *ver.* 27. If it were pointed שבועות חזרה, as by the consonants it might be, there would be no great question but it might be translated *Weeks and a Week.*

But if שבועות שבועה, must needs import some limited time of 49. years; I would rather choose to count the Lxij. Weeks from the same *Epocha* with them under *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, then from the end of them, and yet leave as probable a conjecture to be made of what was done in them, as those who follow *Funccius* from the other *Artaxerxes*, do use to give.

I have sometimes considered, whether, if it be translated *seven Weeks*, those *seven Weeks* might not be applied as *rotundus numerus* to those *Fifty and two dayes*. *N. hem.* 6. 15. where it is said, « *So the Wall was finished in the 25. day of the Moneth Elul in fifty two dayes*; somewhat more indeed then *seven Weeks*, yet short of *seven and an half*, and so not regarded in accompt by *Weeks*. If this could be, then the reason of the Angels division of weeks into 7. and 62. would be because of divers kinds of Weeks understood; the first of dayes, wherein the wall of Ierusa-

lem

lem should be finished: the second of years, from thence unto the Messiah. If it seem impossible or unlikely that the wall of the City should be repaired in so short a time, and therefore those words, (according to *Junius*) to be meant of setting up the doors and bars onely: I could say first, that the wall was not new builded from the foundations, but repaired upon the old ruines. Secondly, the speedy dispatch thereof was taken for a wonder, even by the Jews Enemies, who thereupon (saith the Text) "*perceived it was the hand of their God*": So that, were there no worse scruple then this, it were easily answered; nor would examples * be wanting to parallel with it, such as might make it seem at least possible. As that strange and speedy building of the walls of *Athens* by *Themistocles*, after that *Xerxes* had demolished them, reported by *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.* Yea, to come more near to the thing in question, *Josephus l. 6. c. 13. De Bell. Jud.* tells us, That *Titus*, dividing the work amongst his Army, begirt *Jerusalem* in three dayes space, with a wall of thirty nine Furlongs, and thirteen Bulwarks, to hinder the Jews excursions from within; and all relief from without. What the materials were, I know not, but he sayes it was a thing beyond all belief, and might have seemed to be a work of some Moneths. But leaving this digression, let us see the computation and impletion of our Lxij. Weeks.

* That renowned Palace and Court of *Nebuchadnezzar*, within which were those *Pensiles Horti*, was finished (saith *Josephus*) in fifteen dayes. *Antiq. Judaic. li. 1. c. 11.* in the *Lactine c. 13.*

Nnn

The



*The Computation and impletion of the
Lxij. Weeks.*

FROM the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, when *Ezra* had Commission to cause to Return and carry with him, as many of the Jews as would to *Ierusalem*, *Ezra c. 7. ver. 7. & 13.* And from the twentieth year of the same *Artaxerxes*, when *Nehemiah* obtained leave to build *Ierusalem* the City of his Fathers Sepulchres, *Nehem. 2.* From both these Commissions, though thirteen years distant the one from the other, are by divine disposition unto **MESSIAH** the **PRINCE** *threecore and two Weeks*, from the first of *Solar*, from the latter, of *Lunar* years. For *Lxij. weeks*, or *434. Lunar* years, are lesse then so many *Solar*, as much as is between the seventh, and twentieth of *Artaxerxes*: which admirable concordance I cannot impute to chance; but ascribe to divine providence, so ordering it of purpose, that these two *Epocha's* and Commissions, *To cause to Return*, and, *To build Ierusalem*, might be as one and the same. And as the *Lunar* year is contained within the *Solar*, and by it ordered and directed, so is the Period here from *Nehemiahs* Commission to Build the City, contained and reduced to that from *Ezraes* Commission to cause the people to return.

In the last of these Weeks according to prediction

on was Christ our Lord anointed. In the beginning whereof exactly, between the first and second Passover after his Baptism, (when his Harbinger John had now finished his Message, and was cast in Prison; a time precisely and purposely noted in the Evangelicall Story) he first began to preach in Galilee the Gospel of the Kingdom, ordained his Apostles, and proclaimed himself to be the MESSIAH.

“After John was put in Prison, saith Mark 1. 24. Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, and saying, *Μετάνοιαν ἰκανόν, Ὁ καιρὸς πληρωθῆναι, (i. the last week of the sixty two weeks is come) and the Kingdom of God is at hand.*

“From that time (saith Matthew, 2: 4. 17.) Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand. This was that day whereof Christ himself said at Nazareth, *that that Scripture was fulfilled; The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, &c. and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, Luk. 4.*

This the time and place, whence S. Peter reckoned the beginning of Christs Prophecy in his Sermon to Cornelius; *That word (saith he) which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee after the Baptism which John preached, &c. Acts 10. 37.*

In the third year of this Week (two years and an half after he began his Prophecy, and three years and an half after his Baptism) being made our Priest, he offered himself upon the Crosse a Sacrifice for sin, was dead, buried, and rose again: Then ascended up into heaven to be installed, and to sit at the right hand of God from thenceforth to reign untill he hath put

Wherefore I would take that Job. 3. from the 13. ver. to the 21. to be the Evangelists own words interposed, and not the words of Christ to Nicodemus

all his Enemies under his feet. But you will say, This was all performed four years before the 434 years (which is sixty two Weeks of years) were expired: I answer as before: The Angel reckons not by single years, but by Weeks, the last whereof should be Messiahs Week, as we have shewed it to have been. If the Angel had said, There shall be 434 years unto MESSIAH, then to make good the prediction, MESSIAH must have been anointed the last year. But when he says, There shall be Sixty two Weeks unto MESSIAH, it is sufficient he was anointed the last Week. But how this Week will at length be compleat, we shall see in the next verse. But first let us demonstrate our Computation.

Ezra's Commission.

Darius Nothus died (saith *Diodor. lib. 13.*) in the same year, but a little while after the Composition of the *Peloponnesian* war, (which was in *May*) *Olymp. 93.4.* that is

An. Olymp. 372. finiente.

Ergo,

The first of *Artaxerxes* begins about *August*, and concurs with—

Anno Olymp. 373.

The seventh of *Artaxerxes* with—

Anno Olymp. 379.

N.B. If *Artax.* had began before *August*, the number or date of his reign must have altered either in or be-

tween the first and fifth Moneth, but they are both of one year, *Ezra* 7. as also the first and the ninth, *Nehem.* c. 1. c. 2.

Christs Prophecy.

Christ our Lord was Baptized *Anno Olympiastico* 805. *incunite*, about the Feast of Expiations, in the seventh Month *Tisri*, six Months after *John* began to baptize, and in that year naturall and politicall, which began in the 15. of *Tiberius* towards ending, but was the 16. when he was baptized. For *John*, I suppose, began to preach and baptize in the first Moneth *Nisan*, (when the Summer was before him, and not when the Winter was to enter) in the 15. year of *Tiberius* which ended *August* following. Now *Johns* imprisonment was a year after the Baptism of Christ, namely, between the first and second Passeeover after it, as is clear and evident by the Euangelicall Story, *Johnc.* 2. 23. c. 3. 22. & *Chap.* 4. The Beginning therefore of Christs Prophecy, which began at the imprisonment of *John*, *Mark* 1. 14. was *Anno Olymp.* 806. about the end (I suppose) of the same Month *Tisri*, or *Septemb.*

The beginning of } *An. Olymp.* 806. *Mens.* 7.
Christs Prophecy }

The Time of Ex- } *An. Olymp.* 379. *Mens.* 7.
ra's Commission }

Differentia *An.* 427. *M.O.* 61. weeks compleat

N n n 3 From

From hence *Mens.* 7. begins the last week : wherefore the Passion of Christ, at the Passoever, *Mens.* 1. firmly fixed by Chronologicall Characters in the 19. of *Tiberius*, *Anno Olymp.* 808. *Æra Christian.* 33. (that is agreeable to the received Tradition but three year and an half after his Baptism) will fall to be in the third year of the week, which is wholly to be compleat, *Ann.* *Æra Christ.* 37. when the 813. *Anno Olymp.* shall be begun and current in *Septemb.*

Verse 26.

And after the threescore and two Weeks shall MESSIAH be cut off, and [they] none of his : Wherefore the Princes people to come shall destroy the City, and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of War desolations are determined.

A*nd after the threescore and two Weeks shall, &c.]* That is, when the *Threescore and two Weeks* aforesaid shall expire, and be fully compleat, (for so the word [after] supposes they must be.) *MESSIAH* shall be cut off, not onely from the living, by the death he should suffer upon the Crosse (for that was a little before) but from being any longer the King and Priest of that People, they refusing him to be theirs, and he casting off them from being His, which is the meaning of the words following *וְאֵין לוֹ*, *And they none of his :* For *וְאֵין לוֹ* is to be understood, that so the conjunction *Kau* may couple *similia*

tem-

tempora, וְאֵין לוֹ יוֹדוֹ עִמּוֹ, *Et non erit ei populus ejus*, or וְאֵין לוֹ יוֹדוֹ, *And they shall be none of His*. And for the Verb כָּרַח, that it signifies not onely a cutting off from life, but also from reigning as a King, or from being a Priest; See for the first, 1 Kings c. 2. ver. 4. & chap. 9. ver. 5. 2 Chron. ch. 7. ver. 16. Jer. 33. 17. לֹא יִכָּרֵחַ לְדָוִד, &c. "There shall not be cut off to David a man to sit upon the throne of the House of Israel: All which have reference to 2 Sam. c. 7. ver. 16. For the second, cutting off from the Priesthood, 1 Sam. 2. 33. to Eli, "And the man of thine whom I shall not cut off from mine Altar. Jer. 33. 18. Neither of the Priests, "the Levites וְלֵוִי shall a man be cut off before me, to "offer burnt offerings, &c. and to do Sacrifice continually.

The Computation and Impletion.

From the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, at the time of the Commission granted to *Ezra*, (*Anno Olympiad. 379.* as is already shewed) unto the fourth year after Christs Ascension (*Anno Olymp. 813. Æra Christiana Dionysiaa 37.*) are *Lxij.* weeks of years, or 434. years fully compleat and expired. The next year after, was Christ divorced and cut off from the Jews, and they לוֹ אֵין cast off from being His people; which may appear thus :

I begin & end these years in *Tisri*, or *Septemb.* that so they may agree with that time of the Commission granted to *Ezra*, which I before supposed to have been about that moneth.

Anno Era Christian. 33.

Christ suffered upon the Crosse, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven. The Holy Ghost descended at Pentecost, 3000. converted, more added; the Apostles forbidden, but cease not to preach Jesus Christ. So this year ends about *September*.

Anno Era Christian. 34.

The number of Disciples much increased: Deacons chosen, and *Steven* one of them, *Act. 6. 1, 2, 3, &c.*

Anno Era Christian. 35.

Steven doth great wonders and miracles. The Word of God, and the number of Disciples increaseth so, that a great company of the Priests were obedient unto the Faith. The Elders and people rage, and about the end of the year was *Steven* martyred, *Act. c. 6. ver. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. cap. 7. ver. 1. ad finem.*

Anno Era Christian. 36.

Great persecution against the Church at Jerusalem. *Saul* makes havoc, *Act. c. 8.* whereupon the Disciples were scattered through the Regions of Judea and Samaria, every where preaching the Gospel, *ver. 4, 5.* Of whose successe the Apostles being informed, send *Peter* and *John* to Samaria, to lay hands on the new converts, *ver. 14.* which done, and by the way preaching the Gospel in the villages of Samaria, they returned again to Jerusalem. *ibid.*

Those

Anno Era Christian. 37.

Those which were scattered upon the persecution of *Steven*, proceed further, and travelled as far as *Phœnice*, *Cyprus* and *Antioch*, having by the way preached the Gospel to the Jews at *Damascus* (how came they there else?) *Cap.* 11. Which *Saul* hearing of, gets letters thither, to bring those he should finde there of that way unto *Jerusalem*. But in his journey himself was miraculously converted and baptized, &c. *Peter* in the mean time was gone again from *Jerusalem* by *Lydda* unto *Joppa*, where he remained all this year at the house of *Simon* the Tanner.

The next year after (*Anno Era Christiana* 38. *Anno Olympiastico* 813.) according as was foretold, *That after threescore and two Weeks were ended, MESSIAH should be cut off, and they none of him* when Christ had now one whole Week of years tendred himself unto his own people, and they not onely refused him, but first by crucifying the Lord himself, and after that by persecuting his Messengers sent unto them, had made themselves unworthy of everlasting life: *Peter* was taught by vision, that the Gospel of the Kingdom should be preached unto the Gentiles, and accordingly sent to preach it to *Cornelius* a Centurion of the Italian band, *Acts* 10. And here begins the *Epocha* of the Rejection of *Israel*, and the Calling of the Gentiles, which *S. Paul* speaks so much of *Rom.* 11.

True

True it is, the cutting off of Christ by death was before the last week was compleat; but the cutting him off from being King and Priest of the Jews was not until after it was ended. Or if this cutting off here mentioned may not be extended to any other cutting off then by Death; yet the other part of the copulative sense, וְלֹא יִהְיֶה [And they shall be none of His] was not fulfilled untill the whole Week was ended.

Wherefore the PRINCES to come, &c.] מְלִיכֵי מִסְכֵּי, *Populus MESSIÆ venturus, i. futurus.* The people that should be the people of Messiah the Prince, when Israel was rejected; so the Hebrews call *seculum futurum*, מְלִיכֵי הָעוֹלָם; whence *Mark 10. ver. 13. Luke 18. 30. Αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Eph. 2. 7. Ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι ἐμπερχομένοις.* According to which notion, *Apoc. 1. 4. ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Vid. Psal. 71. 18. Esay 27. 6. Esay 44. 7. מְלִיכֵי מִסְכֵּי מִסְכֵּי, Vulgat. ventura & qua futura sunt.* Thus I construe the Text, and understand by *Populus principis futurus*, the people of the Roman Empire, where Christ was principally to have his Church and Kingdom, whilst Israel should be rejected. *Cornelius* therefore the first Gentile converted, was a Roman Centurion. *S. Paul*, who is called the Apostle of the Gentiles, went not beyond the bounds of the Empire. This was that *Οἰκουμένη* whereof Christ said, *Matth. 24.* That before the Destruction of Jerusalem, *the Gospel should be preached ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Οἰκουμένῃ*, as *Augustus* is said *Luke 2. 1.* to have taxed, *πάσαν τὴν Οἰκουμένην*, according as the Romans themselves used to call it *Imperium Orbis Terrarum, &c.* Antichrist, who was to sit in the Temple or Church of Christ, sits in the midst of

of this Empire : whence it appears, that the Church, which Christ should have, * after Israel disclaimed him, should chiefly be in it. This People therefore, which was in Israels stead to be the People of Messiah the Prince, should destroy the City and Sanctuary with such a Destruction as should like a Flood overwhelm the whole Nation, and as an irresistible torrent, break down and wash all away before it. All which we know they did,

* Whilest.

And unto the end of Warre Desolations are determined] That is, untill the end of the Fourth Kingdom of the Gentiles, whose last period is that Time Times and half a Time, whereof it is said *Dan. 7. ver. 21, 22, 25.* " That Antichrist the eyed and mowshed Horn should make War with the Saints, and prevail against them, and they shall be given into his hand untill a Time and Times and half a Time : Untill the end of this War the Jewish Desolations are determined. But of this more in the next.

Verse 27.

Nevertheless he shall confirm a covenant with Many one week : and in half a week, being * a Desolater he shall cause the Sacrifice and oblation to cease, and that being over a wing of Abominations, and untill the finall time (even that which is determined) it shall continue upon the desolate.

* Or, making desolation he, &c.

Here the Angel tels us what should be done in the last Week, both of the first Computation, and of the second, that is, the last of

of

of the Lxx. and the last of the Lxij. And of this first, as coming first in time.

Nevertheless (saith he) *he shall confirm a Covenant with Many one Week*] That is, though the Body of the Jewish Nation should be cast off, and be ^{לֹא} ^{יָשָׁר}, None of the people of the MESSIAH, yet for one whole week he should offer himself unto them, and gather many of them into the Covenant of the Gospel: and this Week was the last Week of the Threescore and two Weeks, which, as I shewed before, was wholly spent in preaching to those of the Circumcision. This therefore is, as it were, a *Prolepsis*, lest Daniel might think that none of his people should enter into the Covenant under Messiah. These Many therefore are that Remnant whereof S. Paul speaks *Rom. II.* "That, though Israel were cast off, yet was there *A Remnant according to the election of grace*; and therefore he limits the hardnesse happened unto Israel, by ^{אֶת} ^{יִשְׂרָאֵל} ^{יָשָׁר}, as not being universall.

And in half a Week, being a Desolator, he shall cause the Sacrifice and offering to cease] A Desolator, ^{מַדְבֵּר}, a word which otherwise much troubleth the Translator; but being thus made a *suppositum* or Nominative case to the verb ^{יַדְבֵּר}, (which hath no other near it) it both much clears the sense, and retains its propriety of signification. Nor is the Postposition of the Nominative case to the verb against the use of the tongue; nor the trajection here so great, but the Latine will admit the same order of the words, *viz.* *Et abolebit sacrificium & munus, atque erit super alam abominationum Desolator*: Or, *Et abolebit sacrificium, & munus, qui erit super alam abominationum, Desola-*

tor. Howsoever the Translation be, this week the Angel now speaks of, is the last of the Seventy which should be but half run out, when the Temple and City should be destroyed, and the legall service made to cease. For if we reckon (as I think we should) the Seventy Weeks from the first year of *Darius Nothus* (when the Temple was finished) the Destruction thereof by *Titus* will fall out (as is shewed) in the midst of the last Week, the whole half thereof, from the beginning till then, having been spent in warlike preparations and exploits, which ended with the burning and desolation both of City and Sanctuary.

Of those who end the Seventieth Week compleatly with the Destruction of Jerusalem, some seem so to understand this first part of the verse, as if the *one Week* here mentioned were the last of the Seventy, and the confirmation of the Covenant to be therein, to respect onely the first half thereof, wherein Christ made good his Covenant of preservation to the believing Jews, namely, (as I would explain it) by sending *Cestius Gallus* President of *Syria*, in the middle or fourth year of the last Week, about seven dayes to environ Jerusalem with an Army, for to be that sign and watch-word mentioned in the Gospel of the near approaching Desolation thereof, *Luke 21. 20.* that so those which were in *Judea* being warned, might flee into the Mountains (of *Arabia Petraa* to *Pella*) and deliver themselves from those dayes of vengeance and wrath upon their people. And in the other half of the Week which remained, he should cause the sacrifice and offering to cease by sending *Vespasian* with that second and farall Army, which should

should bring those wofull and vengefull Desolations upon them.

As for the phrase of Confirming a Covenant (if the rest suted well) it would be no straining to interpret it, to be meant of preservation and exemption from a common calamity: For we have the like speech *Gen. 6. 17, 18.* where God having said to *Noah*, that he would destroy by the Flood every thing that *breathed upon the earth*; addeth, *But with thee will I establish my Covenant, and thou shalt come into the Ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons wives with thee, &c.* Thus much of the Week and Half Week: But for the Desolater who should cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, whether and how it may be applied to Messiah himself, or otherwise construed, we shall better understand when the next is expounded.

And that [being] over a wing of Abominations וְיָלַךְ כְּנֶפֶץ שִׁקְצִים, I think literally rendred, as was the former. If any man would also have the order of the words precisely kept, and therefore *שִׁקְצִים, i. Desolater* to keep his station here, as in the Hebrew, he may render the words thus, *He shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, וְיָלַךְ כְּנֶפֶץ שִׁקְצִים, And [commanding] over a Wing of Abominations [be] a Desolater or make Desolation*; The sense is yet the same: Or thus, *And over a Wing of Abominations [shall be] who makes Desolation*: All of them requiring nothing else, but that so common *Ellipsis* of the Verb Substantive, which in some expressions of this language is perpetuall. Now for the construing and expounding this and the rest which remains of this verse, I have alwayes in mine eye that part of the

Pro-

Prophecy of our Saviour in the Gospel, *Matth. 24. Mark. 13.* where he so expressly referres to this of *Daniel*, with an unwonted caveat not to passe it over sleightly, *Let him* (saith he) *that readeth, understand*: which admonition, as it implies the speciall need we have of our Saviours Key to unlock it; so it may seem to intimate that neither the Lxx. before, nor the ordinary construction of their Rabbies then, had hit the meaning of this Scripture. Wherefore S. *Luke* relates not here (as *Matth.* and *Mark* do) our Saviours words *verbatim*, but exegetically, of set purpose (so I am perswaded) expounding this place of *Daniel*; as will appear by that which follows.

[*Over a Wing of Abominations*] * That is, An Army of Idolatrous Gentiles. Even the self same which S. *Luke* saith *Chap. 21. Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles*; who also expoundeth *Wing* by *Armies*, putting in stead of those words of our Saviour, [*When ye shall see the Abomination of Desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy place*] these, *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with Armies*; and in both it follows, *Then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains*. The word *Wing* is of the Verb *אסף* (but once found in the Hebrew Scripture) which signifies according to the Chaldee and Arabick, *To gather together*: besides, in the Arabick, *circundare*, to environ or compasse about; Both significations sute well to an Army, and the latter, that which beleaguers and begirts a City or Fort besieged. Had S. *Luke* any reference to this, when he speaks of *Jerusalem compassed with an army*: The metaphor also of a *Wing* leans most this way, whether

ther we consider their figure and motion being stretched out, or their posture when Birds of rapine sit couring over their prey. I will not say, the Roman Eagle was here aimed at, though קנין is used, not onely for *Ala*, a *Wing*, but for *Alatum* & *Volatile*, a Fowl or Winged Creature. It is sufficient that neither the nature nor name of a Wing is strange or unaccustomed to an Army. But how (will you say) will an Army of Abominations be made an Army of Gentiles? I answer, The Scripture in many places calleth Idols by the name of Abominations, that is, שקצים & חועבות: So the Egyptian Idols, *Exod. 8. ver. 26.* &c. are called, The Abomination of the Egyptians. *Ezek. 7. 20.* The Jews are said to have made the Images of their Abominations, חועבות; *Jer. 7. 30.* to have set up שקצים, that is, their Idols in the House of the Lord. So *2 Kings 23.* *Asherah* is called שקץ, the Abomination of the *Sidonians*; *Chemosh* שקץ, the Abomination of the *Moabites*; but *Milcom* חועבה, the Abomination of the Children of *Ammon*. Wherefore *1 Kings 11. 5, 7.* שקץ is by the Seventy thrice Translated Εἰδωλον.

This being a thing manifest, we are to observe further, That the Scripture useth also to expresse and imply under the names of the Gods, the Nations themselves which worshipped them. The Lord threatned
 “ to scatter Israel among the Nations, and that there
 “ they should serve other gods day and night, gods, the
 “ works of mens hands, wood and stone, and which
 “ neither they nor their Fathers had known: That is,
 they should serve them not religiously, but politically,
 in as much as they were to become *Slaves* and *Vassals*

to

to Idolatrous Nations, even such Idolaters, as neither they nor their Fathers had ever heard of. Let it also be considered whether that of *David*, 1 Sam. 26. 19. be not to be expounded after the same Trope: "*They have* (saith he) *driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go serve other gods;* that is, they have driven me to serve a Nation of another Religion. Yea, *Ezra* 9. 14. fitly to our purpose, The Strangers with whom the people of Israel had contracted affinity, are called expressly עַם הָרְשָׁעִים, The people of Abominations, which the Seventy render *Λαὸν ἡ γαῖαν*, The people of the Lands, that is, Gentiles. And where we read in the first verse, "*The people of Israel, &c. have not separated themselves from the people of the Lands according to their Abominations, &c.*" It is the same phrase with that of *Moses*, *Cattell after their kinde, creeping things after their kinde*: That is, the severall kinds of cattell and of creeping things: so the people of the Lands according to their Abominations is, the severall kinds of Idolaters of the Lands about them. And thus we have shewed, that כְּנָף שְׂקָוִים, the Wing of Abominations, is as much as כְּנָף עַם שְׂקָוִים, an Armie of people of Abominations, that is, of Gentiles and Worshippers of Idols.

But who is this Desolater, or Maker of Desolations, who should command over this Wing of Abominations, and bring these Gentiles against the Holy City? I answer, The words in the Originall stand indifferent to be applied either to the Roman Generall, or Messiah; but I could not render them so indifferently: For if I render them, *And in half a Week a*

O O O

Desola-

Desolater shall cause the sacrifice and offering to cease, and that (being) over a Wing of Abominations, Or, Over a Wing of Abominations (shall he be) whomakes desolation; This Desolater would then seem to be some other then Messiah, that is the Roman Generall: But render them as I do, And making desolation, or being a Desolater, He shall cause the sacrifice and offering to cease, and that, &c. Or, He shall cause the sacrifice and offering to cease, and [commanding] over a Wing of Abominations, be a Desolater: either way of these, they will have reference to MESSIAH the Prince, who is the Person meant in the words immediately before, [He shall confirm a Covenant with many one Week.] And this I most incline to, that so the Person spoken of may be the same throughout: and a reason also appears of that additament, That this Desolater should be over an Army of Abominations: For if a Forein Generall were onely meant, what needed this Addition? what other Army could such a one lead, but Gentiles? But that Messiah himself should command over an Army of Idolaters, this needed a speciall intimation.

And surely the Roman Army, though an Army of Abominations, was in this service the Army of Messiah: So the Parable aiming at this Prophecy tells us Mat. 22.7. When the King heard how spitefully they entreated his Messengers who came to tell them, the Wedding whereunto they had been bidden, was ready; "He was wroth (saith the Text) and sent forth "HIS Armies and destroyed those Murderers, & burnt "up their City. Whence it is, that the coming of this desolating Army of the Romans is called the
com-

coming of Christ, James 5. "Weep and howl ye rich
 "men (he writeth to Jews) for the miseries that shall
 "come upon you; for you have heaped up goods for the
 "last dayes; That is, (according to Oecumenius) when
 the end of your State is a coming, and the Romans
 shall spoil you of all: which is expressed in the eighth
 verse by Christs coming; Be ye patient (saith he) un-
 "till the coming of the Lord, (he speaks to the beleev-
 ing Jews whom the rest persecuted) and in the next,
 "Stablish your hearts for the coming of the Lord dram-
 "eth nigh; Homeaneth (saith Oecumenius) ἡ Ρωμαίων
 ἔσθλη, ἡ ἔσθλη τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡ Ἰουδαίων. So he
 takes that of Iohn, "If I will that he stay till I come,
 that is (saith he) ἕως ἡ ἀπόστασις Ἰερουσαλὴμ, till the De-
 struction of Ierusalem. And proves that this coming
 of Christ is ἡ ἡ Ἰερουσαλὴμ πανωλεθρία, Excidium Hie-
 rosolymorum, by that of Malachi Cap. 3. "Behold, the
 "Lord shall come, and who shall abide the day of his com-
 "ming? And thus would I understand that Heb. 10.
 37. "For yet a little while and He that shall come will
 "come, and will not tarry. Messiah therefore himself
 seems to be that Desolater here meant, who should
 command over an Army of Abominations, when he
 came to destroy the City and the Sanctuary

Thus it appears our Saviours citation in the Go-
 spel is not of the very words of *Daniel* in this passage,
 but of the sense onely summarily expressed; and that
 Βδελυγμα ἐρημόσας, is to be expounded τὸν ἐν ἡμῶν
 τῷ ὄρω, Βδελυγμα ἐπ' ᾧ ἔσται ὁ ποιῶν τὸ ἐρημόσας.
 The Abomination, or Abominable Army, over which
 he should be, who should make desolation. As for the
 Seventy, or whosoever else (for S. Hierome doubts)

translated this Book, if their Translation here were originally as we now have it, and not translated thither out of our Saviours words in the Gospel, they seem to have accommodated the place, though of unlike construction and circumstance of sense, unto two other places, *Chap. 11. 31. Chap. 12. 11.* where some such kinde of Abomination is mentioned, and likewise the participles, עוֹשֶׂה & עָשָׂה: But in all three of them, not well understanding what subject these participles included, they contented themselves onely to expresse by *ἐπιμνησκόμενος*, or *ἀπαμνησκόμενος*, a generall relation of desolation in the abstract, which might be diversly interpretable, otherwise it is not possible by any alteration of the points to expresse their Translation *verbatim* out of this place, unlesse עָשָׂה were *in statu constructo*, as it is not.

And untill the finall time (even that which is determined) it shall continue upon the desolate] Here I have chosen to translate the verb יָרֵחַ *continue*, as the *Targum* renders it, *Ier. c. 7. 19. & c. 42. 18.* and the Vulgar here *perseverabit*, as a metaphoricall signification taken from a continued pouring of water. It is the Feminine Gender, and therefore to be referred to a Feminine *suppositum*, which I take to be אֵלֶּה, *Ala*: This wing of Abominations, that is, *metonymicè*, the Desolation wrought by it, or forein possession brought in by it, should continue upon the Desolate, untill the finall time which was determined should be accomplished. Or those Gentile people of the Roman Empire; by whom Ierusalem was destroyed, should continue their dominion and possession either of the place or desolate inhabitants once thereof, untill that finall

finall time be accomplished. Whether this or that
 sutes best; the meaning in S. Lukes language is thus
 expressed, "*The Iews shall be carried captive over all*
" Nations, and Ierusalem trodden down of the Gentiles,
" untill the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled: That is,
 (as was said before) untill the Monarchies of the Gen-
 tiles should be finished. For these Times of the Gen-
 tiles are that last period of the fourth Kingdom pro-
 phesied * of a Time, Times and half a Time; at the
 end whereof the Angel swears unto Daniel, cap. 12. 7.
That God should accomplish to scatter the power of the Ho-
ly People. This is that Fulnesse of the Gentiles, which
 being come, S. Paul tels us, "*The Deliverers shall*
" come out of Sion, and all Israel shall be saved. And the
 Angel in the Apoc. 10. 6, renews the same oath to
 S. Iohn, which he sware before to Daniel, "*That*
" when these Times (N.B.) should end and be no longer,
" the mystery of God should be finished, as he had decla-
" red to his servants the Prophets. Amen.

* Dan. 7.



Appendix.

Although I think, that precisenesse of dayes is
 not to be much stood upon, when the events
 and their times do in the whole answer to Pre-
 diction: yet have I been so curious as to enquire,
 whether the Desolation of City and Sanctuary (to
 be in the middle of the seventieth Week) were ful-
 filled

filled to a very day or not? And as I think, I have so found it, very near, if not altogether.

For *Anno Iudaico* 3344. *Ara mundi Scaligeriana* 3533. (the year the Temple was finished) *Neomenia Tisri*, according to the Jews Calender, fell upon the 9. of *September Calendarii Iuliani*, *Feria* 1. *Cyclo Solis* 12. *Litera Dominic.* G.

Ergo Neomenia Adar was *Feb.* 4. *Fer.* 2. *Cyclo Solis* 13. *Lit.* *Dominic.* F. So the 3. of *Adar* (the day whereon the Temple was finished, *Ezek.* 6. 15.) will be the 6. of *February*. From whence to the 8. of *August*, (whereon the Temple was fired, and two dayes after consumed) are exclusive 182. dayes, that is, half a year *ad unguem*.

But this year (according to the Iudaicall Calender) was *Annus Embolimus*, and so had two *Adars*, which of them the Scripture meaneth, is doubtfull. But the *Neomenia* of the second *Adar* was *March* 5. *Feria* 4. So the 3. day of this *Adar* was the 7. of *March*: From whence to the 8. of *Septemb.* (the day whereon the City was fired) are exclusive 184. dayes, which is a day or two too much. But it is more then probable that the Jewish Calender was not in *Darius* his time so exact, nor the moons motion so well known, but the New Moon might sometimes anticipate the beginning of their Months a day or two.

Howsoever those who begin their reckoning from the 2. year of *Darius*, as *Scaliger* doth, cannot from the 24. day of the 6. Month (*Sept.* 16.) (which the Prophet *Haggai* names (*cap.* 1. *v.* ult.) for the day whereon the work began) shew their compleat Seventy Weeks so exactly terminated upon any event remarkable.

markable during the whole time of the War. For as for the destruction of Jerusalem it self, they come not near by whole years.

Of the opinion of Funcius.

Funcius his computation of the Lxx. weeks from the seventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (whence to Christs Passion he findes just 490. years) hath three great and unavoidable inconveniencies.

1. That it ends the 70. Weeks (which by the text were allotted for the Holy City) long before the times of the holy City were fulfilled.

2. That this *Artaxerxes* might not be *Artaxerxes* the Hinderer of the Building of the Temple, but that second *Artaxerxes* that gave Commission to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, they are faine to bestow the names of *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes* mentioned *Ezra* 4. upon *Cambyfes* and the counterfeit *Tanioxarces* or *Smerdis* (whom others call *Sphendates*) the *Magus*, without any ground in Scripture or prophane History; nay, against probability. For if *Ahasuerus* be *Cambyfes* (as by order he should be) and *Artaxerxes* be *Smerdis* the *Magus*, how will that businesse in the dayes of *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 4. 7. besit the 7. Months reign of *Smerdis*? Or if preposterously (as some will have it) *Ahasuerus* be that *Smerdis*, what needed the Holy Ghost so precisely to mention the Beginning * of his reign, if he reigned but seven Months in all? Secondly, Neither *Cambyfes* nor *Smerdis* can be *Ahasuerus*: For *Ahasuerus*, *Esther* 3. 7. (and why

חזקיהו
מלכותו
Ezra 4:6.

why should we feign any other *Ahasuerus* of *Persia* then the Scripture describeth, and so diligently distinguishes from *Ahasuerus* the *Mede*, as if there had been then no other? *Esther* 1. 1.) reigned at least twelve years, whereas *Cambyses* reigned but seven years, and *Smerdis* but so many moneths.

3. They cannot shew how 69. Weeks, or 62. Weeks added to 7. Weeks, (for they have no other way) are determined upon Messiah the Prince, since they out-reach his Nativity, and end 7. years before his Passion (which was in the 19.) and therefore 3. years at least before *Iohns* Baptism, which was in the 15. of *Tiberius*. Wherefore neither beginning nor ending, neither part nor whole of the sixtieth and ninth Week can point us out any time of the manifestation of Messiah.

FINIS.

A
T A B L E of the most principall Contents
 throughout these *Discourses*.

The letter B. directs to the third Alphabet where the
Folio's begin anew.

A *A.*
Doration, the fittest gesture
 at our comming into the
 Church. 122.b
Almes-giving no arbitrary thing. 314

Devotion joynd therewith
 most powerfull with God. 293

Its efficacy. 301

Reasons why God requires *alms*
 of us. 304

Our last doom shall be accord-
 ing to our works of charity. 315

How the charitable mans me-
 mory is continued. 320

Righteousnesse signifies *Alms* in
 the Orientall Languages. 312

Vid. Works.

Altar; That name used for the
 holy Table in the primitive
 times. 2.b. 14.b

The difference between those
 two names. 17.b

Altare and *Ara* how they differ.
 5.b. 14.b

Why anciently but one *Altar* in
 one Diocesse. 49.b

V. Table.

Ananias's sin Sacrilege. 381

The inexcusableness thereof. 387

Angels; Ungrounded speculati-
 ons touching them. 120

The number of seven *Arch-an-*
gels asserted from Scripture. 123

Their Office. 128

The place of fallen *Angels*
 where according to the opi-
 nion of the Ancients. 103

In what shape they may ap-
 peare. 427

Good *Angels* are present as
 well in our Christian Orato-
 ries, as in the Jewish Temple.
 95.b. 97.b

They are not envious at the ad-
 vancement of mans nature. 245

P p p

In

THE TABLE.

In what shape good *Angels* may
appear to men. 4.6
Gods presence there, where his
Angelical retinue keep their
station. 92.6
Apostles Canons, their antiquity
and validity. 12.6
Atheisme and Idolatry, how they
differ. 25
Aureola and *Aurea* quid. 343

B.

O Ut of the mouths of *Babes*,
&c. how understood. 110
Baptism; From what analogy Wa-
ter is used therein. 188
What is typified thereby. 185
Why the primitive Christians u-
sed the sign of the Crosse. 166
Baptisteries, or *Fonts* were anci-
ently without the Church. 58.6
Body; in what space a dead *body*
naturally corrupts. 154
Baui quid. 2.6.

C.

The first Evangelicall *Canon* or
Constitution. 18.6
Canons of the *Apostles*. 12.6
Ceremonies; The Church hath
power to appoint them. 124.6
Their use in fasting. 410
non quid. 360
ni properly signifies *Gener*. 159
ni, to cut off, how used in Scrip-
ture. 159.6
Christ; His Death and Resurrecti-

on where foretold in the Old
Testament. 148

An exact account of the begin-
ning of his Prophecy. 157.6

Jerusalem's destruction, in Scrip-
ture called the coming of
Christ. 171.6

How he is commemorated in
the Lords Supper. 496

The *Christi* Sacrifice. v. Sacri-
fice.

Church; The word *ἐκκλησία* in
Scripture taken for the place ap-
pointed for sacred duties. 32.6

Such places for Christian Wor-
ship were in the *Apostles*
times. 35.6

The Dedication of such places
for exercise of Religion is from
instinct of nature. 83.6

The first place consecrated to
such exercises was that which
was called *cœnaculum* Sign,
where afterward stood the up-
per Church of the *Apostles*. 36.6

Reasons why Christians (prob-
ably) had such places for Chri-
stian worship. 66.6

Salute the Church at his house,
Col. 4.15, &c. how to be under-
stood. 43.6

Churches anciently called *αἱ*
ἐκκλησίαι. 42.6

Tituli. 53.6

Κυριακὰ. 61.6

τόποι θρησκείας. 63.6

Εὐχέλαια.

THE TABLE.

Εὐκτήρια: 72.b
Why feldome called Nadi. *ibid.*
Reverent behaviour ought to be
used in Churches, 98.b
Church-lands why not aliena-
ble. 344
V. *Sacrilege, and Worship.*
Circumcifion, the folemn words
ufed therein. 159.162
Clergy, why called Gods *αγγελοι*,
364
how our Chriftian Clergy are
facerd. 43
V. *Ecclefiafticall perfons.*
Cænaculum quid. 36.b.45.b
Come, under what notion expref-
fed in Scripture. 84
Commemoration, twofold in the
Lords Supper. 516
What kinde of *commemoration* it
is, 522
Conversion of the Gentiles how it
began. 65
The firft *convert* Gentiles, who,
and what they were to con-
form to. 63.66
Corban, quid. 261
Cornelius, what kind of Profelyte,
64.66
A worfhipper of the true God.
288
How his fervice was accepted
with God. 292
Covenants; the rites ufed in ma-
king them. 507
Croffe in Baptifm why ufed by the

primitive Chriftians. 166
Curses anciently ufed in Dedicat-
tions. 399
D.
Dæmoniacks, were Lunaticks
or mad-men. 8
Daniels 70 Weeks interpreted.
147.b
The computation and impletion
of thofe Weeks. 154.b. 174.b
A Day what it fignifies in Scrip-
ture. 342
Defolater in *Daniels* prophecy,
meant of *Meffiah*. 179.b
Devill, called the Enemy and the
Avenger. 113
Why he took the Serpents fhape,
when he tempted our firft Pa-
rents. 424
He could not appear in humane
fhape before mans fall. 427
His method in tempting to fin:
430
Hee affaults ever where we are
weakeft. 434
He takes advantage of our paffi-
ons, 435
His doom. 459
Chriffs conquest over him not by
force, but by the power of his
word. 116
Διευμοσιν interpreted by *ΕΛΕΗΜΕ-
ΝΩΝ*. 332
Difcalceation a rite ufed by the
Oriental Nations in facred Ve-
neration. 104.b
P p p 2
To

THE TABLE.

To dwell within the pale of the Church how great a blessing. 290

E.

Eκκλησία, notes the place, as well as the Assembly. 326

Ecclesiasticall persons, distinguished. 76

Why called Gods κληρο. 364

Their maintenance no Almes. 215.314

Their maintenance suitable to their office under the Law; so in the Gospel too. 227

Εκ τῆς Εὐαγγελίου, quid. 226

To make provision for Gods Ministers and worship, a work pleasing to God. 325

And sure of a reward. 345

They should be Peace-makers. 352

Their conversation not like other men. 362

Ornaments and endowments befitting them. 377

Double honor due to them. 214

V. Minister. Priest.

Elders; who are meant by Elders that rule well. 208

Εὐνοια, the brand and badge of Devils. 246

Error occasioned by overmuch doting on excellent parts. 428

Εὐαγγέλιον, quid. 228

Eucharist, the memoriall of Gods Name in the Gospel, as well as

the Mercy-seat was in the Law. 86.6

Our celebration thereof defensive. 520

V. Sacrifice.

Εὐλογία, quid. 320.322

Εξομολογῆμα, quid. 252

ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, quid. 389

F.

Faith without works cannot save us. 267

A justifying Faith defined. 268

Good works and a saving faith not to be severed. 270

V. Works.

Fast; the true use and end thereof is to humble us. 406.411

Ceremonies used in Fasting. 410

Fœdus secare, ferire, &c. whence. 512

Epula fœderales. 508

Forgiveness; without forgiving one another, no remission of sins to be expected. 259

The congruity of our forgiving one another to Gods dealing with us. 258

Fancius his computation of Daniels seventy Weeks examined. 175.6

G.

Gehenna why so called. 92

Gentiles; the first calling of them. 285

Their

THE TABLE.

<p>Their calling, and Israels rejection, when. 161. <i>b</i></p> <p>V. <i>Conversion</i>.</p> <p><i>Gigantum cæcis</i>, an expression of Hell. 95</p> <p><i>πῦρ</i>, <i>quid</i>. 450</p> <p><i>Glory</i>, what it signifies principally in Scripture. 249</p> <p>To give <i>glory</i> to God, is to acknowledge his Majesty and greatnesse. 250</p> <p>Gods House, and manner of his presence therein. 83. <i>b</i>. 92. <i>b</i></p> <p>His wonderfull patience towards sinners. 416</p> <p>The equity of his justice in punishing brute creatures for mans sinne. 444</p> <p>Under the name of <i>gods</i>, the Nations that worshipped them implied. 168. <i>b</i></p> <p>The Heathens imagination touching their <i>gods</i>. 71. <i>b</i></p> <p><i>Guilt</i> the Devils method in tempting us to sin. 430</p> <p>H.</p> <p>H <i>Heart</i>, a true note to know the sincerity thereof. 278</p> <p><i>Hell</i>, severall names thereof in the Old Testament. 92</p> <p><i>Holineſſe</i> threefold. 358</p> <p>The <i>formalis ratio</i> thereof. 17</p> <p>Absolute <i>holineſſe</i> in God alone. 22</p> <p>Relative <i>holineſſe</i> implies a separation. 333</p>	<p><i>Holineſſe</i> of life. 54</p> <p>V. <i>Sanctity</i>.</p> <p><i>Holy One</i>, what meant thereby. 23</p> <p><i>Levi</i> so called, why. 357</p> <p><i>Double Honour</i> due to Priests. 214</p> <p><i>House</i> of God, the condition thereof. 83. <i>b</i></p> <p>Manner of Gods presence therein. 92. <i>b</i></p> <p>V. <i>Churches. Worship</i>.</p> <p><i>Host</i> of heaven, what meant thereby. 243</p> <p><i>Humiliation</i>, expressed by prostrating our selves. 405</p> <p><i>Humility</i>, a most powerfull means to appease Gods wrath. 407</p> <p>I.</p> <p>I <i>Aacob</i>, the reason of his name. 432</p> <p><i>Idolatry</i> and <i>Sacriledge</i> neer allied. 50</p> <p><i>Idols</i> in Scripture called lies, 146</p> <p>Abominations. 168. <i>b</i></p> <p><i>Jews</i>; the old dispersions of that Nation. 218</p> <p><i>Ἰασηέρον</i>, under the Gospel, who. 87. <i>b</i></p> <p><i>Ignatius</i> his Epistles censured. 50. <i>b</i></p> <p>K.</p> <p>K <i>καλεσθῆν</i>, <i>quid</i>. 498</p> <p><i>κατοικῶντες</i>, <i>quid</i>. 219</p> <p>L.</p> <p>L <i>Aw</i>; Christs comming was not to take away the morall Law, but to fulfill it. 35. 88. <i>b</i></p> <p>Page 3</p>
--	--

THE TABLE.

Lecany, the place where it is to be read. 406

Levi; signification of that name. 351

Why the Tribe of *Levi* was chosen for the Priesthood. 355

Levion, quid. 367

Lords Prayer. V. *Prayer*.

Lords Supper. V. *Sacrifice*.

Lords Day, why observed by Christians. 172

V. *Sabbath*.

Lying to the Holy Ghost, what is meant thereby. 385

M.

M*ans* preheminance consists in his dominion over the creatures, and being Gods Champion to subdue his enemies. 111

Messiah the Prince, meant of Christ. 147.6

Mincha purum, quid. 479

Minister; that word used improperly in our common speech. 77

Errors from abuse of that word. 78, 81

Good offices done to a *Minister* shall be sure of a reward. 345

Ministers maintained out of Gods revenue, not by the People. 228

V. *Ecclesiasticall persons*.

N.

N*ame*, what meant by Gods name in Scripture. 12

Things called by Gods name in

Scripture phrase, are his. 15

Noahs seven precepts. 58

Nooniam, quid. 383

Hebrew *Numbers*, how to be understood. 148.6

O.

O*bedience*, a more necessary duty, then *Sacrifice*. 125.6

Offerings; the end of them in the Law, was an acknowledgement of Gods Dominion. 306

κατ' οἶκον, *Att.* 2.46. quid. 38.6

οἰκουμένη meant of the Roman Empire. 162.6

Opinion, the danger thereof. 428

Oratories. V. *Prayer*.

P.

P*arents*; our first *Parents* sin. 415

The greatnesse thereof. 421

Their sin was *Sacrilege*. 400

Passions, rules to govern them by. 436

Pax; the ceremony of kissing it, how taken up. 262

Peace on earth, intimates Gods reconciliation to men in Christ. 254

Persecution of Christians in *Perſia* held for thirty years together. 67.6

εισαγωγία *Dei*. 416

Places dedicated to Gods worship from the instinct of nature. 83.6

Curſes used at such Dedications. 399

The

THE TABLE.

The first consecrated place under the Gospel.	366	mong the Jews.	195
Such places not to be profaned.	136	Oratories not to be profaned under the Gospel.	136
<i>Penitents</i> ; the manner of their admission.	65.6	V. Church.	
Prayer; Reasons why God requires this duty at our hands.	393	Profanation an heinous sin.	398
The power of prayer joined with Almes.	293.296	V. Temple.	
Divers causes why our prayers are not always heard.	297.	Profession of Religion dangerous, if without conscience of honesty.	283
The Lords prayer twice delivered.	3	Prophecy in Scripture taken for praising God in Hymnes and Psalms.	176
Christ in delivering set Forms of prayer, hath commended the use thereof to his Church.	2	Profelytes of the Covenant.	57
The use of set Forms under the Gospel.	4	Of the Gate.	58.288
Book of Psalms a set Form.	5	Prostration. V. Humiliation.	
Reasons for set Forms.	17	<i>Περισσος</i> , how used in the Apostles age.	486
Answer to objections against set Forms.	8	<i>Πιστεύω</i> quidi.	384
Preaching, an act of superiority.	175	Punishment. V. Sin.	
Precepts of Noah.	58	R.	
Presents; the Orientall custome to bring presents.	380	Redemption of man a work equall to the Creation.	242
Priest; derivation of that name and Presbyter.	80	Responsories, the antiquity of them.	179
Why the Priesthood in the Law was confined to one Tribe only.	353	V. Worship.	
Why God chose the Tribe of Levi for the Priesthood.	355	Revelations, four kinds of them among the Jews.	367
V. Clergy.		Reverence to be used in Gods House.	103.6
Profane or places of prayer among the Jews.		At our coming into the Church.	122.6
		Reward. V. Works.	
		S.	
		Sabbath; why God commanded it to be observed.	166
		Reasons, why one day in seven; why Saturday rather than any other	

THE TABLE.

Other day was observed by the Jews.	167	Several kinds of things <i>sacred</i> .	62
<i>Sacrifice</i> ; obedience accepted before it.	125.6	Things consecrated to God are not alienable.	32.8 393
How the <i>Sacrifices</i> of the Law are disparaged in Scripture.	127.6	<i>Sanctity</i> imports a discrimination.	17
The Christian <i>Sacrifice</i> Prophe- -cied of by <i>Malachi</i> .	472	To <i>sanctifie</i> , or to be <i>sanctified</i> , what it means.	21.30
Defined.	474	How God is said to be <i>sancti- -fied</i> .	23
A <i>Sacrifice</i> defined according to the Scripture notion.	506	<i>Sanctuary</i> at <i>Sichem</i> what it was.	193.201
Wherein the purity of the Chri- -stian <i>Sacrifice</i> consists.	479	<i>Scepter</i> of <i>Judah</i> , its prophecy un- folded.	102
That the Lords Supper is an Ob- -lation.	484	<i>Sabbath</i> , the first converts to the Faith.	61
That it is an oblation of Thank- -giving and Prayer.	488	<i>Seed</i> of the woman, what meant thereby.	461
That this Oblation is made through Jesus Christ commemo- -rated in the Bread and Wine.	295	<i>Serpent</i> ; why the Devil took his shape.	424
That the Lords Supper is a <i>Sa- -crifice</i> .	506	What kind of <i>Serpent</i> it was.	446
That therein by Bread and Wine offered, God is agniz'd Lord of the creature.	514	Why the curse pronounc'd upon him first.	443
That therein Christ is offered commemoratively only.	521	His curse to go upon his brest.	448
<i>Sacrilege</i> and Idolatry neer of kinde.	50	Whether before he went with his brest advanc'd.	451
Ananias his sin was <i>Sacrilege</i> .	381	His curse to have dust for his food.	455
The hainousnesse of that sin.	397	His enmity towards man.	456
Examples of punishment for that sin.	400	The Devil cursed in the <i>Serpent</i> .	459
<i>Sacred</i> things to be used <i>cum</i> <i>dis- -crimine</i> .	39	<i>Set</i> forms; V. <i>Prayer</i> .	101
		<i>Shiloh</i> is <i>Messiah</i> .	101
		<i>Sin</i> ; Its hainousnesse to be estima- ted from the hearts election.	122.6
		A fearfull thing to be an occasion of other mens <i>sin</i> .	438
		Punishment branded with the stamp	

THE TABLE.

Stamp of its *fin.* 441
 How it consists with Gods justice, to punish the creatures for mans *fin.* 444
Spirits, how they appear to, and converse with men. 425
 To worship in *Spirit* and Truth, misunderstood. 139
Supper of the Lord. V. *Sacrifice.*
Synagogues, how they differ from *Prosencha.* 196
 Their first use. 200

T.
Tabernacle of the Congregation
 so call'd from Gods meeting
 with men. 90.6
Table; this word not used by the
 Fathers, for that whereon the
 holy Eucharist was celebrated. 10.6

Railes about the Communion-
Table in the primitive times. 7.6

V. *Altar.*

Temple; which part thereof was
 profaned by the Jews in making
 it a market-place. 132

Temptations. V. *Devil.*

Teraphim, how answerable to *Vrim*
 and *Thummim.* 368

Old Testament, its analogy, the
 rule for Apostolike Traditions. 88.6

Tith due to Priests why. 216

Tithes properly due to God. 392
 V. *Ecclesiasticall persons.*

Tituli. V. *Churches.*

Θεῖον quid, 317

ἡγῆς quid, 312
 Quia used in the Apostles age. 486

Θυσιαστήριον and Bonds; how they
 differ. 21.6

V.
 Υπερῶν, quid, 35.6
 Vrim and Thummim. 366

The Rabbins opinions touching
 the matter thereof, 370

Manner of enquiring by it. 371

Vrim the oracle whereby God
 gave answer: Thummim,
 whereby the Priest judged whe-
 ther God accepted the sacri-
 fice or no. 373

Both how types of Christ. 375

How they concerned the Tribe
 of Levi. 377

W.
Wing in Scripture phrase
 signifies an Army. 167.6

Women; in what sense they are
 said to prophecy. 174

'Tis unseemly for women to be
 uncovered in the Church. 181. 97.6

Good Works the end of our faith
 and justification by Christ. 270

The way and means to obtain e-
 ternall life, 272

The only note of difference be-
 tween saving faith, and that
 which is counterfeir. 274

Abstaining from evil works, not
 enough to bring us to heaven. 274

Qua-

THE TABLE.

Qualifications of good works.		Bodily worship as well as spiritu-	
A right faith.	277	all required under the Gospel.	
Sincerity of heart.	278		139
Univerſall obedience.	280	Reasons for outward bodily	
The proceſſe of the laſt Judge-		worſhip.	131.6
ment ſhall be according to our		Dedication of places to Gods	
works of charity.	314	worſhip from nature.	83.6
God rewards our works of his		Reſponſories uſed anciently in	
mercy, not for any merit in		Gods publike worſhip.	179.40.6
them.	329	V. Churches: Curſes.	
•Tis lawfull to do good works In-			
tuity mercedis.	333		
Different degrees of reward in			
the life to come.	337		
Worſhip; acts of Gods worſhip ſac-			
cred.	47		

Z Eale indiſcreet, cauſed a long
and cruell perſecution. 67.b
Zipporah did not upbraid her haf-
band. 157

A Table of ſuch places of Scripture as are either purpoſely
handled, or otherwiſe explained in theſe Diſcourſes.

The letter B. directs to the third Alphabet, where the Folio's
begin anew.

Genesis.	Exod. 29. 42.	90. b	Dent. XXXIII. viii.	
G En. III. xiii. xiv	Exod. 30. 31.	17		350
414	35.	18	Joshua.	
Gen. II. 7.	122	Leviticus.	Joſh. 20. 7.	19
Gen. 12. 16.	193	Levit. 19. 20.	130. b	Joſh. 22. 19. 84. b
Gen. 15. 9.	511	Levit. 20. 14.	18	Joſh. XXIV. xxvi.
Gen. 27. 36.	432	Levit. 25. 23.	295	192
Gen. 48. 16.	15	Deuteronomy.	Samuel.	
Gen. XLIX. x.	100	Dent. 6. 24. 25.	333	1 Sam. 10. 5. 178. 205
Exodus.		Dent. 16. 16.	293	1 Sam. 13. 12. 495
Exod. IV. xxv.	156	Dent. 19. 2. 7.	19	1 Sam. 26. 19. 169. b
Exod. 20. 24.	84. b	Dent. 26. 18, 19.	18	2 Sam. 4. 10. 231
				Chro-

THE TABLE.

Chronicles.		Daniel.		Luk. 6. 12.	199
2 Chro. 25. 1. 2.	177	Dan. IX. xxiv.	140. b	Luk. XI. ii.	2. 12
Ezra.		xxv.	146. b	25.	252
Ezra I. 10.	148. b	xxvi.	158. b	Luk. XXIV. xlv. xlvii	
Ezra 8. 28.	360	xxvii.	163. b		147
Ezra 9. 14.	169. b	Dan. I. 3.	344	John.	
Nehemiah.		Joel.		Joh. IV. xxiii.	138
Neh. 13. 6.	150. b	Joel II. xvii.	404	Joh. X. xx.	83
Neh. XIII. xiv. xxii.		Zechariah.		Joh. 17. 17, 18, 19.	
	324	Zech. IV. x.	120		43
Job.		Malachi.		Acts.	
Job 26. 5.	95	Mal. I. 6, 8.	48	Act. II. v.	217
Psalmes.		Mal. I. xi.	471	46.	38. b
Psal. VIII. ii.	108	Tobit.		Act. V. iii. iv. v.	379
Psal. 40. 16.	511	Tob. 12. 8.	312	Act. X. iv.	285
Psal. 44. 16.	113	Maccabees.		14.	19
Psal. 51. 16.		I Mac. 1. 3. 43.	203	Act. 11. 24.	493
Psal. 74. 7.	204	59. 21. b		Act. 13. 48.	63
Psal. CXII. vi.	311	I Mac. 7. 38.	405	Act. 16. 13, 16.	199
Proverbs.		Matthew.		Act. XVII. iv.	56
Prov. 2. 18.	95	Math. 5. 17.	34	Romanes.	
Prov. 9. 18.	95	23. 261. 18. b		Rom. 2. 22.	50
Prov. 10. 7.	320	Matth. VI. ix.	1, 12	Rom. 3. 25.	87. b
Prov. XXI. xvi.	91	Matth. VII. xxi.	264	Rom. 16. 5.	43. b
Ecclesiastes.		Matth. X. xli.	336	Corinthians.	
Eccles. 5. 3.	81. b	Matth. 17. 15.	87	I Cor. IV. i.	73
6.	96. b	Matth. 20. 16.	341	I Cor. IX. xiv.	226
Esay.		Mark.		I Cor. 10. 21.	11. b
Esay 4. 1.	15	Mark 11. 16.	33	31.	304
Esay 8. 13.	27	Mark XI. xviii.	131	I Cor. XI. V.	173
Ezekiel.		Luke.		10.	97. b
Ezek. XX. xx.	165	Luk. II. xiii. xiv. 241		XXII.	31. b
				I Cor.	

THE TABLE.

1 Cor. 11. 29.	22	Titus III. v.	184	Jude.	
Colossians.		Hebrews.		Jude ver. 6.	69
Col. 4. 15.	43. b	Hebr. 10. 29.	20	ver. 14.	94. b
Timothy.		Hebr. 13. 10.	11. b		
1 Tim. V. xvii.	207	Peter.		Revelation.	
1 Tim. 6. 17.	316	1 Pet. 1. 2.	187	Revel. 4. 5. 7.	
Titus.		1 Pet. 3. 15.	28	Revel. 5. 6. 5.	124
Titus 2. 10.	383	2 Pet. 11. iv.	68	Rev. 15. 4.	29

ERRATA.

P Ag. 17. l. 12. read, be) is, p. 21. l. 14. r. discrimine. p. 32. l. 20, 21. the Hebrew is transposed, p. 63. l. 25. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 69. l. 13. r. vinciendos. l. 31. r. *במסור* p. 71. l. 2. r. malum. p. 80. l. 11. r. whence. p. 100. l. 20. r. *במסור* p. 101. l. 4. r. *מסור* p. 104. l. 17. r. *מסור* p. 112. l. 12. r. *מסור* p. 122. r. famed. p. 145. l. 2. r. *מסור* p. 180. l. 10. r. *מסור* p. 182. l. 18. r. Secondly. p. 248. l. 9. r. Quire. p. 261. l. 17. r. way. p. 301. l. 15. r. will preserve. p. 313. l. 19. r. 37, 25. p. 329. l. 22. r. cold. p. 372. l. 23. r. *מסור* p. 397. l. 11. r. Hebr. is transposed, p. 401. l. 5. r. *מסור* ibid. l. 17. r. not 407. l. 15. r. so fit. p. 421. l. 11. dele and. p. 435. l. 3. r. strong. p. 444. l. 22. r. in that sense. l. 26. r. ignoble. p. 445. l. 24. r. first, he made him so. p. 461. l. 20. r. fida. p. 485. l. 15. r. lives. l. 30. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 487. l. 5. r. coupled p. 490. l. 14. received. p. 495. l. 19. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 499. l. penult. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 510. l. 7. r. Saviour. p. 511. l. 2. r. *ῥῆταγμα* l. 21. r. the. p. 518. l. 26. r. Hear. p. 520. l. 21. r. Mat. 5. p. 521. l. 22. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 523. l. 14. r. calicem. p. 524. l. 5. dona tua. p. 526. l. penult. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 527. l. 4. r. expresse.

Third Alphabet.

P. 6. l. 27. dele it. p. 13. l. 5. r. siceram. p. 35. l. 27. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 67. l. 2. r. already. p. 70. l. 2. r. Lactantius. l. 30. r. untie. p. 73. l. 10. r. Veronensis. p. 97. l. 27. r. the reason. p. 102. l. ult. r. foot. p. 106. l. 12, 13. r. and colder parts of the, p. 152. l. 11. r. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 161. l. 19. r. be. p. 169. l. 12. r. *ῥῆταγμα*.

In Margin.

P. 58. l. 10. r. Schick. p. 154. l. 13. r. citat. ex. 178. l. ult. dele 10. p. 499. l. 4. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 22. b. l. 4. *ῥῆταγμα* p. 26. b. l. penult. r. lib. 8.

FINIS.

THE
APOSTASY
OF THE
LATTER TIMES.

In which, (according to divine prediction) the world
should wonder after the Beast, the *Mysterie of Iniquity*
should so far prevaile over the *Mysterie of Godlinesse*,
whorish *Babylon* over the Virgin-Church of Christ,
as that the visible glory of the True Church should be
much clouded, the true unstained Christian Faith
corrupted, the purity of true worship polluted.

O R,

THE GENTILES THEOLOGY

OF DÆMONS, *i.e.* inferiour divine powers :

Supposed to be mediatours betweene God and man.

Revived in the LATTER TIMES amongst Christians,
in worshipping of Angels, deifying and invoking of
Saints, adoring and templing of Reliques, bowing
downe to Images, worshipping of Crosse, &c.

All which,

Together with a true discovery of the Nature, Originall,
Progresse, of the great, fatall, and solemne Apostasie,
are cleared.

Delivered in publick some years since upon 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2, 3.

By JOSEPH MEDE B.D. and late Fellow
of Christs Colledge in Cambridge.

The second Edition Corrected.

LONDON,

Printed by L. N. for SAMUEL MAN dwelling at the
signe of the Swan in *Pauls Church-yard.* 1644.

APOTASTY



Doctor TWISSE.

His Preface to the Reader.



Ino Vendibili non opus est suspensa hederæ: A cup of good wine will be knowne where it is without an Iviere Bush; such is the following discourse, and so I am perswaded it will approve it selfe unto all unpartiall and judicious Readers. Many yeares agoe I was acquainted with it, by the Authors owne hand: for such was his Scholasticall ingenuity; I found him most free in communicating his studies; right like unto the description of the Scholar in *Chaucer*:

*Sounding in morall vertue was his speech,
And gladly would learne, and gladly teach.*

And sometimes he dealt plainly with me, in telling me the reason why; and that was, because he found me so inquisitive after his meditations, whereas those with whom he familiarly conversed, were nothing so. The truth is, I was exceedingly taken with his notions; for he had a Criticall wit, and affected to correct common errours: and herein he seemed to me exceeding happy, Demonstrating not onely acutenesse of wit, and clearnesse of conceipt, but solidity of judgement. And therefore from the first time, that I grew acquainted with him, I made bold to improve my acquaintance to the uttermost

Doctor Twisse's Preface

most of mine owne advantage scholasticall, encouraged thereunto by his facility and ready condescension to my requests.

2 The beginning of our familiarity was occasioned by a rumour spread of his opinion, concerning the glorious Kingdome of Christ here on earth, which many hundred yeares agoe was cryed downe, as the Errour of the *Millenaries*: and *Augustine* himselfe, though confessing that at first he liked the same, yet sheweth how that afterwards he was taken off from it, and upon what ground. And it seemed wondrous strange to us, that such an opinion should after so many hundred yeares be revived; and that in so strange a manner, as now we finde, both amongst us, and amongst outlandish Divines. Neverthelesse my selfe being firmly set upon studies of another nature, I had no great edge so much as to hearken to it, much lesse to take it into consideration. But a friend in the Countrey sometimes urged me to write to an acquaintance in *London*; and to entreat him to enquire of Mr. *Mede*, whether he were of the same opinion with *Piscator* and *Alstedius* concerning the first resurrection, and the glorious kingdome of Christ. And hereupon shortly after, word was sent me, that he did agree wth *Piscator* in this, that some shall rise a thousand yeares before others, but he differed from him in this, that *Piscator* thought this reigne of Christ should be in heaven; but I (said Master *Mede*) agree rather with *Alstedius*, and conceive, that the thousand yeares reigne of Christ shall be on earth. Yet
herein

to the Reader.

herein he differed from *Alstedius*; that whereas *Alstedius* was of opinion, that the thousand yeares reigne of Christ should be after the day of judgement, Master *Medes* opinion was, that it should be in *& Durante die judicii*, in and during the day of judgement; which day of judgement should continue a thousand yeares, beginning with the ruine of *Antichrist*, and ending with the destruction of *Gog* and *Magog*. And that *Camerarius* writing upon *Plato's Alcinous*, testifies that the *Rabbins* among the *Jewes* write, that the seventh thousand yeares shall be the great day of judgement, or the judgement of the great day. And *Hierome* upon the sixty fifth chapter of *Esay* confesseth, that it was a tradition among the *Jewes*, that the *Messias* should reigne a thousand years in new *Ierusalem*.

3. When I heard this, my Spirit was stirred up in me to lay aside for a while my ordinary studies, and to take this into consideration; and I prayed *M. Mede* to give me leave to propose my reasons against this opinion of his. And the truth is, the improbability of it seemed very pregnant to natural reason; & diverse arguments that way offered themselves, w^{ch} seem'd to be of very difficult (if at all possible) solution. And over and above it seemed very contradictory to diverse plain passages of holy Scripture. *M. Mede* very readily entertained the motion, and prescribed me a time after which he should be at leisure for me; & in a Letter after this, in his familiar manner asked me, saying; when come your *Queries*?

I accepted his courteous answer, and sent up unto

Doctor Twisse's Preface

him, first and last, twelve arguments against that Opinion of his; & at the first I sent him ten, with an answer devised by my selfe to nine of them; for so I had promised him, namely, that I would bethink my wits of what possibly might be said in the solution of them, according to the straitnesse of my invention, leaving it to him to approve, or correct, or adde, as he thought good. And whereas I could devise nothing at all in answer my tenth argument, he sent me a large answer thereunto in three sides of a sheet of Paper; whereby I well perceived, that my best arguments had been known to him, and examined before I devised them.

4. After this, I came acquainted with many discourses upon the same argument, one Printed at *Hanow* in *Germany*. *De die novissimo*, *Of the last day*; a few only were Printed; Two copies (and no more) were brought into *England*; Mr. *Mede* bought them both, & sent me one of them to copy it out, which I did: After this, no lesse then seven Manuscripts were sent me from one Divine, treating of this & other Mysteries. Now here I cannot but confesse my corruption, for I received the by way of a bribe. And indeed I was to doe him a favour (which yet was never done, the death of a speciall friend preventing it) and I dealt plainly with him, and told him, I would not sell my favours *Gratis*; I would be well paid for them. And therefore whereas I heard he had strange notions upon the Revelation, and touching the mysteries of the first resurrection, and
Christs

to the Reader.

Christs Kingdome, I looked to be feed with the communication of them; wth promise to return them safely, after I had suckt the honey out of them, though he had never a whit the lesse for that, such is the nature of spirituall commodities. The good man sent me word, that such bribes would never make me rich: But I returned answer, that they would make me more rich then the enjoying of al the treasures of *Ethiopia*, and the hill *Amara* to boot: And here I found rich mines indeed, even all the mytteries belonging to Christs glorious kingdom set down apart, by way of question, and a solemne resolution thereof, with proofs adjoynd out of holy Scripture. Since that, I have met with diverse choice pieces of the same argument; some prosecuting a few parts thereof only, and others more. But let that passe, I returne to M. *Mede*.

Many letters passing between us, he had occasion sometimes to touch upon somethings, whereof he had written more at large, either by occasion of Chappell exercises, as he called them, or in more operous and large discourses. I was glad to observe such precious birds of Paradise spring; and thereupon insinuated with him farther, entreating him to communicate such exercises of his to me. And truly I found such exemplary favour with him, that he would scarce deny me any thing. Thus I came to be partaker of divers Chappell exercises of his, one whereof was a notable discovery of the common errour, about *Zipporahs* circumcising of her childe, as if she did

Doctor Twisse's Preface

did it in discontent & spleen, throwing the fore-skin at *Moses's* feet, and saying, *Thou art a bloody husband.* But *M. Mede* brings it about to signifie the ordinary form of expression used in that Sacrament, which was to this effect, *Thou art my blood, son*; and he proves it both out of notable circumstances of the story of *Moses*, and out of the Rabbines, acknowledging that forme, and applying it to that fact of *Zipporah*.

§ I confesse there hath bin some difference betweene us about ceremonies, as lawfulnessse of bowing towards the Altar, and about the holinessse of Churches, whereof he was as zealous as his Lord of *Canterbury*, or rather more; for he held it unlawfull to pull downe Churches, they being places separated for Gods use, and his peculiar: wherein he followed *M. Hookers* conceit, in the fifth book of his *Ecclesiasticall Polity*. But his Lord of *Canterbury* did not hold it unlawfull to pull down *S. Gregories*. That axiome, *Eadem est ratio loci & temporis*, There is the same reason of time and place, deceived him, as it deceiveth many, for where it doth hold, it holds onely in reference to time, and place, naturall. And indeed, time is only naturall; but place may be artificiall, and such is a Temple. That is for the generall notions of them; then as touching the speciall notions of them, herein is a vast difference. For the proportion of time is very considerable for the advancing of Gods service; as one day in seven, rather then one day in a fortnight, or one day in a month; the like cannot be

to the Reader.

be said of the proportion of place. And lastly, the time of Gods worship is defined by God still even under the Gospell, namely, the Lords day ; not for any place defined by him. And truly the Lord seemed to me by special providence to cast us upon a debate about the holiness of Churches. And it was high time to enquire into it, superstition in this kind of late strangely encreasing. The *Austine* disputations in *Oxford*, which were wont to be kept in Saint *Maries* of late I heare, are excommunicated thence. I wonder the Act, and the exercises thereof, are not translated to some other places, for feare of prophanation : and the *Terrafilii*, or *Prævaricator*, must take heed of observing the old forme of exercising their pleasant wits in facetious discourse, for feare of prophanation, which cannot be salved by ought but Doctor *Cozens* his *Devotions*: Yet were not the same kinds of exercises performed at the same time, and in the same place, in the time of Popery ? Whence it followes, that either they were more prophane than we now adayes, or we more superstitious than they.

6 But wheras some were too forward in censuring Mr. *Mede*, as complying with the times in this, it is well known, that twenty years and more, before that last Sermon of his, wherat divers took great offence, he had maintained his opinion that way, and upon a text very plausible at first sight to justify it, *Levit. 19. 30. Ye shall reverence my Sanctuary*, which text may easily miscary an honest man, and a good schollar, into an opinion of

Doctor Twisse's Preface

reverence due unto Churches, either civil or religious, or of a middle size betwixt them, as some (I heare) have very unhappily set their wits on worke to devise; as if man, made after Gods Image, were bound to performe reverence to the work of his own hands. But if we seriously consider the two parts of the text, and duly weigh and compare them together, we shall soone find, how the meaning of the one, will give light to cleare the meaning of the other: for thus it runs, *Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, & reverence my Sanctuary.* Now the keeping of the Sabbath is clearly no other, than the reverencing of God upon the Sabbath: so say I, the reverencing of the Sanctuary is no other, than the reverencing of God in the Sanctuary. In all this I have spoken nothing of the vast difference between the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and our Temple and Chappels; every one whereof amongst us, for devotion thereunto, is compared with the Temple of King *Solomon*; whereas there was but one Temple for all the Scribes, and into that Temple none presumed to come but the Priests, & into the *Sanctum Sanctorum* no Priests, but the High Priest, and that but once a year. The truth is, both the Sanctuary, at the first, and the Temple throughout, were Ceremoniall, both whole and part, and all the services thereof; and so God made use of it, as of sacrifices to communicate mysteries of godlinesse unto his people. Yet I confesse I have heard some in great state, to professe that the Temple was morall, that is, the building of it a morall duty: But I prove it was not;

to the Reader.

not; if it were moral, then all the Church of God for 1600. years before the flood, and some 1200. after, till the building of the Temple, failed of the substance of a morall duty; for till then they had none. Again, if it were a morall duty, then God commanded it from the first, either by word or by writing it in mans heart; not by word, as appears by Gods own profession made to *David*, 2 *Sam.* 7. 7. *In all the places wherein I have walked, with all the children of Israel, spake I ore word with any of the tribes of Israel, when I commanded the Judges to feed my people Israel; or said I, why build yee not mee an house of Cedar trees?* If written in mans heart, then all along so many ages, the people of God sinned against their consciences, in not building a Temple unto God.

7. But perhaps there is some colour at least, or shew of reason to prove this? And what may that be? Is it that of *Solomon* to the King of *Ty-rus*? 2 *Chron.* 2. 5. *The house which I build is great, for great is our God above all gods.* Here seemes to be an intimation, that the house must be answerable to the greatnesse of God: wherto I answer: Then belike it is a morall duty to build an house answerable to Gods greatnesse. But, say I, this was utterly impossible to man in the state of Innocency; therefore this is no morall duty. Such an house had need be as big as all the world, from the outermost cope of heaven, to the center of the earth, yet that not answerable; for as *Solomon* saith, vers. 6. *The heavens of heavens cannot contain him; but I do it to burn incense before him.*

Doctor Twisse's Preface

Yet it became *Solomon* in undertaking it to goe through with it answerably to the glory, where-with God had adorned him : But the patterne of it was delivered to him by *David* his Father, and his Father received it by revelation. Surely it hath bin in the power of heathens since that time to build Temples exceeding the glory of the Temple built by *Solomon* : witnesse the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* : and that of *Fez* at this day. Surely the richer Potentates are, the more they are enabled to build more glorious Temples : And the greatest States of the world at this day are heathenish, not Christian.

8 But to the matter in hand, Amongst the chiefe pieces which Mr. *Mede* was pleased to communicate unto me, this of the Apostasie of the Latter times, as it was the largest of all the rest, so it gave me greatest content ; both for the interpretation he makes of the text in *Paul*, different from all former interpretations of course, which he shews to be most agreeable to the text ; and that it affords new and more plentiful matter of meditation, both as touching the doctrines of Dæmons, opening the meaning thereof, and shewing what they are : and as touching the description of those persons, who were the founders of them ; which openeth a large field of discourse, and that so pertinently and fully exemplified by the Author, as cannot but give great content to the Protestant Reader ; the foule superstitions and corruptions in use among the Romanists, being represented to the life, and that with great variety

to the Reader.

variety of reading, together with the explication, and illustration of some very obscure passages in *Daniels Prophecie*.

9 I had sometimes a dispute with Doct. *Sibs* about Mr. *Medes* explication of S. *Pauls* phrase, the doctrines of *Demons*, which hee rooke to bee somewhat violent and strained, But I professed freely, I saw no just reason for such a censure. It is true we commonly conceived the word *Dæmoniorum*, to be *Genitivus efficientis*, a genitive case noting the Author or efficient cause. But Mr. *Mede* takes it to be *Genitivus materiae*, the genitive case noting the matter, or subject. Now all the learned and judicious know it to be as usual to take the genitive case in this latter sense, as in the former; and therefore no racking of the text is committed by him in this: Whereas on the other side, *Beza* despaires of making *Paul* speak true Greek, unlesse by *Dæmons* we understand false Prophets. But Mr. *Mede*, by his interpretation is driven to no such shift, but preserves the integrity of the language, as well consisting with his interpretation.

10 I have heard others highly commend this discourse of Mr. *Medes*, as a choice piece, as Mr. *Steven Marshall* by name, that worthy Preacher. My opinion is, that never was the defection of the Church of *Rome*, and the native *genius* thereof more lively, and clearely, and learnedly set forth, as most exactly answerable to that which the Scripture hath foretold, then by Mr. *Mede* in the opening and expounding of this text, where-

Doctor Twisse's Preface

upon he insists, and accommodating the manners of the Church of *Rome* in the latter dayes thereunto; and by Mr. *Potter* in his learned and accurate discourse of the number of the Beast 666, whereof Mr. *Medes* judgement was, that it was the greatest discovery that hath been made since the world began. Much adoe I had to draw him to peruse it, and give me his judgement of it: for he feared it would prove but a fancie; but after he had perused it, hee sent me word, that hee did not think it possible that a matter of such reality and solidity could be wrought out of it.

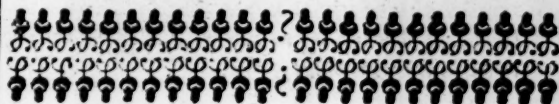
WILLIAM TWISSE.

The Catalogue of the Authors.

<p>A <i>Cta Stephani</i> <i>Monachi.</i> <i>Amilius</i> <i>Sura apud Pater-</i> <i>culum.</i></p>	<p><i>constitutiones.</i> <i>Chalcedonense.</i> <i>Constantino-</i> <i>politianum.</i> <i>Laodiceum.</i> <i>Nicenum 2.</i></p>	<p><i>Gratianus.</i> <i>Gregorius magnus.</i> <i>Gregorius Nazi-</i> <i>anzenus.</i> <i>Gregor. Nyssenus.</i> <i>Greg. Turonensis.</i></p>
<p><i>Ambrosius.</i> <i>Ammianus Mar-</i> <i>cellinus.</i> <i>Apuleius.</i> <i>Arnobius.</i> <i>Athenagora legat.</i> <i>pro Christ.</i> <i>Augustinus.</i></p>	<p><i>Constantinus Mo-</i> <i>rossa.</i> <i>Cosma Megalinus.</i> <i>Cyrillus Alexand.</i> <i>Cyrillus Hierosol.</i></p>	<p>H <i>Hermes Trismegi-</i> <i>stus.</i> <i>Herodotus.</i> <i>Hesiodus.</i> <i>Hieronymus.</i> <i>Hilarius.</i> <i>Hyperius.</i></p>
<p>B <i>Balaus.</i> <i>Baronius.</i> <i>Basilius.</i> <i>S. Benedicti Reg.</i> <i>Beza.</i> <i>Budaus.</i></p>	<p>D <i>Damasceus.</i> <i>Diodorus apud Eu-</i> <i>sebium.</i></p>	<p>I <i>Iamblycus.</i> <i>Interpres Areta.</i> <i>Interpretes Septu-</i> <i>agint.</i> <i>Interpres Syrus.</i> <i>Interpres Vulgatus</i> <i>Iohannes Curopa-</i> <i>lata.</i></p>
<p>C <i>Casarius.</i> <i>Calvinus.</i> <i>Castellio.</i> <i>Cedrenus.</i> <i>Celsus apud Orig.</i> <i>Chemnitius.</i> <i>Chrysostomus.</i></p>	<p>E <i>Epiphanius.</i> <i>Evagrius.</i> <i>Eucherius.</i> <i>Eunapius.</i> <i>Eusebius.</i></p>	<p><i>Joannes de Nicol.</i> <i>Janathan.</i> <i>Jornandes.</i> <i>Iosephus.</i> <i>Irenaus.</i> <i>Iustinus Martyr.</i></p>
<p><i>Cicero.</i> <i>Clem. Alexand.</i> <i>Clementis alterius</i></p>	<p>F <i>Fasciculus tempo-</i> <i>rum.</i> <i>Florus.</i> <i>Franciscus Junius.</i> <i>Fridericus Sylbur-</i> <i>gius.</i></p>	<p>K <i>Kircheri concor-</i> <i>dantia.</i></p>
	<p>G <i>Gennadius de viris</i> <i>illustribus.</i> <i>Graferus.</i></p>	<p>L <i>Lactantius.</i></p>

The Catalogue of the Authors.

<p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <p><i>Lactantius.</i> <i>Legenda aurea.</i> <i>Leo magnus.</i> <i>Linacer.</i></p>	<p><i>Possevinus.</i> <i>Procopius.</i> <i>Pfellus.</i> <i>Ptolomæus.</i> <i>Purchas pilgrim.</i></p>	<p><i>gumistæ.</i> <i>Tertullianus.</i> <i>Theodoretus.</i> <i>Theodorus apud</i> <i>Baronium.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <p><i>Martini Lexicon.</i> <i>Melancthon.</i> <i>Melchior Canus.</i> <i>Miracula B. Vir-</i> <i>ginis, lib. Ital.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">S</p> <p><i>Sammon. Serenus</i> <i>apud Macrob.</i> <i>Sanchuniathon a-</i> <i>pud Eusebium.</i> <i>Servius.</i> <i>Sigonius.</i></p>	<p><i>Theophrastis miscel.</i> <i>hist.</i> <i>Theophranes presby-</i> <i>ter apud Baron.</i> <i>Theophrastus.</i> <i>Tremelius.</i> <i>Trithemius.</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p><i>Oecumenius.</i> <i>Oenomaus apud</i> <i>Eusebium.</i> <i>Onkelos.</i> <i>Origines.</i></p>	<p><i>Simeon Metaphra-</i> <i>stes.</i> <i>Sleidanus.</i> <i>Socrates, historicus</i> <i>Ecclesiasticus.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">V</p> <p><i>Varro.</i> <i>Vatablus.</i> <i>Venantius Fortu-</i> <i>natus apud Bibli-</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p><i>Paterculus.</i> <i>Paulus Diaconus.</i> <i>Philo Biblius.</i> <i>Plato.</i> <i>Plutarchus.</i> <i>Porphyrus.</i></p>	<p><i>Stephani, Robertus</i> <i>& Henricus.</i> <i>Suidas.</i> <i>Surius.</i> <i>Synesius.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">T</p> <p><i>Targumin & Tar-</i></p>	<p><i>oth. Patrum.</i> <i>Vincent, histor.</i> <i>Virgilius.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Z</p> <p><i>Zozomæus.</i></p>



THE
APOSTASY
OF THE
LATTER TIMES.

A Treatise on 1 Timothy
Chap. 4. Verse 1, 2.


Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει, ὅτι ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς
ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως, προσέχοντες
πνεύμασι πλάνοις, καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαμονίων,
ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, κεκαυτηριατμήων
τῶ ἰδίαν συνείδησιν κωλύοντων γαμῆν ἀπέχε-
σθαι βρωμάτων, &c.

Which I conceive may be thus Translated,
viz.

*Howbeit the Spirit speaketh expressly, That in the latter
times some shall revolt from the Faith, attending*

d Doctrinis
Deastrum.

to erroneous spirits and ^d Doctrines of Demons, through the hypocrisie of lyars, having seared consciences, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstaine from meats, &c.

 He words I have read, are a prophesie of a revolt of Christians from the great mysterie of Christian worship; described in the last verse of the former Chapter; which according to the division of the Ancients, should be the first of this: for that last verse, together with the first six verses of this, and halfe the seventh verse, make the seventh title or maine Section of this Epistle, expressed in the Edition of Robert Stephen; and so supposed, from the grounds of that division, to belong all to one argument. The words therefore of my Text, depend upon the last of the former Chapter, as the second part of a discrete proposition; that howsoever the *μυστήριον* *in* *εσχάταις* the mystery of Christian Religion, which is, *God manifested in the Flesh, justified in the Spirit, scene of Angels, and assumed into glory*: Though this mystery was a great one, and at that time preached and beleaved in the world; neverthelesse the Spirit (*τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*) speaketh expressly, that in the latter times there shall be a revolt or departing from the faith, though not in all parts of it, yet from a main and fundamentall part thereof, namely, the assumption of this God and Man to the throne of glory, & the incommunicable majesty in Heaven, where he hath a name given him above every name, and whereof no creature in Heaven or in Earth can be capable: which connexion is the reason why the Apostle putteth this assumption into glory in the last place of his description, which should else in the true order have followed the words, *justified in the Spirit. & bene before preached unto the Gentiles, and beleaved on in the world*. But it is the method of the Scripture, sometimes

times to translate the proper order, & to mention that in the last place wherunto it is to joyn, and from whence it is to infer the next words that follow after. And unlesse this reason be allowed here, there will hardly be found any other reason of this misplacing. But more of this shall be both spoken and made better to appear hereafter.

I come now more neer to my Text; the words whereof I divide into two parts: First, a description of this solemn Apostasie, in the first verse. Secondly, the manner or means whereby it was to come to passe in the following verse, *viz. through the hypocrisie of lyars, who had feared consciences, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstaine from meats.*

For the description of the Apostasie it selfe, we shall finde it first generally and indefinitely expressed both in the word ἀποστασία they shall apostatize or revolt; and in the next ἀποστασις πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων shall attend to erroneous Doctrines, or Doctrines of errour.

Then particularly, 1 What these erroneous Doctrines should be for the kind or quality, namely new Doctrines of Dæmons, or a new Idolatry. 2 The persons who should thus apostatize, not all but *πῶς* some. 3 The time when it should be, in these later times. 4 The prooffe or warrant of this prophesie, it is that which the spirit hath else-where long agoe foretold *πρὸς* in the written word verbatim, *totidem verbis* or in expresse words. For the second part (*viz.*) the means; Consider first the manner or method used, *by lying hypocrisie or hypocriticall lying*; Secondly, the quality and description of the authors and furtherers thereof, they should be such as *had their consciences feared, who forbade marriages and meats.* Where, before I goe any further, I mu't give an account of thus translating these later words which I make the second part, because they are commonly translated otherwise, (*viz.*) intransitively, as referring the words of the two last verses to the persons mentioned in the first (*viz.*) those *some*

The Apostasie of

who should apostatize and give heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines of devils, as they usually translate it: so that the words of the second & third verses should be the expression by particulars of that wch was before generally comprized under erroneous spirits and doctrines of devils, wch should consist partly in forbidding lawfull marriage, and partly in commanding abstinence from meats, thereby abridging Christian liberty. But this interpretation seemes very unlikely; for first, since S. *Paul* intendeth here to describe that great apostasie of the Christian visible Church, as is evident by the pointing out of the time ἐν ὑστέραις καίτοις in the latter times; who can beleieve that he who aimeth at this, would instance only in the smaller and almost circumstantiall errors, omitting the main & fundamentall, wch the Scripture elsewhere telleth us shold be Idolatry or spiritual fornication. Secondly, as for errors about mariages and meats, they were not proper to the last times, but found more or lesse in the Apostles owne times, as may be gathered by some passages of their Epistles: why should then our Apostle, here speaking of the Apostasie of the last times, instance only in these things wch the first times in some measure were never free from? Lastly, which I take alone to be sufficient, the Syntax of the words will not beare it, to have them so translated; for the persons in the first verse πῶς σεσέχοντες are expressed in *casu recto*, whereas the persons in the verses following σεσέχοντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ, are in the genitive: now by what Syntax can these be construed intransitively? how will πῶς agree with σεσέχοντων, &c. without breach of Grammar, unsampled in our Apostles Epistles? If any say, they may be referred then and agree with διαμαρτίαν, that indeed would be a strange sense, and nothing to their purpose, to say that Devils lie, have seared consciences, and forbid mariages and meats. But to construe it transitively, and to make all these genitive cases to be governed by ἐν σκοτεινῇ and

and take the preposition *εἰς* to signifie *Causam* or *Modum afflictionis*,^b as is most usuall in Scripture : this, as it keepeth the Syntax true, so I hope to make it appeare hereafter to bee the very meaning and the event most answerable thereunto, when you shall heare proved out of Story, that the Apostasie of the visible Church came in by lying wonders and all deceivablenesse of unrighteous facile, managed by those who either professed or doted upon Monasticall hypocrisie, the affectation of which errors, at length surprizing the body of the Church, is that which Saint Paul, 2 Thess. 2. calls not the Apostasie it selfe, but *a not-love of the truth*, for which God gave them over to strong delusions that they might beleeeve a lye. But this is out of its place, only I have anticipated thus much, lest you should be too long in suspence of the grounds of this novelty in translating : and yet this difficulty concerning the Syntax, hath stumbled many of our later Interpreters, as amongst others *Beza*, who solves it only by saying, that the Apostle more regarded the matter than the construction ; which for my part I cannot beleeeve : others who can, may if they please. I returne now unto the first part of my Text, the description of that solemne Apostasie ; where I will consider the five parts or points thereof as I have propounded them, though it be not according to the order of the words. And first in the more generall expresseion of the words, as I called it : I say in these words, ἀποστήσονται τὸ πνεῦμα, & μετόχους πνεύματος πλάνοισι (ἀποστήσονται) is as much as to say, they shall make an Apostasie; now ἀποστασία in Scripture use, when it looks towards a person, signifies a revolt or rebellion ; when towards God, a spirituall revolt from God or rebellion against divine Majesty, whether totall, or by Idolatry and serving other gods; for the Seventy, whence the new Testament borrowes the use of speech, usually translates by this word the verb, *קם* to rebell, and *קם* rebellion ; both which when they have reference to a spirituall So-

^b Hyperius so expounds it in his Comm. on this Epistle.

οὐκ ἐστὶν Θεὸς ὅτι if they be of God : ὅτι πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφήται
ἐξηκολούθησαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, because many false Prophets,
&c. and so onward in that Chapter πνεύματι τῷ Ἀντικρίστῳ
signifies the false doctrine of Antichrist ; so if this sense
be admitted, we are something lesse in suspence than we
were, and may guesse that this revolt should not be *total*
but *hereticall*, for we shall not easily find the word *Spirit*
to be otherwise used but either for the doctrines or Do-
ctors of Christianity, or for heresies under the same : It
seemes therefore to be some revolt from Christ by Idolatry,
even in those who would seeme to worship him.

But suppose it be so, yet still are we in suspence what
these erroneous and idolatrous doctrines might be : For
Idolatry, as we may see in the Jewish Apostasies, was of
divers kinds, as worshipping the holt of Heaven, *Baalim*,
and the Gentiles other things besides them. But wee
shall not be long in doubt, the next words will cleare the
case, and tell us they shall bee διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων do-
ctrines of Dæmons, not which Dæmons or Devils are
authors of, though it be true, as if the genitive case were
active ; but doctrines concerning Dæmons, the genitive
case *Δαιμονίων* being here to be taken passively, for the
object of these doctrines, as in *Hebr. 6.* we have διδασκαλίαι
βαπτισμῶν doctrines of Baptimes, and doctrines of laying
on of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and eternall
judgement, and doctrines about and concerning all these ;
and the same use may else-where be found even with the
word *Doctrine*, as *Acts 13. 12.* διδασχὴ τῷ κυρίῳ the
doctrine of the Lord, *i. e.* concerning him ; so *Titus 2.*
10. and *Gal. 2. 20.* we have πίστις τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, the faith
of the Sonne of God, *i. e.* concerning him^d. Semblably
in my Text διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων are doctrines of Dæ-
mons or *Doctrines of Dæmonum*, that is, the Gentiles idola-
trous Theology of Dæmons should be revived among
Christians : for I take the word *δαιμόνιον* or *δαίμων* (for
all is one) not in that worlt sense, which no author but
the

Διδασκαλία
ματῶν
Jer. 10. 8.

d So πιστις τῷ
ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ
Act. 3. 16.
Phil. 3. 9. πιστις
Χριστῷ
ἀληθείας
2 Thell. 2. 13

the Scripture useth, but in the better and more indifferent sense, as it was supposed and taken among the Theologists and Philosophers of the Gentiles, and as it is also sometimes taken in Scripture, as I shall shew in due time.

Mean while let us first see what the Gentiles and their Theologists understood by Dæmons: which when you have heard, I doubt not but you will confesse the deifying and worshipping of Saints and Angels, with other parts of their Idolatry, which doe this, to be as lively an image of the doctrine of Dæmons as could possibly be expressed; and such an one, as whereby the apostatic of the latter times is as by a character distinguished from the heresies, false doctrines and corruptions of all other times whatsoever.

Dæmons in the Gentiles Theology, were *Deastri* or an inferior sort of deified powers, as a middle between the Sovereigne Gods and mortall men: so saith *Plato in Symposio* Περὶ τῶν Δαιμόνων μακρὸν ἔστι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων: so say all the Platonists, and well nigh all other sects of Philosophers; I am sure most do: for it is a very ancient doctrine, insomuch that *Plutarch (de defectu Oraculorum)* tetcheth this distinction between *θεοί*, i.e. Sovereign Gods and Dæmons, as far as the antiquity of Zoroaster; *magnus & difficiles dubitationes* (saith he) *videntur solvisse qui τὸν Δαίμονα ἔκειτο, medio inter Deos & homines loco constituerunt, & quod nos cum his quodammodo conciliat & jungit, invenerint, sive hac Magorū, & Zoroastris doctrina sit sive Thracica ab Orpheo profecta, sive Egyptiaca sive Phrygica, &c.* The Sovereign or highest Gods which amongst them were properly called *θεοί*, were those whom they supposed to be in the Heavens, yea in the Sunne, Moon, and Starres, whence they called them *Dii superi, dii cœlestes*, whom they affirmed to have neither beginning nor ending, as *Apuleius* speaks of *Demonio Secr. Immortales sine ullo vel sine vel exordio, sed prorsus à retro æviteri.* And because they dwelt in the hea-

C

venly

The Apostasie of

venly lights, as it were soules in bodies, *Plato* thinkes the name *Θεοι* first came *quasi* εἰς *διόρτα* καὶ *ἰόρτα* ἄρμον, of the everlasting running and uncessant motion of the heavenly bodies, *Plat. in Cratyl.*

Now these Sovereigne Celsiſtiall Gods they supposed so sublime and pure as might not bee prophaned with approach of earthly things, or with the care or manning of mortall mens businesſes; and therefore they bring in that middle sort of divine Powers which they call *Δαίμονες*, or *Δαιμόνια* to be as mediatours and agents between the Sovereigne Gods and mortall men: thus saith *Plato* in his *Symposium* *Θεὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐμνήσται, ἀλλὰ διὰ Δαιμόνων πάντα ὄντι ἢ ὁμιλία, καὶ ἢ διαλεκτική* *Θεὸς* *θεὸς ἀνθρώπων*, God is not approached by men, but all the commerce and inter-courſe betwene Gods and men, is performed by the mediations of *Dæmons*. Will you see the particulars *Τὸ Δαιμόνιον* (saith he) *ὄντι ἐοικέντων καὶ διαποθέμενον θεῶς τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ἢ τὰς δούλους καὶ δουλίας τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις, καὶ ἀμειβόμενος τῶν δούλων*; *Dæmons* are reporters and carriers from men to the Gods, and againe from the Gods to men; of the supplications and prayers of the one, and of the injunctions and rewards of devotion from the other. And *Apuleius* in the place forequoted describes the *media potestates per quas & desideria nostra & merita ad Deos committant, inter mortales cœlicolasque vectores, hinc precum, inde donorum; qui ultrò citròq; portant hinc petitiones, inde suppetias; seu quidam utrinque interpretes & salutigeri*: For, saith he, *neque enim pro maiestate Deum Cœlestiū fuerit hac curare*, it becoms not the maiesty of the Sovereigne Gods to mannage these things of themselves. Whence it is that *Celsus* in *Origen* tearmes his *Dæmons summi Dei Satrapas, præsides, procuratores, duces, qui negligi non minus ledere possunt, quam Persarū, Romanorumve Regis Satrapa, præsides, ministri, &c.* l. 8. cōtra *Celsum*, pag. 940. Where note by the way, that

Celsus

Celsus as some others did, acknowledges but one Sovereigne God.

By reason of this office of mediation, *Plutarch* calls the order of *Dæmons* ἱερωτικὸν καὶ διακοικὸν οὖρον. Also ἱερωτικὸν οὖρον καὶ διακοικὸν οὖρον ἱερωτικὸν καὶ διακοικὸν, &c. agreeable to the doctrine of *Plato*, lib. de defec. Orocul. the order of agents, and ministers &c. To stay no longer here, take the summe of all in the words of *Apuleius* in the book forenamed, *cuncta Cælestium voluntate, numine, & autoritate fiunt sed Dæmonum obsequio, opera, & ministerio*. And if I should bring all which I might to this purpose, I should be too tedious. *Porphyrus* in *Eusebius*, *Plutarch*, skilfull men in this kind of Philosophy, will satisfie them fully, to whom this is not sufficient. This was the Oecumenicall Philosophy of the Apostles times, and of times long before them : *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, all the Academicks and Stoicks, and not many to be excepted, unlesse the Epicures, taught this Divinity. He that had rather reade a Father of the Church, let him but turne over the eighth and ninth books of *S. Austin* de Civ. Dei, the eighteenth chapter of the former book, having this Title; *Qualis sit religio in qua docetur, quod homines ut commendentur Diis, bonis Dæmonibus ut debeant Advocatis*: of the one and twenty chapter this, *An Dæmonibus nuntiis & interpretibus Dii utantur*? And of the ninth chapter of the ninth booke the Title is this, *An amicitia Cælestium Deorum per intercessionem Dæmonum possit homini provideri*? And of the seventeenth chapter this, *Ad consequendam vitam beatam non tali mediatore indigere hominem, qualis est Dæmon, sed tali qualis est unus Christus*. The reading of which Titles alone were sufficient to shew what was the supposed office of the *Dæmons* among the Gentiles.

This Philosophy therefore so generall, was that, without doubt, whereof *S. Paul* admonisheth the Colossians to take heed lest they were spoiled with the vaine deceit

thereof, as being after traditions of men, and rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For some Christians even then under a pretence of humility, of not approaching too neerly and too boldly to God, would have brought in the worshipping of Angels in stead of this of Dæmons; but Saint Paul tels them, that as in Christ dwelleth the fulnesse of the God-head bodily, so that he needed no colleagues of mediation; so also were they compleat in him, and needed therefore no agents besides him. *Let no man therefore (saith he) beguile you of your reward through humility, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seene, and not holding the head.*

Neither is the holy Scripture ignorant of this distinction of Sovereigne Gods and Dæmons: the first whereof the Cælestiall and Sovereigne Gods, whether visible or invisible, it calls **אֱלֹהִים** the Holt of heaven; The other sort it stileth by the name of *Baalim*, that is, *Domini*, or Lords. And *Manasses* the King of Idolaters was compleat for both of them: so we read *2 Chron.* 33. 3. that hee reared up Altars for *Baalim*, and made groves, and worshipped all the Host of heaven, and served them: and *2 King.* 23. 5. that good *Josiah* is said to have put down all the Idolatrous Priests which burnt incense to *Baal* to the Sunne, and to the Moone, and to the Planets, and to all the host of heaven: now that these *Baalims* were no other than Dæmon-gods, appears by their cutting and launcing themselves, who worshipped them: *1 King.* 18. for these tragick ceremonies are counted by those who treat about these mysteries, as certaine characters of Dæmons: but this you shall have further confirmed in due place, where the arguments may be better understood.

Numb. 25. the Midianites called the people to the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat. And Israel joyned himselfe to *Baal Peor*: But *Psal.* 106. it is said, They joyned themselves unto *Baal Peor* and ate the sacrifices of the dead.

Deut. 32. 17. In the propheticall song of

Israels Apostasie, they sacrificed unto Dæmons, not to God; to gods whom they knew not, to new ones that came newly up, whom the Fathers feared not. The Seventy *Δαίμονες* Heb. **לשׂוֹנִים בְּקִרְיֹב בָּאִי**

For

For cutting and launcing were funerall rites, as appears *Levit. 25. 5.* and chap. 19. 28. and *Deut. 14. 1.* *Ier. 48. 37.* and chap. 16. 6. and therefore retained in the funerall worship (as they call it) of those that were deified after death : *quare* ; did not God forbid his people this rite, because abused to Dæmon Idolatry ? yet did some transgresse it, as *Ier. 41. 5.* *Muses* body therefore hidden.

Vide *Isaiah 65. 4.* *Idololatra in sepulchris.* Item cap. 8. *vers. 19.* *pro vivis ad mortuos.* *Luc. 11. 8. 19.* *Targ. venit nome hec via enim populorum colentium Idolum.* *Unusquisque populus ab Idola suo requirit, vivi a mortuis :* the Seventy sic : *ἐκ θνός πρὸς θεὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκζητοῦσι, ἢ ἐκζητοῦσι πρὸς τῶν ζώντων τὰς χάριτας.* *Luc. El. 65. 3, 4.* *Ta g. sic :* in hortis sacrificant Idolis & adolent aromata super lateres. 4. *Qui habitant in domibus, quæ edificantur de pulvere sepulchrorum* *כְּעַבְרָא* & cum cadaveribus filiorum hominum moriuntur. Seventy, *αὐτοὶ θουλάζου ἐν τοῖς κήποις, καὶ θομιῶσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς πλινθιαῖς τοῖς δαίμονιαις, καὶ ἐκ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνημασὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαιοῖς κεκλιμένοι δι' ἐνύπνια.*

This distinction also of Sovereign Gods and Dæmons, I suppose our Apostle alludes to, *1 Cor. 8. 5.* where he saith, though there be many that be called gods, whether in heaven, or in earth ; as there be *οὐκ πολλοὶ* gods many, that is, *Dii Cælestes*, Sovereigne Deities, *καὶ κύριοι πολλοὶ* Lords many, i. e. *δαίμονες ἐπιχθονιοὶ* Dæmons Presidents of earthly things ; yet to us Christians there is but *ὁ* *θεὸς*, one Sovereigne God the Father, of whom are all things, and we to him, that is, to whom as supreme, wee direct all our services ; and but *ὁ* *κύριος* one Lord Jesus Christ, in stead of their many mediators and Dæmons, *δι' ἃ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ*, by whom are all things which come from the Father to us, and through whom alone we haue access to him. The allusion, methinks, is passing elegant, and such as I thinke cannot be well understood without this distinction of superiour and inferiour Deities in the Theology of the Gentiles, they having a plurality in both sorts ; and we Christians but one in each, as our Apostle affirmeth ; there wants but onely the name of Dæmons, in stead of which the Apostle puts Lords, and that for the honour of Christ, of whom he was to infer *ὁ* *κύριος*, the Name of Christ being not to be polluted with the appellation of an Idoll : for his *Apodosis* must have been otherwise *ὁ* *δαίμων* :

or may be he alludes unto the Hebrew name *Baalim*, which signifies Lords : and those Lords, as I told you, were nothing else but Dæmons ; for thus would *S. Paul* speake in the Hebrew tongue, there are רבִּים בעלים and רבִּים אלהים many gods, and many Lords.

And thus have I shewed you, though but briefly in regard of the abundance the argument would afford, the nature and office of these Dæmons according to the doctrine of the Gentiles : I come now unto another part of this doctrine, which concerns the originall of Dæmons, whom you shall finde to be the deified soules of men after death ; For the canonizing of the soules of deceased worthies is not now first devised among Christians, but was an idolatrous tricke even from the dayes of the elder world, so that the devill, when he brought in this Apostaticall doctrine amongst Christians, swarved but little from his ancient method of seducing mankinde.

Let *Hesiod* speak in the first place, as being of the most known the most ancient, he tels us that when those happy men of the first and golden age of the world were departed this life, great *Jupiter* promoted them to be Dæmons, that is, keepers, and protectors, or patrons of earthly mortals, and overseers of their good and evill works, givers of riches ; and this, saith he, is the kingly royalty given them. But heare his owne words :

Ἀντάρ' ἐστι μὲν τὸ το γένος καὶ γαῖα καὶ ἄνθρωποι,
 τοὶ μὲν ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ ἐπὶ Διὸς μεγάλου διασφάλας
 ἑσθλοῖ, δὲ πυχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
 Οἱ γὰρ φυλάσσουσιν δίκας, καὶ χάθλια ἐρεῖα
 ἥεκα ἐπαμύμονοι, πάντῃ φοιτῆτες ἐν αἰῶνι,
 Πάσι δὲ δῶκεν καὶ τὸ το γένος βασιλῆιον ἔργον.

And hence it is that *Oenomaus*, quoted by *Eusebius*, calleth these Dæmon-gods *Ἡσίοιοι* *Hesiods* gods.

The next shall be *Plato*, who in his *Cratylus* sayes,
 that

Textul. *Idolatria parentalis-
 nis est species,*
cap. 12.

that *Hesiod*, and a great number of the rest of the Poets, speak excellently, when they affirme that good men when they die attaine great honour and dignity, and become *Δαίμονες*, which is (saith he) as much to say as *Δαίμονες καὶ σοφοί*, that is, wise ones; for wise ones (saith he) are only good ones, and all good ones are of *Hesiods* golden generation.

The same *Plato, de Repub.* would have all those who die valiantly in the field, to be accounted of the golden kinde, and *Δαίμονες effici*, to be made Dæmons, and the Oracle to be consulted, how they should be buried and honoured; and accordingly ever afterwards *ὡς Δαίμονας ὅτι διακρίσονται τὸ καὶ σεβασύσονται αὐτῶν τὰς θείας, i. e.* their sepulchres to be served & adored as the sepulchres of Dæmons: In like manner should be done unto all who in their life time excelled in vertue, whether they died through age or otherwise: this place *Eusebius* quotes (*lib. 14. Prep. Evang.*) to parallel with it the then harmelesse practice of Christians, in honouring the memory of Martyrs, by holding their assemblies at their sepulchres; to the end that he might shew the Gentiles, that Christians also honoured their worthies in the worstiest fashion. But would to God that in the next ages after, this custome of Christians then but resembling, had not proved the very same doctrine of Dæmons which the Gentiles practised.

But I goe on, and my next author shall be *Hermes Trismegistus*, whose antiquity is said to be very neer the time of *Moses*; I will translate you his words out of his *Asclepius* which *Apuleius* made latine. There having named *Æsculapius, Osyris*, & his grandfather *Hermes*, who were (as he saith) worshipped for Dæmons in his owne time; he addes further, that the Egyptians call them (namely the Dæmons) *Sancta animalia*, and that amongst them (namely the Egyptians) *per singulas Civitates coli eorū animas, quorū sunt consecrata virtutes.*

And

And here note by the way, that some are of opinion, that the Egyptian *Serapis*, whose Idoll had a bushell upon his head, was *Ioseph*, whose soule the Egyptians had canonized for a Dæmon after his death.

Philo Byblius the translator *Sancuniation* the ancient Phœnician Historian, who lived before the times of *Troy*, and wrote the Acts of *Moses*, & the Jewes (saith *Eusebius*) very agreeable to the Scripture, and saith, he learned his story of *Ierom-baal* a Priest of the God *JEVO*: *Philo Byblius* (I say) in a preface to his translation of this Author, setteth downe what he had observed, and learned out of the same story, and might serve to helpe their understanding who should reade it: namely, that all the Barbarians, chiefly the Phœnicians and Egyptians, of whom the rest had it, accounted of those for *Dii maximū*, who had found out any thing profitable for the life of man, or had deserved well of any nation, & that they worshipped these as Gods, erecting Statues Images, and Temples unto them, and more especially they gave the names of their Kings (as to the elements of the world, so also) to these their reputed Gods: for they esteemed the naturall Deities of the Sunne, Moone, and Planets, and those which are in these, to be only and properly Gods: so that they had two sorts of gods, some were Immortals, and others were Mortals.

Thus saith *Philo Byblius* out of the Phœnician History, from which testimony we may borrow some more light concerning those Baalims in Scripture. ⁱ For *Baal* or *Belus*, whose worship *Iezabel* the daughter of *Ithubaal* King of *Tyre* brought into Israel, was a deified Phœnician King of that name, as *Virgil* will tell us in that verse concerning the Phœnician Queene *Dido*: *Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus & omnes A Bælo soliti, &c.*

i Hieron. in cap. 23. Ezech. Idolum autem Baal sive Bel, Assyriorum religio est, consecrata a Nino Belis filio in honorem patris. Idem in Hof. cap. 2. Ninus in tantam pervenit gloriam ut patrem suum

Belum referret in *Denm*, qui Hebraice dicitur דגל & in multis prophetis, maximeque in *Dauid*: Et juxta Theodotionem sub Idolo Babylonis hoc appella ut nomine; Hunc *Sidonii*, & *Phœnices* appellant, דגל

Nay

Nay, *Baal*, or in the Chaldee Dialect, *Bel* (for all is one) was the first King of *Babel* after *Nimrod*, and the first (as is written) that ever was deified and reputed a God after death; whence afterward they called all other Dæmons *Baalim*; even as because the first Roman Emperour was called *Cæsar*, thence were all the Emperors after him stiled *Cæsars*: & it may be this is part of that which *Philo Biblius* out of *Sancuniarthon* would tell us; That the Barbarians, especially, the Phœnicians, &c. gave names from their Kings to such as were canonized after death: For so we see here that the Babylonians, and the neighbouring Countries, which spake the Hebrew tongue, or some Dialect thereof, called all Dæmons *Baalim*, of the first Dæmon, or deified King in the world, *Baal* or *Belus*: for at that time when *Belus* reigned in *Babel*, was *Phœnicia*, with the neighbour people, under the kingdom of *Babel*: Whence may seeme also to have come their community of language and ceremonies; and here note a wonderfull mystery, that old *Babel*, the first pattern in the world of ambitious Dominion, was also the Foundresse of Idols, and the Mother of the fornication and abominations of the earth

Eusebii Chron. Chronicon Alex and in. seu Fasti sculci.
Hieron. paulo post locum proxime citatum.
Dilicimus inquit exordium Dæmonis, imo hominis in Dæmonem consecrati: Omnia enim Idola ex mortuorum errore creverunt.
Idem in c. 46.
Isa. Quem (i.e. Baal) Græci Belum, Latini Saturnum dicunt, cujus tanta fuit apud veteres religio ut ei non solum humanas hostias captivorum,

ignobiliumque mortalium, sed & suos liberos immolarunt. Cyrellus contra Italianum versus finem, Primus (inquit) regnavit in Assyriorum terra, ἀρχὴ ἀρχῶν καὶ ὑπερόργος ἀπὸ Βήδος, vir superbus, & arrogant, Belus qui & primus hominum dicitur a subditis nomen Deitatis accepisse; hic interpretis vitiose transfert Arbelus, & ubi mox sequitur Βήδης ὑπερόργος ὁ Νίφος Interpretes Arbeli, &c. Laëtant. de fals. relig. c. 23. & ult. originem Idolatriæ ad Belum refert.

And because we have fallen upon the naming of Dæmons, let us observe another mystery of names, out of *Plutarch* (*de defect. Orac.*) which may helpe us out, or prevent some difficulties, namely, that *Dæmons* are sometimes called by the names of those Celestiall gods, whose Ministers and Proctors they are, and from whom they receive their power and Divinity: As *Apollo's* Dæmon, *Apollo*; *Jupiter's* Dæmon *Jupiter*, and so the rest. Ως

D

exg. 505

ἄγρος θεῶν οὐτίταται καὶ παρ' ἡ δυνάμει καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπο-
τέτυ φιλίᾳ καλεῖσθαι; Sicut & nostrum alius Iovius, alius
Minervius, alius Mercurialis, &c. dicitur.

Thus *Plutarch*, which *Cleombrotus* there saith, he
learned of a wonderfull and profound Egyptian Her-
mite, who lived about the red Sea, &c.

To which is agreeable what *Eusebius Prepar. Evang.*
lib. 3. cap. 2. quotes out of *Diodorus*, viz. *Agyptios asse-*
reere mortales multos propter beneficia in Deos relatos, &
eorum aliquos caelestibus Diis cognomines.

The same *Plutarch* in the same place doth acquaint us
with this pretty conceit, which being to the purpose I
will not omit; namely, that the foules of men took de-
grees after death, first they commenced Heroes, who
were as Probationers to a Dæmonship; then after a
time sufficient, Dæmons; and after that, if they deserved
well, to a more sublime degree. Howsoever it be, Dæ-
mons, and Heroes differed but in more, and lesse antiqui-
ty, the more ancient Heroes, being called Dæmons, and
the younger Dæmons Heroes.

But that we may return again more close to the mat-
ter in hand, this order of Dæmons, or soule-gods, as
I may call them, found place in the Religion of the el-
der Romans, who called them *Penates*, *Lares*, *Ma-*
nii Dii; and when once they began to canonize their
deceased Emperours, which was from the time of *Au-*
gustus, they called them *Divi*, which word before that
time was more generall. *Tulli* in his second booke *de*
legibus, shall be my witnesse, that his countrey-men ac-
knowledgeed this distinction of Sovereigne Gods, and
Soule-deified powers, for there you shall finde this law;
Divos & eos, qui caelestes semper habiti, colunt; & illos,
quos in cælum merita vacaverint. And againe, *Deorum*
Manium jura, sancta sunt. *Hos letho Datos Divos ha-*
bento; would God the present Christian Romans had
not renewed this law.

Yea

Dii Animales
de quibus La-
beo libros scrip-
serat, in quibus
aiebat (verba
Servii) esse
quedam sacra
quibus anime
vertantur in
deos, qui ap-
pellantur ani-
males, quod de
animis fiant.

Yea, so strongly was this doctrine embraced amongst the Gentiles, that some of their later Theologifts thought, that even the foules of wicked men and Tyrants had a power after death, and that of these came *mals Dæmones*, which hurt men; and yet to these they ordained Temples, and sacrifices to keepe them from hurting them, as well as to the good Dæmons for helping them; but the Ancients gave this honour to the foules of vertuous men only.

Thus have you heard the originall of Dæmons, according to the most ancient, and generall opinion of the Gentiles. But besides these Dæmons, whose originall you have heard, I meane besides soule-Dæmons, and canonized mortals; their Theologifts bring in another kinde of Dæmons more high and sublime, which never had been the foules of men, nor ever were linkt to a mortall body, but were from the beginning, or without beginning, alwayes the same *. So *Apuleius* tels us in the book forenamed; *Est & superius aliud augustiusq; Dæmonum genus, qui semper à corporis compedibus, & nexibus liberi certis potestatibus curentur. Ex hac sublimiori Dæmonum copiâ autumat Plato singulis hominibus in vitâ agendâ, testes & custodes singulos additos.* This sort of Dæmons doth fitly answer and parallell that sort of spirituall powers, which we call Angels, as the former of soule-Dæmons doth those, which with us are called Saints.

But lest I might seeme to have no measure in raking up this Ethnical dung-hill, I will now leave the Theologie of the originall of Dæmons, and shew you yet another piece of that doctrine of Dæmons, namely, concern-

mons given them in common, yet are these which were the foules of men, other-while for distinctions sake called Heroes, (*Pluta ch. de Plac. Philos. cap. 8.*) though some extend not this name in generall to all, but only to such as are either of an inferiour ranke, or but novices, not yet promoted to the office of Dæmons; as Punies, not yet called to the barre.

b *Pluta ch. de defect. Orac.* in the person of *Amonius* the Philosopher makes two sorts of Dæmons, *αἱ διακριτάς αἰματός, ἢ μετασχούσας τοῦ πάθος, οὗχ αἱ*, soules separate from bodies, or such as never dwelt in bodies at all: Though both these sorts have the name of Dæ-

*Vid. Athanag.
Legat. pro
Christ. in Bib-
lioth. Patr. p.
133.6. qui di-
cunt non alio
modo homines
convenire deos
posse, scil.
quam per si-
mulachra.*

*Tertul. de Idol.
c.7. Artifices
Idolorum Dæ-
moniis corpora
conferre.*

ing the manner how Dæmons were to be worshipped, & as it were brought to the lure of men, when they had occasion of devotion with them. And this was done by sacrificing of Images; this you shall heare from an ancient Author, and passing skillfull in the mysteries, even *Hermes Trismegistus*, who in his *Asclepius* speaketh, in English thus, It is a wonder (saith he) beyond all wonders, (and he saith truly) that man should finde out a way to make Gods: Yet because (saith he) our forefathers erred much through unbeliefe concerning Deities, & had small regard of Religion, and Divine worship, therefore they devised an art to make gods (he meaneth Images) and because they could not make soules (he meanes to these senselesse bodies) therefore they called the soules of Dæmons, and Angels, and put them into their Images, and holy mysteries, by which meanes alone these Images have power of helping and hurting; which thus incorporated (he saith) are called by the Egyptians, *Animalia sancta*. And in another place, that kinde of gods (saith he) which men make, is composed of two natures, of a divine, which is first and more sacred; and of that which is amongst men, namely, the matter whereof they are made. The summe of all this mystery is, that Images were made as bodies, to be informed with Dæmons as with soules: For an Image was a trap to catch Dæmons, and a device to tie them to a place, and to keepe them from sitting.

The like hath *Eusebius* out of *Porphyrie*, *Imagines à Diis per amari, iisdemq; circumscribi, quasi in sacrâ quâdâ terrâ in sacratâ imagine contineri; quâ sublatâ, illud statim solvitur, quo Deus continetur*. This is that which *Pselus* calleth *θεοστοιχείαι δαιμονίων*, the approaching or presenting of Dæmons. And *Iamblychus* termeth these consecrated Idols, *Ἀνακταὶ θεῶν μετοσίαι ἀνάντια*, Images filled with divne fellowship, or with divine society. And our fore-mentioned *Hermes* calleth them *Statuas animatas sensu & spiritu plenas*. Hence

Hence came that answer, or defence of the Gentiles, as *Arnobius* (lib. 6. advers. Gent.) makes them speake, *Neque nos era, argenti materias aurique, neque alia quibus signa conficiunt, eas esse per se Deos, & religiose discernimus numina; Sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra, & fratribus efficit habitare simulachris.* And in another place he makes this objection for their behalfe; *An numquid dicitis fortè presentiam vobis quandam sub his numinum exhiberi simulachris, & quia Deos videri non datum est, eos ita coli, & munia officiosa prestari?* And thus have we seene the ground of the idolatrous use of Images, and found that the worship of them also is a doctrine of *Demons*: for as at first they were ordained for *Demons*, so whatsoever Deity is worshipped in this manner, though it were the true, and Sovereigne God, is thereby made a *Demon*.

What I say of Images, must be understood also of Pillars, and Columnes, whereof we reade, *Levit. 26. Yee shall make no Idols, nor graven Images, nor reare you up a pillar to bow downe unto it*: for howsoever Pillars and Images, through some confusion, at length surprizing the Gentiles superstition, may afterwards seeme to be ascribed to other Deities besides *Demons*; yet by original institution they were proper unto *Demons*, and no other. The soveraigne, and celestially gods, they were worshipped in the Sunne, Moone, and Stars, where they were supposed to dwell, but Images, and Columnes were for *Demons*; and if they seemed to be made for any other, *Plutarch's* Hermite would resolve us, that they were but *Demoni*, called by the name of some soveraigne gods, whose Agents they were. The truth of this, the History of the beginning of Idolatry makes evident; for that Images and Pillars were at first devised and erected to the honour of dead men ^b; this the fourteenth Chapter of the booke of *Wisdom* will tell us,

D 3

that

b Vide Herod. Clio. c. 131. Persas statuas non erigere, quod non ut Græci sentiunt Deos ex hominibus esse ortos; ex opinione Herod.

c Nam quod
potest intelli-
gentia solum
prospici &
comprehendi
mente nec appet-
tit formam, qua
cognoscatur, nec
figuram admitti-
tit, ut imagi-
nem et effigiem.
Verum isti om-
nia ad gratiam
mortuorum re-
feruntur: dum
enim vixerunt
homines, erant
corporum com-
pagibus inclusi,
Constantin. O-
rat. ad Sancto-
rum Cætum.
c. 4.

d In mortuo-
rum Idolis
Dæmonia con-
sistunt. Tertul.
vide de Spe-
ctat. c. 11, 12,
13. se. c. totum.

that by the vain-glory of men they first entred into the world; no lesse will the long continuing custome of the world, using thus to honour, not onely the dead, but since also the living, be sufficient to perswade the truth: *Minutius Felix* in his *Oëtavius*, will put us forth of doubt, *Majores nostri* (saith he) *dum Reges suos colunt religiosè, dum defunctos eos desiderant in Imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere, sacra facta sunt, qua fuerant assumpta solatia*. When therefore those whom they thus honoured and remembred, were canonized for *Dæmons*, then were these memorials also worshipped for some supposed presence, or divine respect of such *Dæmons*, in or to them. The worshipping therefore of Images, and Columnnes, is by its originall and institution, a piece of the doctrine of *Dæmons*^c; so that whatsoever is thus worshipped, yea, the glory of the incorruptible God himselfe is thereby changed into a *Demon*.

Thas much of Images and Idoll-Pillars, of the reason of their supposed Divinity, and of the originall, and first occasion of worshipping them. But yet we have not done, there is another piece of *Dæmon*-devotion yet behind, namely, the worshipping of *Dæmons* in their reliques, shrines and sepulchers^d, for this was also a part of the doctrine, and Theologie of *Dæmons*. *Plato*, whom before we quoted for the Canonizing of *Dæmons*, of the ghosts of such as dyed valiantly in the field, would have their shrines and coffins to be worshipped, *ὡς Δαιμονίων θήκας*, as the coffins of *Dæmons*: heare also what *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks of this *Dæmon*-doctrine, *Strom. lib. 6. Existimant (scil. Græci) nihil referre an has animas (scil. Dæmones quos invocat) Deos, an Angelos dicamus: Jam vero qui sunt eorum doctrine periti in multis Templis tanquam deorum statuas. omnes ferè mortuorum loculos posuere, Dæmones quidem vocantes eorum animas, eas autē coli ab hominibus docentes, ut quæ divinâ providentiâ*

providentiâ propter vitæ puritatem, potestati acceperint, ut ad hominum ministeriû, locû qui est circa terram, obirent: sciebant enim aliquas animas ex naturâ corpore teneri.

Out of which words observe, that they supposed the like preferences, and power of Dæmons at their coffins and sepulchres, which before we observed and heard of in their Images, as though there alwayes remained some natural tyè between the soules deceased, and their reliques, and therefore they there builded Temples unto them, where their bodies, and ashes were entombed; and hence it is that the Primitive Fathers which write against the Gentiles, do so often upbraid thẽ, that their temples were nothing else but the sepulchres of dead men; *Specioso quidem nomine* (saith Clem. in his *Protrepticon*) *templa dici, fuisse autẽ sepulchra, id est sepulchra ipsa vocata fuisse Tempła.* He goeth on speaking to the Gentiles; *Vos autẽ vel nunc saltẽ Demonũ cultus obliviscamini, sepulchra colere erubescetes.* To the like purpose *Arnobius l. 6. advers. Gent. Quid quod multa ex his Tempła, quæ tholis sunt aureis, & sublimibus elata fastigiis, auctorum conscriptionibus comprobatur contegere cineres, atque ossa, & functorum esse, corporum sepulturæ? Nonne patet & promptum est aut pro Diis immortalibus mortuos vos colere, aut inexpiabilem fieri Numinibus contumeliam, quorum delubra & Tempła mortuorum superlata sunt bustis?*

I might further adde to these Oecumenicall doctrines of Dæmons, that monstrous one of the Egyptians, for which their fellow Gentiles derided thẽ, who worshipped living bruir beasts, yea, Onions and Garlick, and water it selfe, with divine worship, as supposing some Dæmon or other to dwell in them; such were their Cow-god *Apis*, and their Bull-god *Mnevis*, and their Water-god *Nilus*, which it shall be enough only to have named, to make the former compleat, and that from it, and the rest of that kinde of abominations, we may gather this conclusion once for all, that since the Sovereign
and

and Celestiall gods, (as you heard before) might not be approached nor polluted by these earthly and materiall things, but kept alwayes immovable, without change of place or presence, their heavenly stations; therefore the adoring or worshipping of any visible or materiall thing, for any supposed presence, or other relation of a divine power therewith, is to be accounted amongst the doctrines of Dæmons.

And thus have you seen the Theology of Dæmons; first, for their nature and degree, to have been supposed by the Gentiles an inferiour, and middle sort of divine powers, betweene the soveraigne, and heavenly gods, and mortall men. Secondly, their office to be as Mediators and Agents betweene these soveraigne Gods, and men. Thirdly, their originall, to be the deified soules of worthy men after death; and some of an higher degree, which had no beginning, or ever were imprisoned in mortall bodies. Fourthly, the way to worship them, to finde and receive benefits from them, namely, by consecrate Images and Pillars, wherein to have, and retaine their presence at devotions to be given them. Fifthly, to adore their reliques, and to Temple them.

Now therefore judge impartially whether *S. Pauls* prophesie be not fulfilled already amongst Christians, who foretold that the time should come that they should Apostatize and revive againe *διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων*, Doctrines of Dæmons? whether the deifying and worshipping of Saints, and Angels, whether the bowing down to Images, whether of men, or other things visible, brea den Idols, and Crosses like new Dæmon-Pillars, whether the adoring or templing of reliques, whether these make not as lively an image of the Gentiles Theology of Dæmons (*διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων*) as possibly could be expressed? and whether these two words comprehend not the whole pith and marrow of Christian Apostasie, which was to consist in spirituall fornication or idolatry, as appears

appeares by that name and denomination thereof given by Saint *Iohn* in his *Revelation*, *The Whore of Babylon*? Is not shee rightly termed the Babylonish whore, which hath revived and replanted the doctrines of *Dæmons*, first founded in the ancient *Babel*? And is not this now fulfilled which Saint *Iohn* foretels us, *Apoc.* 11. That the second and outmost Court of the Temple (which is the second state of the Christian Church) together with the holy City, should bee trodden downe, and overtrampled by the Gentiles (that is, overwhelmed with the Gentiles Idolatry) forty two moneths?

But perhaps I am yet too forward in my application; some things in our way must first bee cleared: for howsoever the resemblance indeed be evident, yet first the Text seemes not to intend or meane it, because the word *Δαίμων*, is in the Scripture never taken in the better or indifferent sense, howsoever prophane Authours doe so use it, but alwaies in an evill sense for the devill, or an evill spirit; now the signification of words in Scripture is to bee esteemed and taken onely according to the Scriptures use, though other Writers use them otherwise. Secondly, for the charge of *Idolatry*, though much of that wherein wee have instanced, may be granted to bee justly suspected for such indeed, yet nevertheless, that whereupon this application mainly relyeth, namely, the praying to Saints glorified, as Mediators and Agents for us with God, should not seeme to deserve so foule a name; for suppose it were a needlesse, yea and fruitlesse Ceremony, yet what reason can be given why this should bee more tainted with *Idolatry*, then is the like honour given to Saints and holy men whilst they live on earth, whom to desire to mediate and pray to God for us, was never accounted so much as an unlawfull matter? when these two scruples are answered, I will returne to continue my former application.

To the first therefore, for the use of the word *Δαίμων*

in Scripture, I say; that because those which the Gentiles tooke for *Demons*, and for *Deified soules* of their *Worthies*, were indeed no other then *evill spirits*, counterfeiting the soules of men departed, and masking themselves under the names of such supposed *Demons*; under that colour to seduce mankind; therefore the Scripture useth the name *Demons* for that they were indeed, and not for what they seemed to bee; for no blessed soule or good Angel would admit any honour which did derogate from the honour of the *only true God*, who made them: neither doe the glorified Saints in heaven, or the blessed Angels, though Apostate Christians now invoke and worship them, accept of this honour, heare their prayers, or condescend to their devotions, by any signe or act whatsoever; but whatsoever is made seeme to be done by them, is done by the selfe-same wicked spirits, which heretofore were masked under the names of *Demons*; and therefore in this regard the one may as well beare the names of *Demons* as the other, and be as likely to bee intended by the use of that word. Secondly, though the Scripture often useth this word in the *worst sence*, yet followes it not it alwaies should doe so. because the word *Διόβολος* it selfe, which the Scripture hath appropriated to signifie *Satan the prince of bel-hounds*, following therein the *Seventy* (who first gave it this notion no where else sampled in any Greek Author) yet is this word *Διόβολος* in the New Testament it selfe three severall times used in the common sence for a *flanderer* or *false accuser*, and that in three severall Epistles, in both to *Timothy*, and that to *Titus*; and why should the like seeme improbable for the word *Δαίμων* or *Δαιμόνιον*? Nay, most certain it is so, as I now come to make manifest.

And first, *Acts 17. 18.* where Saint Paul our Apostle, having at *Athens* preached *Iesus risen from the dead*, the Philosophers thus encountered him saying, *This fellow, εἶναι δαίμονιον δοκῇ καταγγεῖν ἡμῖν*, which wee translate, *He seemeth to bee a setter forth of strange gods; namely,*

Dæmon-

¹Tim. 3. 11.

²Tim. 3. 3.

Tit. 2. 3.

Temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with mens hands, as though he needed any thing (as you conceive of your Demons) seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things: This God I preach unto you. And this place I take to be so unanswerable for the indifferent and common acceptation of the word Δαμόνια, that I care not now though the rest should faile me; but let us see what they are.

In Revel. 9. 13. &c. The sixth Trumpet from *Euphrates* brings an huge army upon the Christian world, which destroyeth a third part of men, and yet those which remained repented not of those sinnes (vers. 20.) for which these plagues came upon the earth, viz. *That they should not worship Δαμόνια. and idols of gold, silver, and brasse, and stone and of wood, which can neither see, nor heare, nor walke.* Is not this a Comment upon the Apostiles prophetic in my text?

The time which it concerns must needs fall into the last times; for it is the last Trumpet save one. The place must be the Roman Empire, or Christian world, for that is the stage of all the Seals and Trumpets: and how could it be otherwise, seeing Saint *John* at *Pachmos* saw them coming from the great river *Euphrates*? whatsoever comes from thence, must needs fall upon the Territory of the Roman Empire. To hold you no longer, the best Expounders make it the *Ottoman* or Turkish invasion, which hath swallowed so great a part of Christendome. But what people are they, who in the Roman Territory, doe in these later times worship Idols of gold, silver, brasse, and stone, and wood? Are they Ethnicks? there is none such. Are they Jewes? they cannot endure the sight of them. Are they Mahumetans? nay, they abhorre it also. Then must they needs be Christians, and then must Christians too worship *Δαμόνια*. for both are spoken of the same men. But what Christians doe, or ever did worship *Devils* formerly? But *Demon-gods*,
(*alasse*)

(*alasse*) they doe, and long have done, Here therefore *Δαίμονια*, is againe taken in the common and Philosophicall sense, or at least, which is all one, for evill spirits worshipped under the names of *Dæmons* and diseased soules.

Besides my Text, there is but one place more in all the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, where the word *Δαίμονια* is used, namely 1 Cor. 10. where if there be any allusion to the Gentiles conceit of *Dæmons*, then all the places of Saint *Pauls* Epistles are bending that way : But some there are, saith *Stephen* in his *Thesaurus*, who think the Apostle in his *Ποτήριον Δαίμονια*, or *Cup of Demons*, alludes unto that poculum azabû *Δαίμονος*, used amongst the Gentiles. And further to the, given the conceit of the Apostles Allusion to the heathenish notion of *Dæmons**, the words of the former verse make much ; for the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice (saith he) to *Dæmons*, and not to God. Now this was the very Tenet of the Gentiles, that the Sovereign and Celestiall gods were to be worshipped onely *puramente*, and with hymnes and prayes, and that sacrifices were onely for *Dæmons*. vid. *Porphyr. in Euseb. præp. Evang. Her. Trismeg. in Asclepio Apuleium de Dæmonio Socratis*. He therefore who had given his faith to that *Εἰς Κύριον*, *One Lord*, to the *ὁ μόνος Θεός* to the onely Potentate, to the *Εἰς Μέναν*, *To the onely Mediator* *Iesus Christ* must have no communion, have no part in the service of these many *Mediators*, *Lords* or *Dæmon-Gods* of the Nations, for Christs monarchicall Meditation excludes all other Mediators and *Dæmons* : not that the Wooden Idol was sought of it selfe, but that the Gentiles supposed there dwelt some *Dæmon* therein, who received their sacrifices, and to whom they intended their services. Thus may this place be expounded, and so the use of the word *Dæmon* in the worst sense or directly for a *devill*, will be almost confined to the Gospel : where the subject spoken of being men vexed with evill spirits, could admit no other sense or use ; and yet Saint *Luke*, the

* See Text, Spec.
6. 13.

best language of the Evangelists, knowing the word to be *ambiguous*, and therefore as it were to distinguish it once for all, doth the first time he useth it, doe it with an explication. Chapter 4. verse 23. *There was saith he, a man in the Synagogue, ἐξουμισμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου, having the spirit of an unclean Demon.*

Thus much of the word *Demonium δαιμονιον* in Scripture, whereby I hope that it appeares, that this place of my Text is not the onely place where the word is used according to the notion of the Gentiles, and their Theologists: but you will say, did any of the Fathers, or Ancients expound it thus in this place? if they had done so, the myttery of iniquity could never have taken such footing; which because it was to come according to divine disposition, what wonder if this were hidden from their eyes, Howsoever, it may seem that God left not his Spirit without a witnesse; I or, as I take it, *Epiphanius*, one of the most zealous of the Fathers of his time against *Saint-worship* then peeping, tooke *διδασκαλία δαιμονίων* in my Text for a Doctrine of worshipping of dead men; you may read him in the seventy eighth Heresie towards the conclusion, where, upon occasion of some who made a Goddess of the blessed *Vergin*, and offered a cake unto her as the Queen of Heaven, hee quotes the place of my Text, concerning them saying. *ἡμεῖς τὰς εἰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ ἀποστατέον τὴν εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίαν, ἀποστάντες; μὴδὲν καὶ διδασκαλίαν δαιμονίων, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς παλαιῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἰουδαίων, which in English sounds thus, I hat also of the Apostle is fulfilled of these, some shall apostasize from sound Doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of Demons, for (saith he) they shall be worshippers of dead men, as they were worshiped in Israel; are not these last words for an exposition of *διδασκαλία δαιμονίων*? But what will you say) doth he meane by dead men worshipped in Israel? I suppose he meanes their *Baalim*, who (as is already shewed) were nothing else.*

else but *Demons*, or *drifted Ghosts of men deceased*: yet he brings in two examples besides; one of the *Sichemites*, in his time, who had a *Goddesse* or *Damonesse* under the name of *Iephra's daughter*; another of the *Egyptians*, who worshipped *Thermutis*, that daughter of *Pharash*, which brought up *Moses*. Some, as *Beza*, would have these words of *Epiphanius* to bee a part of the text it selfe in some copy which he used. But how is that likely, when no other Father once mentions any such reading? nay it appeares moreover, that *Epiphanius* intended to explaine the words as he quoteth them, as hee doth *πίσις* by *ὡς οὗτος διδάσκει*, and *πνεύματα νεκρῶν* by *νεκρῶν*, and so *ἀποστόλων διδασκαλίας ἀκριβοῦς* by *ἀκριβοῦς τῆς πίσις*. Otherwise wee must say hee used a very corrupt copy, or quored very carelesly. But grant that *Epiphanius* read so, either this reading was true, and so I have enough; because then the Apostle with his *ἐοικὸς* &c. should expound himselfe by *δαίμονια*, to meane the deifying of the dead: or it was not the originall reading, but added by some other for explication sake; and so it will follow, that those who did it, made no question, but that the words there, contained some such thing as worshipping the dead: Therefore take it which way you will, it will follow, that some such matter as wee speake of, was in times past supposed to bee in this text and prophesie.

Now I come to the second point, to maintaine and prove, that *praying to Saints glorified, as mediators and agents for us with God* is justly charged with *Idolatri*: for this is the hinge whereupon not the application onely of my text, but the interpretation thereof chiefly turneth: for this is that which I told you in the beginning, that my text depended upon the *last words* of the former chapter and verse; *received into glory*: which were therefore out of their due order, put in the last place, because my text was immediately to bee inferred upon them; the like

See also *Apo-*
cal. cap. 1. ver
5. v. where Christ
is named aft r
the seven spi-
rits for the like
reason.

like mis-placing, and for the like reason, see *Heb. 12. 23rd* where, in a catalogue or recension of the parts of the Church, *Christ the head*, and the *sprinkling of his blood*, is mentioned in the last place, and after the spirits of just men, because the next verses are continued upon this sprinkling of Christs blood: *Ye are come to the generall assembly, and Church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Iesus the Mediator of the new Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel: whereas the right order should have beene; first, God the judge of all: Secondly, Christ the Mediator of the new Covenant: Thirdly, in the last place, the Spirits of just men made perfect; agreeable therefore to this dependance of my text I am to shew, that the Invocation of Saints glorified implies an Apostasie from Christ, and a denial of his glory and majesty whereunto hee is installed by his assumption into heaven, to sit at the right hand of God: which before I doe, I must premise some generall grounds, which are as followeth.*

That as God is *most one*, and without all multiplicity so must the honour and service which is given unto him have no communicability: *Esa. 42. 8. I am the Lord, that is my name, my glory will I not give unto another, nor my praise to graven images; for the one-most God must have an one-most service; Therefore in that action whereof God is the object, nothing must bee an object but God, or in the Scripture phrase thus, in those actions which looke towards the face of God, nothing may come betwene, whose face such actions may looke upon besides him, whether by way of subordination to him, or representation of him: for I am the Lord thy God (saith hee) thou shalt have no other Gods before my face. Secondly, this face of God is not onely the object of his person, but also the place of his presence, where his glory is revealed*

in

in the heavens, where *wee shall see him face to face*, 1 Cor. 13. 12. *Revel. 22. 4.* and where the Angels in heaven behold the *face of the Father which is in heaven*, *Matth. 18. 11.* No action therefore directed thitherward, to the *face of his revealed presence and glory*, may so much as *looke asquint* upon any other *object*, or behold any other *face* but the *face of God alone*, for we must have *no other God before his face*.

I say not, that a man may not turne his *face* upon the *face of any other thing* when hee turnes his *face* towards the *face of God*; for how then should wee worship him at all, seeing which way soever wee turne us, something will alwayes bee before us? but it is not the *face* of our *bodies*, or their *posture*, but the *face and posture of the act* wee doe, which must not have the *face* turned upon any thing else, when it is directed at the *face of God*: namely, that action in which God is faced, must *face* nothing else but God, where God is the *object*, whether in regard of his *person* when we pray unto him, or of his *throne of presence* when we would approach it, or direct our supplications towards it, there nothing is to have any respect of an *object*, but God alone. So although when wee pray unto God, wee turne the *face* of our bodies towards Heaven the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres: yet doe wee not worship the host of heaven therefore, because our *action* hath no *relation* to them as to an *object*, but to *God alone*; and howsoever they are betweene God and us in place, yet as an *object* of our *devotion* neither they nor any thing in them come any way betweene us and him: Now for the reason (if you aske it) of this *incommunicablenesse* of all *actions* and *services* directed to *God-ward*, you shall have it, because the *Lord* whose name is *jealous*, is a *jealous God*; *jealous* not onely lest he should not be honoured as *God*, but *jealous* lest he should not bee honoured as *one God*; for as by honouring him, we acknowledge him *God*, so by the *incommunicablenesse* of honour we acknowledge

F

him

him *one God*: For this cause, God being to give us a Mediator, by whom wee should have access unto his presence, and whom, without his jealousie, wee might interpose in our devotions and supplications unto himselfe, or offered at the throne of his majesty and glory in the heavens, provided that admirable *mystery of communicating* to the nature of a man borne of a woman, the *hypostaticall union* of the *second Person* of the *Deity*: and him, after he had vanquished death, to *exalt*, to *sit at his right hand* of glory, and power, in the heavens, there in his owne presence and throne, to receive our requests, and to deale as an *agent* betweene us and him.

Thus at length I am arrived at that port which I all this while made for, *viz.* to shew that this *glory of Christ* which is filled his *sitting at the right hand of God*, is that *incommunicable royalty* to which of right belongeth in the presence of God to receive and present our devotions to that *divine Majesty*, as in it, which now followeth, shall appeare. *Sessio ad dextram Dei*, is to be *installed in Gods throne*, or to have a *God-like royalty*, which is defined in Scripture ἡ μεγαλοσύνη χριστοῦ ἐν ὑψιλοῖς, *the Majesty of Christ in heaven*; whence it is said, Heb. 1. ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης ἐν ὑψιλοῖς, *hee sat downe on the right hand of Majesty on high*. Heb. 8. 1. it is called δεξιὰ καὶ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλοσύνης ἐν τοῖς ὑενοῖς *the right hand of the throne of Majesty in the heavens*: it is called also by Christ himselfe, Mark. 14. 62. δεξιὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, Luke 22. 69. δεξιὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ θεοῦ, *the right hand of power, and the right hand of the power of God*: For as to the *right hand* belongeth both *dignity* and *strength*, so doth this *glory of Christ* include both a *God-like sublimity* and a *God-like power*; the first δεξιὰ καὶ θρόνου, the second δεξιὰ καὶ δυνάμεως. The proper place where the *Majestickall glory* is revealed, in the *heavens*, as may appeare almost wheresoever this *sitting at the right hand of God* is mentioned, Eph. 1. 20. ἐν τοῖς ὑπερνοῖς. Colos. 3. 1. ἐν τοῖς ὑψοῖς, Heb.

*Heb. 1 ἐν υψαλοῖς, Heb. 7. 26. υψαλοῖς ὁ ἔθρονος, 1 Pet. 3. 22 εἰς ὕψαν, &c. heaven, heavenly places, high places and the like, being alwayes thereto annexed, and every where appeareth to be a consequent of his ascension into heaven, as we say in our Creed, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God; and therefore in the words whereon my Text depends, is expressed by assumed or taken up into glory, ἀνελθὼν ἐν δόξῃ, for as God himselfe is stiled *Pater in Cælis*, not because not elsewhere, but because his glory is there revealed: So Christ sits *ad dextram in Cælis*, because therethe beames of the Majesty given him by his Father, are revealed; whence it comes that his Kingdome is called the *Kingdome of heaven*, a Kingdome whose Kings residence and Kingly Throne are both in heaven: This glorious Throne of Majesty, this sitting at the right hand of the power of the Almighty is a name incommunicable, an exaltation whercof no creature in heaven or earth is capable, which is that the Apostle meanes to tell us when hee saith, *Eph. 1. 21. Farre above all principallities and powers, and might, and dominion and every name that is named, not onely in this world, but in the world to come: and Phil. 2. 9, 10. wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name (that is, created name) that at the name of Iesus every knee should bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. Revel. 3. 21. he that overcome (saith Christ) I will give him to sit with me in my throne, even as I have overcome, and am set with my Father in his throne; here is mention of two thrones, you see; of which, my throne, that is, Christs throne, is the condition of a glorified man; in this throne his Saints shall sit with him; but his Fathers throne is the power of divine Majesty, wherein none must sit but God, &c. the God-Man Iesus Christ.**

These grounds laid, I say, that the honour of being prayed to in heaven, and before the throne of presence, is a prerogative of *dextra Dei*, and to receive our devotions

there, a flower of *Christ* sitting at the right hand of God, as *S. Paul*, *Rom. 8. 34.* conjoynes them, saying, *Who is he that condemneth? it is Christ that dyed ye a rather that is risen againe, who is at the right hand of God, and who makes intercession for us:* for by right of this his exaltation and Majesty hee comes to bee a *Priest after the order of Melchisedech*, as appears *Psalm 110.* The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstoole; then follows the effect thereof verse 4. The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech; and by the same right also hee becomes the onely and eternall Priest which hath to doe in the most holy place, the heavens: For as the high Priest onely entered the most holy place beyond the vail: in the earthly Tabernacle; so Christ Jesus our onely high Priest, through his body, as the first Tabernacle, by his owne blood, entered into the second Tabernacle, or holy place. not made with hands, as was the figure. but into heaven it selfe, *εὐαγγελιστῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῷ θεῷ ὡς ἡμεῖς*, to appeare in the presence of God for us: all this you have in the same words at large, *Heb. 9. 7. 11. 12. 24.* Now in the Tabernacle of this world, as was in the first Tabernacle, wee may happily find many Priests whom to imploy as agents for us with God: But in the second Tabernacle which is heaven, there is but one agent to bee employed, but one who hath royall commission to deale betwene God and men, that Angel of the presence, as *Isaiah* calls him, *63. 9.* and one onely Mediator Jesus Christ the Lord of glory, who in this prerogative is above both Saints and Angels: For to which of the Saints and Angels said God at any time. Sit on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstoole, *Heb. 1. 4. 9. 13.* neither will this demonstration admit that vulgar acception to bee of any force, namely, that expiatory mediation, or meritorious intercession in heaven should indeed appertaine to Christ alone.

alone, but *favourable intercession* to pray for us, not so : and therefore for this, wee may without derogation to Christ solicite either Saints or Angells ; I could say, that this ragge is too too narrow and short to cover their nakednesse, who lay hold of it, in whose supplication to Saints and to God too in their names, nothing is more usuall than the expresse mention of their *merits, blood,* and *sufferings*, as motives to God to heare them ; but wee shall not need this answer ; for wee have demonstrated, that as in the Law, none but the *high Priest alone* was to doe office in the *holiest place* ; so Christ Iesus now is the *only agent* for whatsoever is to bee done for us in the *holiest Tabernacle* of heaven : besides, wee read that none but the high Priest alone was to offer Incense, or to incense the most holy place when hee entered into it : But Incense is the Prayers of the Saints, sent thither from this outward Temple of the militant Church as the Incense of the Law was fetched from without the vaile : This therefore none in heaven but Christ alone must receive from us, to offer for us ; and this is that Angel with the *golden Censer*, *Revel. 8.* who there offers the Incense of the prayers of the Saints there given him to offer upon the *golden Altar before the Throne*, alluding expressely to the *golden Altar* before the *Testimony*.

For the fuller understanding, and farther confirmation of what hath been spoken, take this also ; that notwithstanding the man *Christ Iesus* in regard of his person, being God as well as Man, was from his first incarnation capable of this *royalty* and *glory* ; not onely for the incomparable sufficiency of his person, which by reason of his twofold nature, is alwaies and in all places present both with God and men ; and so at one instant able and ready at every need, to present to the one what he should receive from the other ; but chiefly and most of all, for that being very God himselfe, his Fathers

jealousie, which could never have brooked the communication of this glory to any other, which should not have been the selfe-same with himselfe, was by this condition of his person prevented and secured.

Neverthelesse and notwithstanding all this capability of his person, it was the will of his Father in the dispensation of the mystery of our redemption, not to conferre it upon him, but as purchased and attained by suffering and undergoing that death which no creature in heaven or in earth was able to undergoe but himselfe, being a suffering of a death, whereby death it selfe was overcome and vanquished, to the end that none by death save Jesus Christ alone might be ever thought or deemed capable of the like glory and sublimity; but that it might appeare for ever to be a peculiar right to him.

And this, I think, is not onely agreeable to the tenour of the Scripture, but expresse Scripture it selfe, Heb. 2. 9. *But we see Iesus who was made a little lower than the Angels by the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour: for it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sonnes to glory, to make the captaine of their salvation perfect by sufferings. Phil. 2. 8. And being found in fashion of a man, he humbled himselfe, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Crosse: and the ninth verse. Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Iesus every knee should bow, Heb. 10. 12. But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sinnes, for ever sat down on the right hand of God. Rom. 14. 9. For to this end Christ both dyed, rose, and revuried, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living: See besides, Acts 5. 30. 31. Rom. 8. 34. Ephes. 1. 20 1 Pet. 1. 11.*

Lastly, for that particular parcell of this glory of Christ (*viz.*) to be that onely name in which wee are to aske at the hands of God whatsoever we have to aske, is not this also annexed and ascribed to his triumph over death?

death? *John 14. 13.* I goe unto my Father, viz. through death, and whatsoever yee ask in my name, that will I doe. *John 16. 16. and 23.* A little while yee shall not see me, and a little while yee shall see me, because I goe to my Father, and in that day when I am gone to my Father, yee shall aske me nothing: Verily, verily I say unto you, whatsoever yee shall aske the Father in my name, he will give it you, *verf. 24.* Hitherto yee have asked nothing in my name, aske and yee shall receive. *Heb. 7. 25.* Wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them, for such an high Priest became us who is made higher than the heavens.

How is it then that some extenuate that kind of Saint-worship, wherein prayers are not made unto them directly, but God is prayed unto in their names, and for their mediation sake to grant our requests? It is not a denial of Christs prerogative, to ascribe unto any other, for any respect of glory or necesse to God after death or otherwise, that whereof hee alone is incoffed by his unimitable Death, triumphant Resurrection and glorious Ascension? certainly that which hee holds by incommutable title, is it selfe also incommunicable. To conclude therefore with the words of *S. Paul, 1 Tim. 2. 5.* There is but one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Iesus: as God is one, so the Mediator is one, for it is a God-like royalty, and therefore can be long but to one: There is but one God in heaven, without any other gods subordinate to him; therefore but one Mediator there, without any other mediators besides him: as for the Angels and blessed Saints, they have indeede a light of glory too, but they are but as lesser lights in that heaven of heavens: And therefore as where the sunne shines, the lesser stars of heaven, thought stars, give not their light to us: so where this glorious Sunne Christ Iesus continually shineth, by his presence, sitting at the right hand of God; there the glory of the Saints
and

Colof. 2. 19.

and Angels is not sufficient to make them capable of any flower of this divine honour, which is God-like and so appropriate to Christ, by right of his heavenly exaltation in the Throne of Majesty; whatsoever Spirit saith otherwise, *ἡ κεφαλή τοῦ σώματος*, holds not the head, but is a Christ-apostate-spirit which denies the faith of Christs assumption into glory, and revives the doctrines of Dæmons.

The way being now cleared, I may (I hope) now safely resume my application which I have already given some taste of, that the doctrine of Dæmons comprehends in most expresse manner the whole idolatry of the mystery of iniquity, the deifying, and invoking of Saints and Angels, the bowing downe to Images, the worshipping of Crossees as new idol columnes, the adoring and templing of reliques, the worshipping of any other visible thing upon supposal of any Divinity therein: what copy was ever so like the sample, as all this to the doctrine of Dæmons? and for the Idolatry of the Eucharist or bread-worship, though it may bee reduced to Image-worship, as being the adoration of a signe or symbole; yet let it bee considered whether for the equality thereof it may not bee taken rather for an Idolatry of reliques, the body and bloud of Christ in the Sacrament being the mysticall reliques which he left us as monuments of his death till he come: whatsoever it bee I must confesse it hath a straine above the abomination of the Gentiles, who though they supposed some presence of their Dæmons in their Images and reliques, yet were they never so blockish, as to thinke their Images and reliques to bee transubstantiated into Dæmons: But to come to the maine againe, I will confesse for my selfe that I cannot thinke of this *Dæmon-resemblance* without admiration, nor doe I beleve that you will heare without some astonishment, that which I am now to adde farther: That the advancers of Saint-worship in the beginning did not onely see it, but even gloried

(sed

(*Sed gloriatione non bona*) that they had a thing in Christian practice so like the doctrines of Demons: we heard before, that *Plato* in his *Repub.* would have the soules of such as dyed valiantly in the battell, to bee accounted for Demons after death, and their Sepulchers and Coffins to bee adored and served as the Sepulchers of Demons. *Ensebius*, lib. 13. *Prapar. Evangel.* quoting this place, adds with it, ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν διαποικῶν πλειονῇ, ὡς στρατιώταις ἢ ἀλυσὶς ἐνοικίας ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶπον, ἡγιασμένους, these things doe best at (or after) the decease of the fau-rites of God, whom if thou shalt affirm to bee taken for the champions of true religion, thou shalt not say amisse, ἔστιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δίκαις αὐτῶν ἔδος ἡμῶν παύειν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνους πρὸς τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, πρῶτον τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, whence it is our custome to goe unto their tombs, and to make our prayers at them, and to honour their blessed soules.

The purpose of *Ensebius* was here to shew, as a preparation to draw men to Christianity, how well the present use of Christians in honouring the memories of their Martyrs, by keeping their assemblies at their Sepulchers, did agree with that of the Gentiles (so much by *Plato* commended) in honouring their champions and worthies for Demons after death: But alas, in the next age after, it proved too too like it indeed: For these earerings which the Christians had borrowed or stolen from the Gentiles at their coming out of *Aegypt*, presently became a golden calfe, as soone as the woman the Church came into the wildernesse, yea and *Aaron* the Priest had a foule part in it too.

Read the eighth book of *Theodoret de curandis Græcorum affectionibus*, whose title is *de Martyribus*, or in the meane time take these few passages thereof: Thus hee speaks having quoted that passage of *Hesiod* for Demons commended by *Plato*; *Quod si Poëta Hesiodus auxiliares custodesque mortalium eos vocat qui sancti olim benèque vixerunt, eamque hujus Poëta sententiam, Philosophorum*

G

optimus

optimus Plato adeò confirmavit, ut eorum hominum Sepulchra colenda esse atque adoranda censuerit; Quid ita quæso, boni viri (i. e.) Græci, quæ ipsi facimus, accusatis? nos etenim pari modo (N.B) eos qui illustri pietate vixerunt, proque eâ jugulati ac caesi sunt, & auxiliares & medicos nominamus; ac non Dæmones tamen; absit à nobis absit hic furor: sed amicos Dei fidelesque servos dicimus fuisse---- Ibid. posse sanctorum animas, vel enim extra hoc corpus fuerint hominum curare negotia, Plato etiam 11 legum libro affirmat verba Platonis citantur ----

Cum itaq; Philosophus credendum esse rumoribus censeat (id est sermonibus qui vulgò habentur de illâ animarum defunctorum curâ circa homines) vos tamen nobis non solum fidei nihil habetis, clamantemq; eventorum vocem audire non vultis, &c. Ibid. Martyrum templa conspicua ----

Quique homines prosperâ valetudine sunt, conservari eam sibi à martyribus petunt: Qui verò ægritudinem aliquam patiuntur, sanitatem exposcunt, --- Insuper & steriles &c. --- Item qui peregrè proficiscuntur &c. --- non qui se ad Deos accedere arbitrantur, sed qui orent Dei martyres tanquam divinos homines, intercessoresq;, sibi eos apud Deum advocos & precentur ----

Piè verò & fideliter precatos ea maximè consequi quæ desiderant, testantur illa quæ votorum rei dona persolvunt, manifesta nimirum sanitatis adepti indicia:

Nam alii oculorum, alii manuum simulachra suspendunt, ex argento auroq; confecta, ---- paulò post --- Quid, quod eorum qui passim Dii ferebantur memoream è merito hominum martyres aboleverint ---- Sui mortuos Dominus Deus noster in templa pro Diis vestris (i. e.) Dæmonibus iri duxit, ac illos quidem cassos gloriâ vanosq; reddidit, suis autem martyribus honorem illorum dedit:

Propandis enim Diasisq;, & Dionysius (i. e.) Iovis, Liberique Patris solennitatibus; Petro, Paulo, Thoma, Sergio, aliisq; sanctis martyribus solennitates epulo populari peraguntur: Cum itaque tantam utilitatem ex honore martyribus

tyribus collato provenire, homines videtis, fugite (quaso) errorem Dæmonum, pravi quoque ductu martyrum, facibusque, viam capessite qua ad Deum perducit, &c. Now judge whether hitherto *ἡσυχαστῶν* *Ἀσκησιῶν* hath beene fidly applyed or not: I will goe on.

Having therefore by so many arguments made apparant (I hope) what I endeavoured to prove: I desire we may oblerve, among so many corruptions both now and heretofore over-whelming the Church of Christ, what it is wherein the Holy Ghost placeth the essence, and counteth as the very soule of the great Apostasie under the man of sinne. and would have us to make the pole-starre of our discovery thereof.

Not every errour, nor every heresie, how soule soever; but *ἡσυχαστῶν* *Ἀσκησιῶν* Idolatry, and spiritual fornication: as for other heresies, though accompanying this, yet are they but accidentall, and not of the essence of the great Apostasie which was to come.

Even as whores are seldome without other great faults, which yet are no part of whoredome: so hath the spirituall whore many other heresies, but her whoredome is onely Idolatry and the doctrine of Dæmons.

Neither is heresie of it selfe, no though damnable heresie, a character whereby the great Apostasie can bee knowne from other sects and blasphemies.

Foule heresies were in the first ages of the Church, yet Antichrist and his time were neither of them yet come; when his time approached neerer, the Arrians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, were abhominable heretiques.

And the Arrians possessed for a time the face of the visible Church; yet was not theirs the solemne Apostasie looked for.

But Idolatry or spirituall whoredome, which in that storme the Devill was a working, this is the onely character and note whereby the Apostasie under the man

G 2

of

1 Thes. 2. 9.
Conversion to
Christianity is
described as
turning

turning from
Idols to serve
the true and li-
ving God, and
to wait for his
Sonne Iesus
Christ; there-
fore Apostasie
is a returne to
Idols from the
living and true
God and his
Sonne Iesus
Christ.

of sinne is discovered and distinguished from all other blasphemies, sects, and heresies of what age or time soever. Which that I may not seem to ground onely upon the exposition of my text, which whatsoever the probability thereof be, may yet be thought alone too weake to support the weight of so maine a conclusion: I desire you to take these arguments for a full confirmation thereof; some of them have already bin intimated, but now all are mustered up together.

First, that *Babylon* is intituled in the Revelation of *S. Iohn*, not the *Liar of Babylon*, not the *Tyrant of Babylon*, nor the *Heretique of Babylon*, nor the *Murdresse of Babylon*, but the *Whore of Babylon*, yea that *Great Whore* and the *Mother of fornications, and abominations of the earth*. Doth not God (thinke we) give the name as he accounts the nature? or is there any one will deny that this *Babylon* is that mystery of iniquity which our Apostle so calleth, as being in opposition to the great *μυστήριον ἐννοχίας* mystery of true worship and Religion? if any should *μυστήριον Βαβυλῶν* mystery *Babylon* in her forehead, would help to reclaim him: And what *Whore* is that with whom the *Kings and Nations and Kingdoms of the earth* commit fornication? can it be any other but a *spirituall Where*? Without question therefore *S. Iohn* meanes no other thing here than what he foretold in the eleventh chapter, That the *Second and outmost court of the Temple* (which is the second state of the Christian Church) together with the holy City, should bee trodden downe, and overtrampled by the *Gentiles forty two months*, that is, overwhelmed with the Idolatry of the Gentiles, which is, *δις σαράντα δύο μῆνας*, as long as power shall bee given to the Beast to make warre with the Saints, as long as the witnesses must weare sackcloth, and the woman which escaped the fury of the Ethnicall Dragon, be fed in the wildernesse.

Secondly, *S. Paul* tells us, that the great Apostasie should

should enter by strong delusions, by signes and lying wonders; consider then what corruptions of the Christian faith were thus ushered in to begin with the beginning and first corruption of that kind; Invocation of Saints, with the adoration of their shrines, and reliques; how were these advanced in the Church, was it not by miraculous cures of the sicke, healing of the lame, restoring of the blinde, yea raising of the dead (as seemed) sometimes by the onely touch and ayre, sometimes of the shrines and reliques of soules deceased? was it not still confirmed by strange apparitions, and other meanes wonderfull to heare? for discovery of bones and reliques unknowne and forgotten, yea of men whose names they never heard of before. And which I shall shew better hereafter: no such experience for thirty yeares together observed in the Church, untill the totall and fixed time began to enter. The worshipping of Images, the second, for time, of the Churches fornications: was not this also allowed and at length fully ratified by like signes and miracles, shewed upon those who approached them in their devotions? Read the legend, and see what store there is of strong delusions and lying wonders. That which for time came in last, but deserves a place among the foremost, I meane the Idolatry of the Masse, and adoration of the breadden god; search and see if it be not also thus attended!

If all this be true, then would I know what doctrine of theirs besides was installed with these solemnities; there is but one onely left for exception, and it is Purgatory; but what if all the delusions of Purgatory, with all the apparitions of Purgatorian Ghosts, were but an indirect device of Satan aiming partly to advance the Masse into an Idol by the miraculous efficacy (forsooth as the Ghosts report) of the oblation thereof for them; partly to install the Sonne of perdition (a Demon I yet speake not of, and yet a Demon) *to sit as God in the*

Apocal. 1. 18.

Temple and Throne of Christ, with the keys of * Hades and death, to deliver them? what stronger presumption can there be of this than the event; and that the error of Purgatory had so long been working before the Devill seemed to know how to make this use of it, which at length hee spied out and plied lustily with signes and wonders. If all this be true, then it followes still that it is spirituall fornication which the Holy Ghost in Scripture intendeth, and the event hath marked out for the soule of Antichristian abomination and impiety; But of the matter of miracles and lying wonders more in the second part of my text, which is the proper place thereof.

Thirdly and lastly, the great Apostasie is a thing proper to the *ἔσχατοι καιροί*, the latter times; which I will shew (when I come at it) to be the last times of the fourth kingdome of Daniel, Dan. 7. 25. & *alibi*; but amongst all other corruptions, onely the spirituall fornication of the Church and spouse of Christ will be found proper to these times.

But you will say, if Idolatry and Spirituall fornication be the matter, why should not this rather be laid upon Painims, and Turkes, and Saracens, who acknowledge not Christ, rather than upon Christians who doe?

I answer, S. Iohn, and S. Paul prophesied of things to come, not of that which was in being when they prophesied. But Ethnicall and Painim Idolatry at that time overwhelmed the whole earth, yea and persecuted and made warre with the Saints, and no time hath yet been when this Idolatry was not to be found. It must needs be then some other whoredome (for whoredome it was to be) which was prophesied of to come.

Again, neither Saracen nor Turk (the greatest un-

In Saracen.
Frid. Sylburg.

citate *Μαθητὰς* 103. *Lex αἱ Σαρακενοὶ μὴ εἶναι Ἡ ἐκκλησίαν βασιλείας ἔχουσαν ἰδωλολατρείαν σεβασμιοῦντες τῆς Ἐσφύρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἣν διὰ καὶ χάσας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται γὰρ τῆς διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῆς τῶν μεγάλων.*

christian

christian States since Christ) neither of these, I say, can bee Antichrist wee speake of, nor their blasphemy that mystery of iniquity foretold by the Apostles and Prophets.

For there are two unquestionable characters of that mystery, which will neither of them, without doubt not both of them, agree to Turk or Saracen; *videlicet*, first, that it should sit in the *Great City*, which in *S. Iohns* time reigned over the nations of the earth. Secondly, that it should bee an *Apostasie* from the Christian faith once embraced: But the Turke, whatsoever he be, is no Apostat, being of a nation which never was Christian; nor was the seat of the Saracen Empire, whilst it stood either in the old or new *Rome*, or neere unto either; for I would seeme to yeeld for this time, that new *Rome* or *Constantinople* would serve the turne, though I am far enough from beleeving it. Nor will I alleadge, that *Mahomet* himselfe and his nation were both Painims when they began their blasphemies; for you would tell me, that *Sergius* the Monk taught him to make the *Alchoran*: nor will I question now, whether the Christian or *Mahumetan* be the greater Idolater, though the doubt might soone bee resolved, seeing it is well knowne the *Mahumetans* worship no Images. But I have alleaged nothing save what is without exception, that both these characters I spake of cannot bee applied either to Turk or Saracen, though I beleve that neither can be. When I spake of Painims and *Mahumetans*, I would have you remember, that there were some blasphemous sects in the first ages of the Church, which are no more to be accounted of as Christians than *Mahumetans* and Painims are; nay *Mahumetanism* is neerer Christianity than many of them were: for amongst whom the Christians Deity is not worshipped & received; those, though they spring up in imitation of Christianity. I account but new Painim blasphemies and not Christian heresies: such were the

Mahomet in Alcorano inducit Deum ad se ita loquentem: Pauper sustinet distictie. Idolis servisti & vocavisti: Interpres Arabicus in prefatione sub finem. Mahomet was a Paynim, nor circumcised as the other Arabians were, nor baptized till he begun his false Prophecie: when Abdalla the Jew did the one unto him, and Sergius the Monk conferred the other, vid. Purlat Pilgr.

*Tertul. calls
these Here-
ticks, *Alerius*
divinitatis Hæ-
retici.

the * Cerinthians, Marcionites, Saturnians, Valentinians, and Manichees, &c. which neither professed the same Deity, nor acknowledged that divine word which we Christians doe; whereas yet the Mahumetans worship the same God with Jewes and Christians, God the Creator of heaven and earth, and God the father of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*; howsoever they conceive otherwise of his nature and properties than Christians doe: But this by the way (lest it may put a rub in our discourse) of spirituall fornication.

But you will still alledge in her behalfe, who seemes all this while to be charged, that *Antichrist*, and the *man of sin* in Scripture, is set forth as the most hatefull and execrable thing that can bee in the eyes of God Almighty: But how can such a thing be said, and comparatively to be where the true God, with Christ his Son, God and man, or in any sort acknowledged and worshipped?

Lord! that the whole straine of Scripture, in the Prophets especially, and the example of the *Church of Israel*, should not cure this web, and take this filme from the eyes of men! Doth not the Lord say of Israel, that *hee had chosen them to be a speciall people to himselfe above all people that are upon the face of the earth*, Deut. 7. 6. *You onely have I knowne* (saith he) *of all the families of the earth* Amos 3. 2. And is not Christ the Lord of Christians? and is not the Church his Spouse? το μυστήριον τοῦ ἑκκλησίας ἡμετέρας, saith Saint Paul, Ephes. 5. *This is a great mystery*. No marvell then where this *mystery* is not considered, if the *mystery of iniquity* bee not understood. Alas poore Church of Israel, why case it seemes should have beene a very hard one! for what Nation in the world ever suffered so much rebukes, so many plagues, so much wrath, as thou hast done? yet couldest thou say for thy selfe, thou never forsakedst the true God altogether, but wast still called by his name; onely thou wouldest faine worship him in Calves and Images, as other Nations thy neighbours

neighbours did their gods, thou wouldest needs follow the fashion, and this was thine error; thou never meantst to cast off thy *Jehovah* altogether, but still wouldest have him to be thy God, and thy selfe to be his people; yet thou tookest this liberty, to have other gods besides the Lord thy God, viz. thy *Baalims* and *Demon* gods of other Nations about thee, and yet hopedst *Jehovah* the God of heaven, thy only Sovereigne God, would not be offended thereat, since thou retainedst him in chief place and honour with thee still.

Why was thy God then so unkind and cruell unto thee, to call thee *Who e*, and *Prostitute Whore*, so often? All his Prophets continually baiting thee with that so soule and odious a name of *abominable Harlot*? Why did he scatter thee, and cart thee even naked among the Nations, afore his jealousie would be satisfied? for it seems he is far more indulgent to his *second wife* the *Church of the Gentiles*, for she worships her God in Images and Crucifixes, yea calls a piece of bread, her Lord and her god, and yet saith, he is no whit jealous of her, but well pleased. She, though espoused to Christ Jesus the Son of the living God, as the sole Intercessor and Mediator in the presence of God his Father, yet thinks she may fall down to Saints and Angels, yea to as many Images of them as ever the Jewes had of their *Baalims*, or the Gentiles of their *Demons*.

And yet forsooth, because she makes her Lord the chiefest still in the honour of her affections, and uses the rest of her lovers no farther than she may still yeeld the first and chiefe place to him, she verily supposes he is no whit offended with her; whereas Israel should have been called *Whore* a thousand times over for as little as this; yea and like enough to have been carted too, and her nose slit, *Ezek. 23. 25.* long before this time.

Nay, but she wipes her mouth, and asketh why her Lord should be angry, for she calls him still her Lord, and acknowledges and professeth him still to be her Husband.

H

If

If he hath a mind to be angry with any, let him go to the Turks, Tartars and other Mahumetans, or to the Painims, who will not acknowledge him at all to be their Lord God, though he hath offered himself, and perhaps wooed some of them, but they would none of him, but married themselves to other husbands: here if he will be jealous, is matter for his jealousie.

Hieron. in ca.
43. Ezek. Ego
hoc arbitror,
quod non pol-
luat nomen
Domini, nisi
ille qui visus
est nomini e-
jus credere: &
quomodo tol-
lic membra
Christi, & fa-
cit membra
meretricis, qui
prius Christo
credidit; sic
ille polluit
nomen Domi-
ni, qui prius
nominis ejus
fidem suscep-
peri.

But thou *Christ-apostaticall Strumpet*, knowest thou not the first Commandement of thy Christian Decalogue to be, *Thou shalt have none other Gods (nor Christs) but me.* What dost thou with so many *Christlings*? knowest thou not that an husband is more grieved and dishonoured by his wifes adultery, than if any other woman whatsoever, yea suppose his kinswomen and daughters, should play the harlots?

What are Turks and Tartars, and any other unbeleev-
ing Nation under Heaven, unto thy Lord and Saviour?
are they not all as strangers to him, and he to them? But
as for thee, he had chosen thee out of many Nations to es-
pouse thee to himself; so that thou mayest say with Israel,
Isay 63. 19. We are thine, but as for them, thou never barest
rule over them, they were not called by thy name: but to
thee, to use the words of Ezechiel, chap. 19. He swears an
oath, and entered into a covenant with thee, and thou becomest
his, and wert called, and wilt still be called by his name: Thee
he washed with water, yea, thoroughly washed thee from the
pollution of thy birth, and anointed thee with oyle. Thou
wast decked with Gold and Silver, and thy rayment was of
fine linnen, and silke, and broidered worke, thou diddest eat
fine flower, and honey, and oyle, and wast exceeding beautiful,
and diddest prosper into a Kingdome. And thy renown went
forth among the Heathen for thy beauty; for it was perfect
through the comelineffe which the Lord thy God had put up-
on thee. But thou diddest trust in thine own beauty, and play-
edst the Harlot because of thy renowne, and pouredst out thy
fornications upon every one that passed by, And of thy gar-
ments

ments thou didst take, and deckedst thy high places with divers colours, and playedst the harlot thereupon. Thou hast also taken thy faire jewels of thy Lords gold, and of thy Lords silver, which he had given thee, and madest to thy selfe images of men, and diddest commit whoredome with them. And tookest thy broyded garments and coveredst them: and thou hast set the Lords oyle and his incense before them. Judge now between the Lord and his people ye that have wives, and give sentence ye husbands, whether of the two in question hath most dishonoured our Lord and Saviour, which of the two is most like to fret him, and kindle the coales of fury and jealousie: those who never yet were in covenant with him, nor yet are called by his name: or whether his Spouse, his darling, his beloved one, to whom he was betrothed and married? Judge according to the manner of wedlock, and the notorious president of Israel: He that is a father (we say) is best able to understand the love of a father, and therefore Gods love to his children for the like reason: he that is an husband is sensible of the jealousie of an husband, and so of the case of Christ with his unfaithfull and trecherous Spouse the Christian Iazabel.

The decision and summe of all this, is this, That the Whoredome of the Church of God is a Spirituall adultery, and therefore between the Idolatry of Christians, and that of Infidels, and of Painims, is as much difference in Gods esteeme, as is betweene adultery and simple fornication. The one as equall to murder, was in the Law punished with death; the other with a much lighter punishment: whence in *Ezechiel* (in whose words I have beene so long) Chapter 16. Verse 38. God saith to *Ierusalem* for their Idolatry, that he would judge her as women that breake wedlocke and shed blood are judged: he would give her blood in fury and jealousie. And this was the resolution of God himselfe against Israel, *Amos* 3.1,2. Heare the Word that the LORD hath spoken against you, O chil-

dren of Israel, saying, *You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you for all your iniquities.* And the same will be the judgement of the Christian Iezabel (howsoever Painims and Infidels speed) when Great Babylon shall come in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fiercenesse of his wrath. This I would have well considered and weighed by those whom the Mahumetan blasphemy hath so dazeled, that they can hardly beleieve that so hated and execrable a name of Babylon should belong unto any other, unlesse there be yet to come some other like barbarous Tyrant and seducer after them: the cause of which error is, That men have fancied another manner of Antichrist than the Holy Ghost meant of, and placed their eyes farre wide of the ground of Gods hatred, and of the nature of that mystery of abomination. But Israels Apostasie, Gods Jealousie, and their unparalleld punishment therefore, such as no Nation in the World, how Idolatrous soever, endured besides themselves, are in this case the only Polestarre to direct us.

But even this mistake, which is and hath been of the Mystery of iniquity, is it selfe a kind of Mystery, or not without one; for Antichrist is a Counter-Christ, and therefore his comming to be a counter-resemblance of the comming of Christ.

Christ was both to come, and accordingly looked for in the last times (that is) in the time of the fourth Kingdome of Daniel; so Antichrist and his mystery of impiety was to be, ἐν ὁσίοις χρόνοις, in the latter times of these last times, that is (as I shall better shew hereafter) in the last times or last Scene (as I may so speak) of the fourth Kingdome of Daniel. When Christ came the Scepter was to depart from Iudah, and that Common-wealth to be dissolved: so when Antichrist was to come, the Roman Empire was to fall, and He that hindered was to be taken out of the way, 2 Thessal. 2. 8. The Jewes expected Christ to come when

when he did come, and yet knew him not when he was come, because they had fancied the manner and quality of his coming like some temporall Monarch, with armed power, to subdue the earth before him : So the Christians, Gods second Israel, looked the coming of Antichrist should be at that time when he came indeed, and yet they knew him not when he was come, because they had fancied his coming as of some barbarous Tyrant, who should with armed power, not only persecute and destroy the Church of Christ, but almost the world, that is, they looked for such an Antichrist as the Jews looked for a Christ.

Wherefore as Christ came unto his owne, and his owne received him not ; so Antichrist came upon those who were not his own, and yet they eschewed him not : but yet as some Jews (though few) knew Christ when he came and received him ; so did some Christians (though but few) keep themselves from the pollution of Antichrist. Lastly, as the Jews ere long shall acknowledge and run unto him, whom they pierced as not knowing him ; so hath the Christian Church, for a great part, discovered that Son of perdition, whom a long time they had ignorantly worshipped, because they knew him not. *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of GOD, how unsearchable are his judgements, and his wayes past finding out !* But for our part, seeing our case is so like unto that of the Jews, let their lamentable and wofull error, in mistaking their Messiah by wrongly fancying him bee a warning and a caveat unto us, that we likewise upon like conceits and prejudice mistake and misdeem not the *Mans* of sinne.

T I N E X, *Some,*

NOW I come unto the second point, expressed in this description of the great *Apostasie*, viz. the Perions Revolters, they shall not be all, but *mes, some, mes ἀποστή- σουται*, some shall Apostatize: some, that is not, as we in our English do often use it, a few, but *some*, that is, *not all*, yet *some*, that is, so many as that the whole visible Church should be said therot to be Apostatized, so many as should like a cloud over-spread the face of the Christian firmament, in such sort, as the Starres and lights therein should not easily bee discerned. For the *great defection* so much prophesied of, was to be a *solemne and generall* one; such a one, as wherein the chiefest of the Churches, *honoured as a Mother in Israell*, should become a *Babylonish Whore*, a mother of Harlots, and of the abomination of the Earth, Revelations 17, such a one as whereby the *outmost court of the Temple of God*, should not only be prophaned, but trodden downe by *Gentilisme*, Revelations, 11. Such a one as the *WWorld* is said to wonder after the beast, and to worship him; And such a one as should not onely make warre with the Saints, but overcome them, Revelations 13. Otherwise, if our Apostle here, and Saint John there, should meane no more than the errors of some particular ones, and their revolt from the faith of the Church, they should make either no prophesie at all, or at the best, but a needlesse one.

For who knows not, that in S. Pauls, S. Johns, and the Apostles own times, were many Heresies and Heretickes, grown up as weeds in the wheat-field of Christ? but as yet the wheat overtopped them, and the visible body of the Church disclaimed them, If these had been the worst, the Church should looke for, the Apostles should seem to prophesie of things present, and not as they do, of things

to come, yea and more than this, they should foretell of a thing as proper and peculiar to the last times, which was no novelty in their own times.

We must take notice therefore that the Apostasie and corruption of faith so much prophecied of, was another manner of one than that which was so frequent in those first times; such a kind of one as should not be disclaimed by the visible body of the Church, but should surprize, eclipse, and overcloud the beautifull face thereof: which manner of defection never had been before, nor should there be the like after it.

Now that the word *many*, or *some*, iseth in Scripture to imply no small number, but only serves to intimate an exception of some particulars, though there were but two or three to be excepted, I will make manifest by a few examples, lest our English use might deceive us.

First, *John 6, 60. Many of the Disciples* (saith the Text) *when they heard this, said, This is an hard saying: and vers. 66. Many of his Disciples from that time went backe and walked no more with him;* Nevertheless concerning these many, Christ himselfe saith, *verse 64. εἰναι ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτις.* But there are some of you which heleeve not: here wee see that some is a great many: So *Romanes 11. Saint Paul* there saith of the rejection of the Jewes, *some of the branches are broken off;* Now what a some this was, appears in the same Chapter, when hee saith, *God hath included them all in unbeliefe, that hee might have mercy upon all:* but to search no further, *1 Corin. h. 10. Will store us with examples, as vers. 7. Neither be ye Idolaters, καὶ οὐκ ἰδωλολάτραι,* as some of them were, this was a great some, for *Moses* saith of it, *Exodus 32. 3. And all the people brake off their golden Earerings and brought them to Aaron:* In *verse 8. Neither let us commit fornication as some of them,* which were so many, *Numbers 25. 4. That the Lord said to Moses, Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord, that the fierce anger of the Lord may*
be

be turned away from Israel: and verse 5. it is said in generall, *And Israel joyned himselfe to Baal-Peor*: againe in the same Epistle verse 9. it is said, *Neither let us tempt Christ*, as some of them also tempted and were destroyed of Serpents: and verse 10. *Neither murmure* as some of them also murmured; this some was a great some indeed, even all the people, save Moses, Ioshua and Caleb; whereof is said, *Numb. 14. 1. And all the Congregation lifted up their voyce and wept*: and verse 2. *And all the Congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron, and the whole Congregation said unto them, would God that we had died*, &c. wherefore they were as largely punished, all of them dying in the wilderness, Ioshua and Caleb excepted These places of many will suffice, to shew that the word [some] in my Text, intends not to extenuate the number of Apostates, as implying they should be but few, but only shewes they should not bee all, for where the Apostates are but *mes*, some, there some also are not Apostates, but exempted from the common defecton, wherewith the rest were miserably overwhelmed.

The observation therefore which this *mes*, affords us, is, *That the true Church of Christ was never wholly extinguished, nor the light of his Gospell ever quite put out, no, not in the greatest darknesse that ever was to overwhelm it.* By the true Church of Christ I understand that holy society and company of beleevers, which as they accord and are joyned together in one common Faith of all Divine truths needfull to salvation, so are they also free from the fellowship of such erroneous abominations and mortal errors as destroy and overturne it. This is that society, whereof by the grace of Almighty God, we glory to be the members; this that society, which in the primitive times grew and flourished: this that society, which (when the times foretold of the Churches eclipse came, and the great Apostasie had over-spread the face thereof) was indeed much impaired, indangered, and obscured, but never

never was totally extinguished, but continued even under the jurisdiction of the *man of sinne*, yea in *Babylon* it selfe where he had this throne; for doth not Christ at length say? *Apoc. 18. 4. Come out of her my people*: how could they come out thence unlesse they had been there? or how shold Antichrist sit in the *Temple of God*, *2 Thes. 2. 9.* unlesse *Gods Temple* were even there where Antichrist sate? as a few living embers in a heape of dying ashes: as a little wheat in a field overgrowne with weeds: as the lights of the heaven in a firmament overcast with clouds. as a little pure gold in a great masse of drosse and mixed metall: such was the faithfull company of Christ in the Apostate body of Christendome, the *Virgin Church* in the midst of *Babylon*.

b Apoc. 14. 4.

But will our Adversaries say, this is not sufficient to make you the true Church of Christ, because some of you have alwayes been; but you must prove also that you have alwayes visibly been; for the true Catholick Church must not only never have been interrupted or extinguished, but it must have been a society visibly known unto the world. and not as embers in the ashes, but as a burning and shining flame.

But this objection deserves no answering: because our Adversaries, howsoever they would dissemble it, do but play upon the present advantage which they thinke their own Church hath in this point above ours: otherwise, when they forget the contention they have with us, and are in a calmer mood, they can be pleased to deliver other doctrine, which (if they would be ingenious so much as to remember it) we needed not such a stir about the point of the Churches visibility; for the difference between them and us hereabout, is not so great as they would make it seem: They themselves and the Fathers also teach, that when Antichrist commeth, the visibility of the Church shall be eclipsed: nay, they affirm more then we usually in that case require; for then they

I

say,

say the use of the Sacraments shall cease, no Eucharist, no Masse, no publick Assemblies, yea all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction shall be extinguished; but here lyes all the difference, they hold the glorious visibility of the true Church to have continued from the beginning unto this present, and the *overshadowing of the light*, and *eclipse of the glory* thereof under *Antichrist* to be yet to come; we on the contrary maintain, the *clouding of the Churches visibility* under the *man of sinne* to have been already, and *some part of the visible splendor* thereof to be yet to come: both agreeing in this, that in the *fatall Apostacy* the Churches *visibility* and *glory* should cease; but we say that the time hath been already, they say that it is yet to come; we say, that time of darknesse was to continue many ages, they say, when it comes it shall last but three single yeares and a halfe. Seeing therefore the whole controversie lyes in the point of time, whether the Churches fatall Apostasie be already past or yet to come, it would be much the shorter and quicker course both for them and us to decide this controversie, to examine the condition and quality of both religions by the holy Scripture, where we have also, as Saint Peter speakes, *a most sure Word of prophesie, Whereunto we shall doe well if we take heed, as to a light shining in a dark place.*

Now though this answer be sufficient enough for the objection of our Adversaries, yet for the better understanding and clearer insight into the matter questioned, we will further consider whether and in what manner or measure our Church may be said to have been visible, during the prevailing Apostasie, and in what respects again it was not visible, and in both agreeable unto the state of the true Church under the frequent Apostasies of the Church of Israel.

First therefore we must know that by a *visible Christian society* in this question is meant a *society or company of Christian-belevers* joyned together in one externall fellowship,

fellowship and communion of the same publick profession, and rule of faith, use of Sacraments, and Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction; for these make the outward form, and as it were the shape of a Church, whereby this society is discernable from other societies of men: so that a society by this outside severed and distinguished from other societies, is a society visible and conspicuous to other societies of men. The question therefore is, whether that holy society of beleevers before mentioned, who accorded together in one common faith with us of all divine truths needfull to salvation, and kept themselves free from such enormous abominations and mortall errors which we now disclaime, as utterly annihilating that common faith; whether such a society as this has been in all ages, joyned and distinguished by such a common outside from other companies, either of men in generall, or Christians in speciall? or in shorter, and perhaps plainer termes thus: whether the society of men of our Christian believe hath been in all ages for the outside a distinct ecclesiasticall corporation from other societies of men?

My answer is, That for the first ages it was so not only thus visible, but easily discernable from all other societies of men whatsoever; but afterward when the great Apostasie we spake of, surprized and deformed the beautifull Spouse of Christ, then was not that virgin company of Saints, our Mother, a distinct externall society from the rest of Christendome, but a part, yea and the only sound part of that externall and visible body whereof our adversaries boast their predecessours to have been members: for howsoever this our Virgin-mother, for the internall and invisible communion of her sincere and unstained faith, were a distinct and severed company from the rest with whom she lived, yet, for the common principles of the Christian faith still acknowledged in that corrupt body of Christendome, she retained communion

with them; and for the most part of that time of darknesse continued an externall part of the same visible body with the rest in grosse call'd Christians, as being begotten by the same Sacrament of Baptisme (as the Israelites in like case of Circumcision) taught in some part by the same word, and Pastours still continued amongst them, and submitting to the same jurisdiction and government, so farre as these or any of these had yet some soundnesse remaining in them; but for the rest which was not compatible with her sincere and untainted faith, and which annihilated in those it surprized, even those common grounds of Christianity otherwise outwardly professed, she with her children either wisely avoided all communion with it, or if they could not, then patiently suffered for their conscience sake under the hands of Tyrants, called Christians, untill that tyranny growing insupportable, and that mortall contagion unavoidable, it pleased God, lest we might have been as *Sodome and Gomorrah*, to begin to call us thence at the time appointed, unto a greater liberty, as we see this day. As therefore when a little gold is mixed with a great quantity of base and counterfeit metall, so that of both is made but one masse or lump; each metall we know still retains its nature diverse from the other, and yet outwardly and visibly is not to be discerned the one from the other, but both are seen together as they are outwardly one, but cannot be distinguished by the eye, as they are diverse and severall; the gold is visible as it is one masse, and under the same outside and figure with the rest, yet it is truly invisible as it is diverse from the rest: But when the Refiner comes and severs them, then will each metall appear in his own colours, and put on his own outside, & so become visible apart from the rest. Such is the case here, and such was the state and condition of the Church in the prevailing and great Apostasie; the purer metall of the Christian visible body outwardly was not discernable from the base and

and counterfeit, while one outside covered them, and so much the rather, because the Apostate part in a great proportion exceeding the sound, made it imperceptible; but when the time of refining came, then was our Church not first founded in the true faith (God forbid) but a part of the Christian body newly refined from such corruptions as time had gathered, even as *gold refined* begins not then first to be gold; though it begin but then to be *refined gold*.

Whatsoever we have hitherto spoken of the state of the true beleivers under the Apostasie of Antichrist, is the same which befell the true Israelites in the Apostasie of Israel. And doth not Saint *Peter* intimate that the Apostasie which should betide Christians should be like to that which we reade to have befallen Israel, 2 *Pet.* 2. 1. *There were (saith he) false Prophets also among the people (i.e. Israelites) even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.* If the Apostasie of Christians were to be of the same stamp with that of Israel, and the Heresies brought into Christendom by the false Doctors of *Babylon*, like unto those wherewith the false Prophets of Israel infected and poysoned the ancient people of God; surely we cannot find a better patterne whereby to know what was the estate and condition of the unstained Christian beleivers under that Apostasie of the man of sinne, than that which was of the true Israelites under the Apostasie of Israel: for the right understanding whereof we must alwayes remember, that the Israelitish Church did at no time altogether renounce the true and living God, not in their worst times, but in their owne conceit and profession acknowledged him still, and were called his people, and he their God, though they worshipped others beside him: so Christians in their Apostasie neither did nor were to make an absolute Apostasie from God the Father, and Christ their Redeemer, but in an

outward profession still to acknowledge him, and to be called Christians, though thy their idolatry and spiritual whoredoms they denied the Lord that bought them (i. e.) whom they profess to be their Redeemer; just as Israel for the like is said to have forsaken the Lord their God that brought them out of the Land of Egypt: here therefore the case of both is alike, let us also see the rest. You ask, where was the true Church we speak of in Antichrist's time? I ask likewise, where was the company of true worshippers in Ahab's time? was it not so covered and scattered under the Apostate Israelites, that Elias himself, who was one of it, could scarce find it? *I am very jealous (saith he) for the Lord God of hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken thy Covenant, throwne downe thy Altars, and slaine thy Prophets with the sword, and I, even I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it away, 1 Kings 19. 14.* Yet the Lord tells him, verse 18. *I have yet left me 7000. in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him:* Yet I trow these 7000. were not outwardly severed from the rest of Israel, but remained still externall members of the same visible body with them. But you will except, that the true and unstained Church in Judah was still visible and apparent: I aske you then, where was the company of the true worshippers of Jehovah in Manasses time, the worst time of all others? when the ten Tribes were carried captive, and but Judah and Benjamin only left, and they, as far as the eye of man can see, wholly and generally fallen from the Lord their God to all manner of Idols and Idolatries, like unto the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel, when in the Temple it selfe, the only place where the true God was to be worshipt legally, were Idolatrous Altars erected, even in the house whereof the Lord had said, *In this house and in Jerusalem Will I put my name for ever; even in this house, this holy house,*

2 Chron. 33.

house, were Idols and graven Images erected, & in both Courts Altars to *Baalim*, the Sunne, the Moone, and the whole hoast of heaven, the like whereof never had been untill that time. Besides also, who is able to name the man almost 50 years together that remajned a faithfull servant and true worshipper of the living God in the midst of this hideous profanation? nor is it easie to be conceived how it was possible all that time to offer any legall sacrifice without Idolatry, when Gods own Temple and house was made a den of Idols, nay his Altar, the onely Altar of Israel destroyed, to make room for Altars erected to Idols, as may be gathered 2 *Chron.* 33. 15. 16. where was the true Church of Israel now? or had the Lord no Church at all? yes certainly, he had a Church and a company which defiled not their garments, a company (I say) but not visibly distinguished from the rest of the ir nation, but hidden as it were in the midst of that Apostate body, and yet knowne together with the rest to be Israelites and people of *Jehovah*; but known to God only and themselves to be true Israelites and faithfull servants to *Jehovah* their God. And that such a company there was, & a strong party too, though not seen, appeared presently upon the death of *Manasses* and his wicked son, when *Iosiah* began to reign at eight years of age. for they then prevailed even in the Court it selfe, and so brought up the King, that even yet while he was young, in the eighth year of his reign, he began to seek after the Lord God of *David* his father, and in the twelfth year to make a publick and powerfull reformation, such as the like was never done before him. Could all this have bin done so soon, and by a King so young in years, and to carry all before it like a torrent, unlesse there had been a strong party, which now having a King for them, began quickly to shew themselves, and to sway the state, though before they were hardly to be seene.

When

When therefore our adversaries ask us where our Church was before *Luther*, we see by this what we have to answer.

OF the two first particulars of the foure, whereby the great *Apostasie* of Christian beleevvers is here deciphered, I have spoken sufficiently; viz. first, for the kind and quality thereof, it should be a new *Doctrine of Damons*: secondly, that for the persons revolting, they should not be all, but some. Now I am to speak of the third, the time when, ἐν ὑστέροις χρόνοις, in the latter times.

For the easier understanding whereof, we must know that speeches of *last times* in Scripture mean sometimes a continuation or length of time, sometimes an end of time: A continuation of time I mean, as when we say the winter is the last time or season of the year, or old age the latter time of life, neither of them being the very end, but a space of time next the end, which therefore, in respect of some whole systeme of time, whereof it is the last part, is truly termed the last time thereof. Mans life is a systeme of divers ages, the last space whercof is the last time of life. The year is a systeme of foure seasons, and therefore the last season thereof, winter, may be called the last time of the year. But by an end of time, I mean the very expiring of time, as the last day of December is the end or last time of the year; the moment when a man dyes, is the last time, i.e. the end of his life. Now in the new Testament, when by mention of *last time* is meant an end or terminus temporis, I observe it to be exprest in the singular number, as ἐν ἡμέρᾳ being four times mentioned in the sixth of *Iohn*, and once in the eleventh, is in every one of them meant of the day of the resurrection at the end of the world; I will raise him up, saith our Saviour, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. in the last day, *Iohn* 6. 39, 40, 44, 54. And Martha of her brother *Lazarus*, I know (saith she) he shall rise again in the resurrection, ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

ἡμέρα, at the last day, *Ioh. 11. 24.* So *1 Pet. 1. 5.* ἐξαρθῇ κληρονομία, the last time, is used in the selfe same sense, being spoken of the incorruptible inheritance reserved in heaven, and to bee revealed (saith the Apostle) ἐν χρόνῳ ἐσχάτῳ, in the last time; in all which is meant the end of the world. But in *1 Iohn 2 18.* we have ἐσχάτη ὥρα, the last houre; Little children it is the last houre, where no doubt he meaneth an end of some time, but not an end of the world, which was then a far off; but an end of their time, to whom he then wrote his Epistle (*i.e.*) an end of the Jewish state and religion, which was then at the very doore: which exposition I will make more plain hereafter.

But when a continuation or longer space of time is signified, then I find the plurall number to be used, as *1 Pet. 1. 20.* of the Incarnation of Christ it is said, that hee was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was made manifest ἐν ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων, in the last times, which times have continued these 1600 yeares at the least: So *Heb. 1. 2.* God (saith *S. Paul*) ἐν ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, in these last dayes hath spoken unto us by his Son: and *2 Tim. 3. 1.* This know also ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, that in the last dayes perillous times shall come. Againe, *Acts 2. 17.* In the last dayes I will poure out my Spirit upon all flesh; and in *2 Per. 3. 3* ἐν ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, in the last dayes shall come scoffers. And so in my Text, ἐν ὑστεροῖς χρόνοις, In the latter times some shall revolt from the faith, and give heed to doctrines of Demons,

Whatsoever the validity of this observation be, for the rest I make no question but it will bee granted, that ὑστεροὶ χρόνοι, in my Text meanes some continued space of time, and not *terminus temporis*, or the very end of time: which therefore presupposed, I approach one step neerer, laying this for a second ground of our discovery, that these ὑστεροὶ χρόνοι, whereof Saint Paul speakes and meanes, were times not then present, but afterward to come; for the words of the Text are not a narration of things present, but a

prediction (as I have already admoished) of what should befall the Christian faith in after times, yet notwithstanding were the *times* wherein Saint Paul lived, and all the *times* of Christianity, the *last times*, and so stiled in Scripture even by our Apostle himselfe, as by some of the fore-cited examples evidently appeareth: wherefore it must needs follow, that *times* here meant and mentioned in my Text, are not the *last times* in generall and simply, but the *last times* in speciall and comparatively, that is, the *latter times* of the *last times*: That as the *last times* in generall were the *times* wherein CHRIST the Sonne of righteousness was to be revealed, and his Kingdome founded in the World; so the *latter times* of these *last times* should be the *times* wherein the Apostasie of the Christian faith should prevail, and that wicked one usurp the throne of Christ.

Before therefore that we can know what are the *last times* comparatively (i.e.) the *latter times*, or the *last* of the *last*, we must first understand, what are the *last times* simply and in generall, why so called, where reckoned, and how limited; for then will these *latter times* in my Text, which are the *last part* of them, bee easily found, and in a manner demonstrated.

As for the *last times* therefore in generall, most use to describe them only thus, to be the times of the Kingdome of CHRIST which began at his passion to continue to the end of the World, which in respect that it succedes the legall worship, and no other shall succeed, it is therefore the *last time*. In like manner the *deepest times*, allotted to the man of sinne are (as I take it) usually no otherwise described, than to be the times wherein the Apostasie should appear, which in that it should immediately preceede the second coming of CHRIST, is therefore to be esteemed the *last times* of all; but these descriptions are *obscurum per magis obscurum*, they do declare an obscure thing by that which was and is more obscure than it, and therefore

Targ. Ecclef.
i. 11. ex-
pounds, In no-
vissimis die-
bus Regis
Christi.

fore come short of making good the intent of the Holy Ghost in his so often mention of the *last times*, especially in the New Testament; for the *last times* of *fulnesse of time* were both a ground of the Jewes expectation of CHRIST when he came, and are without doubt so often propounded and alledged by the Apostle for a confirmation of the truth of his coming: but if the *last times* could not bee knowne but by his coming, how should his coming bee knowne by them? So also the Holy Ghost in my Text mentions these *ἑσχατα καιροῦ*, for an argument or signe of the Apostasie to fall out therein, or for a note or marke of time wherein we should looke for it, and therefore as fore-warned beware of being carried away in that defection, but if these times cannot be known nor described any other way than by the defection to fall out in them, we should be never a whit the nearer, and this mark of time which the Holy Ghost gives us would stand us in no stead at all.

ἑσχατα καιροῦ
1 Tim. 2. 6.

Let us therefore now take this as a truth to bee supposed, that the times are set out unto us to be as marks to informe us when that should come to passe which was to fall out in them, and not the things which were to befall, intended for signes to know the times by; and therefore wee are not to doubt but that the Holy Ghost hath somewhere else, by some other marks and grounds of computation, made known unto us when to reckon *both the last times*, wherein was foretold that Christ should be anointed, and these *last or some of them* wherein the Christian Apostasie should be revealed, that so we might have a sure believe in the one, and a certain and sufficient marke when to beware of the other.

The profanation of the legall Sanctuary, and trampling downe the holy people by *Antiochus Epiphanes* was marked out in *Daniels* prophesie by the like circumstance and determination of time, as is this Apostasie here in our Apostles prediction, *Dan. 8. 23. In the latter time, or in the*

כחמיר
מלכות
LXX. א"י עג-
תו ו' עאחאס
אדפד.

latter end of the Kingdom of Grecia, a King of a fierce countenance shall stand up, viz. Hee who should magnifie himselfe against the Prince of the Hoast of Heaven, and take away the daily Sacrifice, &c. as it is in the vision which was foretewed of him, Verse 10. 11. where it would be preposterous to think, that this latter time or end of the Grecks kingdom could not be defined otherwise than by the event to fall out therein, and not rather conceive that this determination of time, being such as might otherwise well enough be knowne, was therefore intended for a character to observe the event by. For when was this latter end of the Greekes Kingdome to be taken notice of, but then when they should see that Kingdome begin to bee given another people? when the fourth Kingdome, the Romane state, should once begin to encroach upon the third, especially when they should see the head Province thereof, Greece it selfe to come under their obedience: when they should see this, then were they to prepare themselves for the *abomination of desolation* that was now at the door. And surely the event was most punctuall; for this Roman encroachment, having been for 28 years together attempting manifestly and advancing, was at length accomplished, when *Emilius* the Coniull having quite vanquished *Perseus* the King of *Macedon*, all Greece came under the Romane obedience, 166 yeares afore the birth of Christ; which no sooner was come to passe, but the very selfe same yeare, within lesse than three moneths after, *Antiochus* sets up the *abomination of desolation* in the Temple of *Ierusalem*. Why should wee not then beleieve that the Holy Ghost intendeth here to give us as sure a watch-word, when to beware of the man of sinne, by this circumstance of *latter times* here in my Text, as we see he gave the Jews to looke for the persecution and prophana-tion by *Antiochus*.

Therefore without any more preambles, I come now directly to resolve what was before propounded, viz. what is

is

is meant by last times in generall, whence and how we are to reckon them; and then in the second place what are these *times* *times*, in my Text, which must be, as I said before, a latter part of that generall,

For the true account therefore of times in Scripture, wee must have recourse to that SACRED KALENDAR and GREAT ALMANACK of PROPHEsie, the foure Kingdomes of Daniel, which are a *Prophetickall Chronology* of times measured by the succession of foure principall Kingdomes, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel. untill the mysterie of God should bee finished; a course of time during which the Church and Nation of the Jewes, together with those whom by occasion of their unbeleeffe in CHRIST, GOD should surrogate in their roomes, was to remaine under the bondage of the Gentiles, and oppression of Gentilisme; but these times once finished, all the Kingdomes of this World should become the Kingdome of our Lord and his CHRIST. And to this Great Kalendar of times, together with that other lesser Kalendar of 70 weekes, all mention of times in Scripture seemes to have reference. Now these foure Kingdomes, according to the truth infallibly to be demonstrated if need were, and agreeable both to the ancient opinion of the Jewish Church whom they most concerned, and to the most ancient and universall opinions of Christians derived from the times of the Apostles (untill now of late time some have questioned it) are, 1 The Babylonian. 2 That of the Medes and Persians. 3 The Greekes. 4 The Romans. In which quaternary of Kingdomes, as the Romans, being the last of the foure, is the last Kingdome, so are the times thereof these last times we seeke for, during which times saith Daniel, cap. 2. v. 44. The God of Heaven shall set up a Kingdome which shall never bee destroyed, nor left unto another people, but it shall breake in pieces, and consume all those Kingdomes, and it shall stand for ever: which is figured

K 3

by

a Vide Targ.
Habac. 3. 17.
b Vide Cyril.
Hieros. 22. 1. 1.
p. 337. &
Hieron. locum
infra citatum.

by a stone hewen out of the mountain without hands, before the times of the Image were yet spent : which stone at length smote the Image upon his feet of Iron and Clay, and so utterly destroyed it; that done, the stone that smote the Image upon the feet became a great mountaine, and filled the whole earth : the meaning of all which is, that in the *last times*, or under the *times of the last Kingdome*, (the Romane) should the *Kingdome of CHRIST* appeare in the World, as we see it hath done; and this is that which the Apostle saith, Hebrews 1.2. *God in these last dayes, or last times, hath spoken to us by his Sonne* : and Saint Peter 1 Epist. 1. 20. that hee was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifested in these last times. This is that fulnesse of time whereof the Apostle speakes, Galath. 4.4. *When the fulnesse of time was come, God sent forth his Sonne made of a woman* : and Ephes. chap. 1. v. 10. *Having made knowne to us the mystery of his will, that in the dispensation of the fulnesse of times, hee might gather together in one all things in Christ.*

Agreeable unto all which is that, Hebrews 9. 26. *Christ hath once appeared, ὅτι συντεταγμένον ἔστιν αἰώνιον, in the end of times, or ages, to put away sinne by the Sacrifice of himselfe* : where these *last times*, *fulnesse of time*, and *conclusion of ages*, are nothing else but the *times of the fourth Kingdome*, whose times are the last period of *Danicks sourse*, the fulnesse of the propheticall Chronology, and conclusion of the *sacred Kalendar*: during these times, Christ was looked for, and accordingly came, and reigned; whose Kingdome shall at length abolish the brutish remainder of the Romane state, according to the other part of the prophesie, when the fulnesse of the Gentiles shall come in, and our Lord subdue all his enemies under his feet, and at the last death it selfe.

Having thus found what times are termed the *last times* in general, let us now see if we can discover which are the *latter times of these last times*, or the *last times* in speciall, which

Add here that
of Christ him-
selfe, Mar. 1.
15, The time
is fulfilled,
and the king-
dome of God
is at hand.
Huc quoque
pertinet illud,
1 Tim. 2. 6.
ὑποταξάμενος
τοῖς ἰσχύουσιν.

which are these *ἑσπερά ἡμέραι*, in my Text: which will not be hard to do; for if the *last times* in generall are all the times of the *fourth Kingdome*, then must our *latter times* as a part thereof needs be the latter times of that Kingdome. Let us therefore againe to our *Prophetickall Kalendar*, and survey Daniels description of the fourth or Roman Kingdome, as it is *Chapter 7* from *verse 29.* where wee shall finde the latter times thereof to be that period of a *time, times and halfe a time*, during which that prodigious *Starre* with eyes like a man, and mouth speaking great things, should make warre with the Saints, prevails against them, and wreake them out, and thinke to change times and lawes, untill the judgement should sit, and his dominions be taken away; and in him that long-lived Beast finally be destroyed, and his body given to the burning flame, *verse 11.* for this *Horrible soveraigny* is the last Scene of that long Tragedy, and the conclusion of the fourth Beast, and therefore the times thereof are these *ἑσπερά ἡμέραι*, whereof the Spirit speaks expressly, that in them there should be an *Apostasie* from the Christian faith.

ἡμέραι, ἡμέραι, ἡμέραι
ἡμέραι ἡμέραι.

Concerning these times thus found, we will now further enquire; First, What durance they may be of: Secondly, When they take beginning, and by what marke their beginning may be knowne. For the first, we will make no question but these are the selfe same times whereof Saint Iohn speaks, telling us the Church should bee in the wilderness a *Time, Times, and halfe a Time*; the same with those two and forty moneths, wherein Iohn restored least should domineere, and play the selfe-same reax which Daniels hornish tyrant doth, the same time with those two and forty months during which the Church is troden down of the Gentiles: lastly, the same times with 1260 dayes, during which the witnesses of Christ prophesied in sackcloth; for a *time, times, and halfe a time*; or a yeare, two yeares, and halfe, are two and forty moneths, and two and forty months make 1260 dayes: if therefore wee can finde the

the beginning and continuance of any of these, we have found the beginning and continuance of them all. For the *duration* and *length* of them, they must imply some *definitive times*, because the Scripture followes that use of speech, and useth no number indefinitely, but those which the use of speech had made such, as 1. 10. 1000. but mixt and compound numbers, as these are 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 42. 1260. are neither in Hebrew, nor I think in any other language used indefinitely.

Our adversaries would have them literally understood for *three single yeares and a halfe*, as though it were an *History*, and not a *Prophecie*: but besides the use of the Prophecie to reckon dayes for yeares, I think it would trouble any man to conceive how so many things as should be performed in this time, should be done in three single yeares and a halfe. 1 Ten Kingdomes founded at the same time with the Beast, 2 Peoples, and multitudes of Nations and tongues to serve and obey him. 3 To make warre with the Saints and overcome them. 4 To cause all that dwell upon the Earth to worship him. 5 *Babylon* to ride the Beast so long, that all Nations shall drinke of the wine of her fornication, the Kings of the earth commit fornication with her, yea the Merchants and all those that had ships in the Sea. to grow rich by trading with her. Mee thinkes all this should aske much more than three yeares works, or soure either. To which I adde moreover, that that state of government, sovereignty or signiory, or what you will, of the Beast, under which the whore should ride him, followed immediately upon a former, which in comparison is said to last but a *short space*, Revelations 17. 10. But if the Antichristian state should continue but *three yeares and a halfe* literally taken, how short must the time of that foregoing King or sovereignty bee which should occasion the Holy Ghost to insert so singular a note of the difference thereof from that which followed, that it should *continue but a short space*: doth not this imply, that the

the next state wherein the whore should ride the beast, was to continue a long space: therefore 3. years & a half historically taken, cannot be the time of the Churches Apostasie, and the Antichristian sovereignty of Rome: and if it cannot be taken historically, it must be taken prophetically, every day for a year; & so 1260 dayes counted so many yeares shewes the extent of those *vissegi xxi* to be 1260. yeares.

Now the second thing propoted, the beginning of these *vissegi xxi*; Saint John tells us in the Revelation, that this blasphemous beast of 42 moneths continuance should succeed upon the mortall wound of the *Casarian* or Imperiall sovereignty of Rome, and *Apoc. 17.* the Idolatrous Beast which carries the great Whore upon his backe, should have a plurality of Kings start up at the same time with him, who should agree to submit their power and kingdome unto this Whore-ridden Beast; and would not hee also in the same Chapter have us take notice, that the Antichristian state of the Beast which was to come, should be next to that of the *Casars*, which then reigned? for the Angel there tells him, that that state of the beast, wherein the whore should ride him, which was then not in being, but should afterward ascend out of the bottomlesse pit, and goe into perdition: that this state or head of the beast should succeed so immediately upon the sixth state or head, viz. the *Casarian* then reigning, that howsoever in some respects it might be called an eighth, yet should it in very deed be but the 7th. For how could it be otherwise when the Beast in the vision hath but seven heads and no more? *vide ver. 8. 10. 11.* Agreeable to this is Saint Pauls Epocha, 2 *Thef. 2. 7.* who tells us, that as soon as the Imperiall sovereignty of Rome, which then hindred, should be taken out of the way, then should *that wicked one be revealed*: * thus the Fathers generally expound it. Hence was the custome in the Church, in the most ancient times of it, to pray in their Lyturgy for the lasting of the Roman Empire; that

L

*Tertul. de re-
surrect. c. 24.
Ambros. com-
ment. in hunc
locum Hieron.
q. 11. ad Algasi-
um. & presat
in l. 8. comment.
in Ez. 4. Chry-
sost. comment.
in hunc locum:
Aug. l. 19. c. 20.
de Civ. Dei, sed
non tam asseve-
rantur ut ceteri:
Cyrillus Hiero-
soly. ad Alex.

so

so Antichrist might bee long a comming. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 32. & 39. Ad Scap. c. 2.* Upon this ground Saint *Jerome*, when he heard of the taking of Rome by *Alaricus* the Goth, presently expected the comming of Antichrist, *Ad Ageruchiam de Monogamia; Qui tenebat* (saith he) *de medio fit, & non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare.* Idem præfat: l. 8. Comment in Ezek. *Pascitur animus, & obliuiscitur sæculi calamitatum, quod in extremo sine jam positum congemiscit, & parturit, donec qui tenet de medio fiat, & pedes statue quondam ferrei fragilitate digitorum scilicet conterantur: Cadit mundus, & Cervix erecta non flectitur. &c.* Thus he. *Postquam clarissimum terrarum omnium Lumen extinctum est, imo Romani Imperii truncatum caput, & in una urbe totus orbis interiiit,* as he elsewhere deplores that wofull calamity, *7. ref. l. 1. Comment. in Ezech. Answerable to that which Saint John told us; Daniels Calender also informes: s that the hornish Tyrant who was to act the ὕψιστος βασις, should then begin to appeare; when ten Kings should arise in the fourth kingdome. for the ten hornes which at last hee layed upon the beasts head, and observed a little horne with eyes and a mouth to spring up amongst them & displant three of them v. 8 the Angel v. 24. expounds to be ten Kings which should arise out of that kingdome. and another, to wit Antichrist should arise * behind them, so it should be translated as the 70 doth ὀπίσσω αὐτῶν, which should be diverse from the first; (that is, a King of another nature) and should bring downe or humble three Kings, and play those reax which follow in the Text. Thus the Iathers universally and from the utmost antiquity expound this Scripture: *Iust. Mart. Dialog. cum Tryphone* takes it for granted that this horne is ὁ ἡγεμόνας ἀντιχρίστου, *144 iniqua in nos Christianos audebit. Irenæus schollar to Polycarp. l. 5. c. 21. aliis 25, saith Daniel novissimi regni finem respiciens, id est, novissimos decem reges, in quo divideretur regnum illorū, super quos filius perditionis veniet**

CORONA

* Chald
אחריהם

יהי פניו
סב

Kalg humilia-
bit. 1 xx. 74
מיומיו יר-
דנו, de ninc-
rabit, vel, (ut
in alio exem-
plari) dehono-
rabit; Vatab
opprimet, luti-
us, deprimet.

cornua dicit decem nasci bestia, &c. Yea a little after he tells us, that Saint Iohn in his ten Kings which should receive their kingdoms at one houre with the Beast, expounds this of Daniel, *Manifestum adhuc de novissimo tempore & de his qui sunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium; significavit Iohannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi edisserens qua fuerint decem cornua qua à Daniele visa sunt, &c.* Nay Saint Jerome in his Comment upon this seventh chapter of Daniel will give us to understand, that all the Ecclesiasticall Writers delivered this to be the true exposition; for having there confuted *Porphyrie*, who to derogate from the divinity of this prophesie would have it meant of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and therefore written when the event was past: he concludeth thus. *Ergo dicamus quod omnes Scriptores Ecclesiastici tradiderunt in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant, & undecimum surrecturum esse Regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit, in quo totus Sathanus habiturus sit corporaliter.* Who these three Kings were which this horne displanted to make himselfe elbow-rooms, you shall heare more anon: but I will not conceale what I have heard of another exposition, which fits our turne for the beginning of the Apostasie no lesse than that of the Fathers; namely, that by ten Kingdomes may be meant the full plurality of the Romane Provinces, so much whereof as three is of ten should have the Imperiall power rooted out of them, and fall under the Dominion of the Antichristian Horne, who should act the sovereignty of the latter times, or the last sovereignty of that kingdom. Now it is most true that the Popes Patriarchdome in the West holds just that scantling of the ancient Territory of the Roman Empire, which a man may judge by his eyes, or compasses in a Mapp: and yet I preferre the other exposition before it.

To come up to an issue : It is apparent by all that hath bin said, that these *times* with that wicked sovereignty which should domineer in them, was to take beginning from the wound, the fall, the ruine, the rending in pieces, or rooting up of the Imperiall sovereignty of the City of *Rome*, when that City should cease to bee the Lap of that sovereignty which the *Cæsars* once held over the Nations; and many new upstart Kings should appeare in the place and Territory of that once one Empire; then should the Apostasie be leene, and the *latter times* with that wicked one make their entrance. Now in what age this fell out, I thinke no man can be ignorant, who hath but a little skill in History.

But you will say, The imperiall sovereignty of old *Rome* fell not all at once, but had divers steps and degrees of ruine, so that the doubt will be notwithstanding, from which of these steps of the fall thereof these *latter times* must be reckoned?

I answer, From any of them. For as the Imperiall sovereignty fell by degrees, so the Apostasie under the latestmost sovereignty grew up also by degrees; and for every degree which the ruinous Empire decayed; was the rising sonne of perdition a degree advanced. Secondly, all the maine and evident degrees of the Empires ruine fell in the compasse of an age, and the knowledge and observation of that age onely, within which the times of this fall were comprehended, was sufficient both to warne them which then lived, that that which was to come, was then a coming, and to informe us who now live, that it is already come.

Now which were these maine and evident degrees of the Empires falling, and at what time, I will tell you as soone as I have removed an usuall mistake in this business, which is to reckon the time of the Empires ruine, and so likewise the Apostasie attending, onely from the *beginning* or full height thereof; but this is too much against reason, and

and not agreeable to the course we otherwise use in the like : for as when we reckon the age of a man, we reckon not from the time since he came to mans estate, but from his birth ; so should we doe here for the times of the man of sinne : I say not, we should begin to count his age from his conception, for that we use not in other things ; but from the time he was *editus in lucem*, when he first began to appeare in the world : and so likewise the fall of the Empire and the Apostasie, not from the time they were consummate, but from the time they first evidently appeared ; as therefore I hold their opinion the best and most agreeable to truth, who begin the 70. yeares of the Jewish captivity in Babylon, not from the consummation thereof under *Zedekiah*, when the City and Temple were utterly rased, for that is impossible, there being not * 60. yeares in all between the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the last of *Cyrus* ; but from the beginning thereof under *Ichojachim*, eighteen yeares before, or at the most but from *Ichojakim*. So are these *vagos xai* of the Romane state to begin when the Empire first began to fall, and not when it was utterly rooted up. Take for another example. that computation of the time allotted to the calamity of the Jewes under *Antiochus*, which I rather alledge, becaue he is commonly counted for a type of Antichrist : the beginning of that 2300. *evenings and mornings*, or six yeares, or somewhat more than a quarter, which that calamity was to continue, from the beginning thereof, untill the Temple should againe be cleansed, *Dan. 8. 13, 14.* was not to be reckoned from the height thereof, when the daily sacrifice should be taken away (for thence it is but three yeares, 1 *Mac. 1. 54. &c.* with *c. 4. 52.*) but from the beginning of the transgression which occasioned this desolation, and is described 1 *Mac. 1. 11. &c.* so likewise the end of the kingdom of the Greekes, wherein this calamity was to happen, is not to be counted onely then when *Emilius* the Consul had

* As infallible appears in that long wanting Mathematicall Canon of *Ptolemy*, now of late brought to light out of one of our Libraries.

Bellum Macedonicum secundum.

quite finished the conquest of *Macedon* (for this points out onely the height of that calamity) but from the beginning of the last fatall * warre which put an end to that kingdome; which was about some three yeares and an halfe before, and jumps with the beginning of the transgression of desolation, as the finishing of the conquest doth with the taking away of the daily sacrifice.

But leaving this, let us returne againe and see which were these *maine* and *evident degrees* of the Empires downfall, and when they fell; which I suppose may not unfitly bee sampled by those of the Babylonish captivity. As therefore the Babylonish captivity had three steps or degrees, the first in the daies of *Iohojakim*, when *Daniel* went captive; the second under *Iohojachim* or *Iechonias*, when *Ezechiel* went captaine; the last under *Zedekiah*, when the Temple and City were wholly razed and consumed: so (omitting the Politicall change under *Constantine*) the chiefe and principall moments of the ruine of the Empire by the sword (and by the sword the Beast had his deadly wound, *Apoc.* 13. 14.) may fitly be reduced unto three.

I The first was presently after the death of *Julian*, the last of heathen Emperours, about the yeare 365. ominously marked with that universall, stupendious, and never but then sampled earthquake, (a) whereby the waters of the Sea were rolled out of their channels, and left ships hanging upon the tops of houses. From this time forwards all the nations on every side seeme as it were with one consent to have conspired the ruine of the Empire. (b) Now that terrible and fatall storme of the nations of the North, *Almaunes, Sarmatians, Quades, Picts, Scots,*

(1) *Annian.*

Marcel. lib. 2. 6.

6. 31. Horrendi

terrores per

orbem

ambitum gra-

fati sunt subi-

to, quales nec

fabulæ nec ve-

ridicæ nobis antiquitates exponunt, &c. *Hieron. in vita Hilariensis.*

(b) Hoc tem-

pore velut per universum Orbem Romanum canentibus buccinis, excitæ gentes (ævis-

simæ, limites sibi proximos pertulabant, Gallias, Rhetiasque, simul Alemanni popu-

labantur; Sarmatæ, Pannonias, & Quadi, Picti, Saxones, & Scoti, & Attacotti

Britannos, ætænis vexaverunt continuis: Thracias diripiebant prædatorii Globi

Gothorum, &c. *Annian. ibid. cap. 20.*

and

and Saxons, especially the *Goths*, began to breake in upon it almost without intermission, harrying, burning, waisting, destroying the most part of the provinces thereof almost for (c) 45. yeares together. And to mend the matter, the *Goths* loone after their comming were admitted as Inhabitants, and dispersed as free Denizens into the bowels and heart of the Empire, advanced to bee commanders, and bore the greatest sway in their Armies. (b) By which fatall errorr the Empire received her baile, and the Romanes were no longer masters of their owne strength, which they quickly and often repented; but even that cost them deare, when they had indeed eyes to see it, but never ability to mend it. This was the first degree of the Empires ruine.

(c) Hier. ep. 3.
Ante annum
400 viginti &
eo amplius an-
ni sunt quò
inter Constanti-
nopolin & Alpe-
nias quot die
Romanus san-
guis effundi-
t. r. Sev. hian,
Thraciam, M-
cedoniam, D-
aciam, Dardani-
am, Thessalo-

nicam, Achaiam, Epiros, Doliariam, cunctasque Pannonias, Gothus, Sarmatae, Quadi, Alani, Hunni, Vandal, Marcomanni vastant, rapiunt, Romanus orbis cecidit. Quid putas nunc animi habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedaemonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Graeciam, quibus imperant Barbari? (d) Synesius Orat. ad Arcadium August. Quomodo enim in ferre possumus partes viriles, in nostr. Republica, alienorum & externorum esse, & frustillum Imperium concedere aliis bellicae gloriae principum? neque enim dubitandum est fore, ut illi aliquando armis in usum hominum urbanorum se Dominos esse velint. Quod priusquam eveniat, revocandi sunt nobis Romanorum animi, & ita alluciaciendi, ut ipsi suo Marte vincere & possint & velint: nec omnino societatem cum barbaris ineant, sed eos omnes despiciant, omnique loco funditis pellant. Primum igitur Magistratui ejiciantur, & prius est Civitate honoribus arceantur quibus per summum dedecus ea obtulerunt quae diu apud Romanos habitata sunt. & re ipsa fuerunt apud eos honestissima: Nam & Deam Thymidem, quae Senatus, & Bellonam, quae exercitus praesidet, obvelare se arbitror, cum cernent hominem penulam scortum indutum ducem esse chlamydatorum, & villo an penulam exuientem, togam sumere, & de summa rerum cum Romano Magistratu consulere, proprium consulem sedentem, longè post eum sedentibus iis, quibus honores ille jure optimo debebar. Paulo post. Apud nos Exercitus magni sunt, nostrisque servis Scythis sanguine conjuncti, qui nescio quo infelici fato in Romanum Imperium irruerunt, illi suos duces habent magnae auctoritatis viros non solum apud eos ipsos, sed etiam apud nos, quod malum nostra dedit socordia nobis. Paulo post de Theodosio Ille supplicantes (scilicet Gothos) erexit, & belli socios ascrivit, & civitate donavit, & omnium bonorum participes fecit, & partem Romani agri iis attribuit: At illi quod pater tuus mitem se iis praeiit, nos in hunc usque diem derident, sed id prius facerat Valens, Anno 374. (Vide Secretam Hb. 4. cap. 37.) De quo sic Paulus Diaconus Hist. Miscell. li. 2. cap. 14. Hunos, Gothos, transiit

transito danubio, fugientes à *Valente* sine ulla fœderis pactione suscepti sunt, tribuens eis terras Thraciam ad habitandum, arburatus præparatum solatium ab eis habere contra omnes barbaros; hæc pro re Milites de cætero negligebat, & eos qui deditum contra hostes elaboraverint, Imperator despicibat, &c. — Hoc ergo fuit initium, ut in illo tempore Romana Respublica calamitatibus fœderetur. Barbari namque cum Thracias tenuissent, licenter Romanorum vallabant provincias, &c.

2 The second was about the year 410. when *Alaricus* the Goth sacked *Rome* it selfe, the Lady of the world, when, as *Saint Jerome* saith, *Capiebatur urbs que totum cepit orbem, imo fame periit antequam gladio, & vix pauci qui caperentur inventi sunt.* And from this very yeare the plurality of Kings foretold of, began to come upon the stage; five or sixe new kingdomes presently appeared within the Territories of the Empire, of the *Goths*, of the *Burgundians*, and though somewhat latter, of the *Franks* in *Gallia*, of the *Suevians* and *Alans*, and of the *Vandals* in *Spain*, and, as *Sigonius* thinks, of the *Huns* in *Pannonia*: certainly they could not be much later than this very yeare. But this number of Kings wee will leave till they be better increased, as continually they did. And thus you see the second degree of the ruine of the Empire.

3 The third was about the year 455. presently upon the death of the third *Valentinian*, the last (as *Sleidan* well observed) of the Emperours of the West, and consequently of the ancient *Rome*; then when *Genfericus* the *Vandal* tooke the City now the second time, fired it, and spoiled it of all the goodly and glorious ornaments which *Alaricus* had spared, amongst which were the golden and silver vessels of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, *brought thi-

* *Paulus Diaconus* Hist. Misc. prout ex codice Palatino edidit

Imus Græterus. Quatuordecim interim dies securâ & liberâ direptione omnibus opibus suis & miraculis *Roma* vacuata est. In quibus erant Ecclesiastica æquidna tot ex auro & lapidibus preciosis ornata, & vasa Hebraica quæ *Titus Vespasianus* filius post captivitatem Hierosolymitarum *Romam* detulerat; multaque millia captivorum. — Cum regina *Eudoxia* quæ *Genfericus* ad hoc facinus invitaverat, duabusque ejus filiabus, *Carthaginem* abducta sunt,

ther

ther by *Titus* : All which, with an innumerable multitude of Roman captives, hee carried away with him. Now was the prediction which *Varro* reports that *Vettius Valens* the Augur made of 12 Vulturs to *Romulus* the founder, that his City should continue 1200 yeares, fulfilled, and those yeares newly expired ; and, which is more to be heeded, now was the plurality of Kings lately risen in the ancient Territory of the Empire, as *Daniel* and *S. Iohn* had prophesied, increased unto the full number of ten, which, together with the Provinces wherein they were seated, and the names of the Kings which reigned the next yeare after the City was taken, are these which follow.

M

Auno

ANNO DOMINI 456.

Kingdomes of the	Provinces.	Names of the Kings reigning.	Somewhat of their changes.
1 Britans, 2 Saxons.	In Britaine.	Wortimer. Hengist.	
3 Franks. 4 Burgundians.	In Gallia.	Childericke. Gundericke.	An. 526. This Kingdome was subdued by the Franks, but to fill up the number, that of the Ostrogoths became two, by the coming of the Longobards into Pannonia the same time.
5 Wisigothes.	In the South of Gallia between the Rhene, Loyr and the sea, & part of Spain.	Theodoricke.	
6 Swevians and Alanes.	Spain in Gallicia & Portugal.	Riciarius.	
7 Vandals.	In Africke, but first in Spain.	Genfericus.	
8 Almatines.	Germany in Rhetia between the Rhene, &c.	Sumarus.	This Kingdome became one with a part of the kingdom of the Herules, 475. during their short reigne in Italy.
9 Ostrogothes.	In Pannonia, where they subdued the Huns, & not long after propagated their kingdom into Italy.	Theodemir.	The Longobards succeeded the Ostrogoths first in Pannonia, upon the death of Theodorick of Verona An. 526. Then in Italy, called in by Narsts discontented, soon after he had destroyed the kingdom of the Goths.
10 Greeks.	In the residue of the Empire.	Marcianus.	Ancient Romes Empire finished, that of the Greeks is but one of the Kingdomes whereinto it was divided.

Thus was the Empire divided and shared Anno 456. the yeare after *Rome* was sacked by *Genfericus*, and the off-spring of these Nations through many alterations (partly by the inconstancy of humane things, unions and dis-unions, partly by the further enlargement of the Christian Faith) are the body of the most of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome at this day. Three of these Kings, saith *Daniel*, should the Antichristian horne depresse and displant, to advance himselfe, which three are those whose dominions extended into *Italy*, and so stood in his light.

1 That of the *Greeks*, whose Emperour, *Leo Isaurus*, for the quarrell of Images, he excommunicated, and revolted his Subjects of *Italy* from their allegiance.

2 That of the *Longobards*, successors of the *Ostrogoths*, whose Kingdom he caused (by the aid of the *Franks*) to be wholly ruined, thereby to get the Exarchate of *Ravenna* (which since their revolt from the *Greeks*, they were seized on) for a Patrimony to *S. Peter*.

3 The last was the Kingdom of the *Franks* it selfe, contained in the Empire of *Germany*, whose Emperours from the day of *Henry* the fourth he excommunicated, deposed and trampled under his feet, and never suffered them to live in rest, till he made them not only quit their interest in election of Popes, and investiture of Bishops, but that remainder of jurisdiction in *Italy*, wherewith, together with the dignity of the Roman name, hee had once infeofed their Predecessors.

These are the things, by displanting, or, as the vulgar hath it, by humbling of whom, the Pope by degrees got elbow-roome, and advanced himselfe to the height of temporall Majesty, and absolute greatnesse, which made him so terrible in the world.

This third blow therefore I suppose is to be counted the last of the ruin of the *Roman* Empire, the Imperiall power of ancient *Rome* (untill the Pope some 345 yeares after re-

a Solona Jor-
nandes, quem
vide cum Pau-
lo Diacono.

b Vide Can. 9.
Concil. Lao-
dicens. 3. an.
364. *Συμμετρίως*
6782d.

vived the name) henceforth ceasing; for as for those who yet for some twenty yeares after our darescuffed for that name, one of them deposing another, they were indeed but shadowes of *Cesars*, and as it were struglings with the pangs of death, untill with *Augustulus* it gave up the ghost: yea it is to be observed, that two of them, *Avitus* (the very next) and *Glycerius*, being deposed from the Empire, were made Bishops, the one of *Placentia* or *Piacenza*, the other of a *Portus*, as a signe perhaps that the Emperour of *Rome* henceforth should be a Bishop, and a Bishop the Emperour.

To conclude therefore with the application of our Apostles prediction, whether the Christian Apostasie in worshipping new Demon-gods, began not with the first of these degrees, notably increased with the second, and was established by the last, I leave you to judge, when you shall have surveyed the monuments and records of those times.

It is commonly and truly affirmed by our Ecclesiastical Antiquaries, that before the yeare 360, there is no word to be found of the innovation of Saints glorified, or worshipping their Reliques, to which I add, no nor of any miracles done by them; but presently after that yeare, when our first date of the Empires ruine began, search and you shall find: I spare to name the Authors, not willing to discover the nakednesse of the Fathers; but who so reads them, will admire to see so truly verified what the Spirit fore-told should be. *ἐν ὁσίοις χρόνοις*, in the latter times. And to make an end, if any shall think this speculation of times to be a needlesse curiosity, I desire him to remember how our Saviour reproved the Jewes for neglect hereof, *Mat.* chapter 16. v. 3. *O ye Hypocrites, ye can discerne the face of the skies, but can ye not discerne the signes of the times? or as Saint Luke 12. 56. How is it that ye do not discerne this time? they through neglecting the signes of the times, when Christ came, received him not: how many through*
igno-

ignorance of these *ὑστερον καιροι*, when the Apostasie hath appeared, eschewed it not?

From which of these three beginnings of the Apostaticall times, or whether from some other moment within or between them the Almighty will reckon that his computation of these *ὑστερον καιροι*, which ended, will finish the days of the man of sin, I curiously enquire nor, but leave unto him who is Lord of times and seasons: nor do I thinke that the Jews themselves could certainly tell from which of their three captivities to begin that reckoning of 70 yeares, whose end should bring their returne from *Babylon*, untill the event assured them thereof.

AN APPENDIX.

I Should now presently come to speak of the fourth particular which I observed in the verse, but because in this discourse of times, besides the great Kalendar of times, which I so much spake of, there was some mention of a *lesser Kalendar*, viz. of *Daniels 70 weeks*, give me leave to note some places of Scripture which I suppose to have reference thereto, for the better clearing not only of our former discourse, but of some scruples that might trouble our minds, when mention is made of an end then supposed neere, though the world hath lasted so many hundred yeares, and no end thereof is yet come.

Know therefore, that these 70 weekes are a *little provinciall Kalendar*, containing the time that the legall worship and Jewish state was to continue from the re-building of the Sanctuary under *Darius Nothus*, untill the finall destruction thereof, when the Kalendar shall expire, within the space whereof their Common-wealth, and City should be restored, and 62 weeks after that, the

M 3

Messias

Messias be slaine for sinne, and at the end of the whole 70, their City and Temple againe destroyed, and their Common-wealth utterly dissolved. To these weeks therefore, whose computation so especially concernes the Jewes, is reference made in those Epistles which are written to the Christian Churches of that Nation, whether being in Jewry, or abroad dispersed, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bythinia. Such is Saint Paul to the Hebrewes, both Saint Peters to the Dispersion, the Epistle of Saint James to the twelve Tribes, and likewise the first Epistle of Saint Iohn, which though the salutation expresseth not as in the former, yet may appeare both because Peter, James and Iohn, were all three Apostles of the Circumcision, and from that passage Chapter 2. Verse 2. *CARIST JESUS is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for ours onely, but for the sinnes of the whole world;* that is, not for the sinnes of us only who are Jewes, but for the sinnes of the Gentiles also. And doth not the name of Generall or Catholick Epistle given unto this, as well as those of Saint James and Peter, implying thus much? For it cannot be thus called, as written to all Christians indefinitely, and generally, since the contrary plainly appears in the former; but because this as well as the rest was written to those of the Circumcision, who were not a people confined to any one City or Region, but dispersed through every Nation, as we reade in the Actes Chapter 2. verse 5. &c. that at the Feast of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost came downe upon the Apostles, *there were sojourning at Ierusalem Jewes, devout men, out of every Nation under Heaven; Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers of Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, and strangers of Rome, Jewes and Proselytes (Jewes by race, and Jewes by Religion), &c.* For wee must not mistake those there numbred to bee Gentiles, but Israelites; both of ten Tribes captivated by *Salmanser*, and the other two; some of whom never returned from *Babylon*, but lived still in *Mesopotamia*: but
of

of these who returned, great multitudes were dispersed afterwards in *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and many other Provinces before the time of our Saviours appearing in the flesh. So that the Apostles of the Circumcision hath their Province for largeness, not much inferiour to that of the Gentiles.

But I come to note the places I spake of: and first out of the fore-named Epistle of Saint *John*, where from that prediction of our Saviour in the Gospel, that the arising of the false Prophets should bee one of the neare signes of the nigh approaching end of the Jewish state: the Apostle thus referres to it Chapter 2. verse 18. *Little children this is the ἡσυχία, the last houre: and as you have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time:* here by the last time I suppose no other thing to be meant but the neare expiring of *Daniels* 70 weeks, and with it the approaching end of the Jewish Common-wealth: and why might not this Epistle be written in the last weeke, at the beginning whereof *Iesus Anania* began that wofull cry. Wo unto Jerusalem, and the Temple, *Ioseph l. 7. belli Iudaici*. By πολλοὶ ἀντιχρίστοι, many Antichrists, are meant no other but false Prophets, Counter-prophets to the great Prophet, pretending an unction and commission from heaven (as he had) to teach the world some new revelation and doctrine: for the name Christ implies the unction of prophesies, as well as the unction of a Kingdome, and accordingly the name Antichrist: and therefore the Syriack here turnes it, false Christs, that is, such as should falsely pretend some extraordinary unction of prophecie like unto him. And the coming of such as these, our Saviour in Saint *Matthewes* Gospel, a Gospel for the Hebrewes, makes one of the last signes ushering the destruction of Jerusalem; and if the harmony of this prophecy in the three Evangelists be well considered, there was no more to come but the compassing of Jerusalem with armies.

Cyrl. Hierof.
Catech. 6. ex-
pounds this of
John to meane
Simon Magus

armies, Well therefore might *S Iohn*, when he saw so many Antiprophets spring up, say, *Hereby we know that it is the last time.*

Againe, because the desolation of the Jewish state and Temple would be a great confirmation to Christian faith, therefore the beleeving Jewes, whom nothing could so much stagger as the standing glory of that Temple and Religion, are encouraged by the neerenesse of that time of expectation, when so great a confirmation of their faith of their Messias already come should appeare. Hebrewes 10. 23. 25 *Let us hold fast the profession of our Faith without wavering, and so much the more as you see the day approaching; Namely, that day when you shall bee sufficiently confirmed: So I take the 35. and 37. verses of the same Chapter, Cast not away your confidence which hath great recompence of reward, for ye have need of patience. For yet a little while, he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. What (Hee) is this, but even hee of whom Daniel sayes, The people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, Daniel 9. 26. For even as the destruction of Papall Rome, would bee a great confirmation of the Reformed Christian, who hath forsaken the Communion of that Religion, the continuance and supposed stablity of the glory thereof, being that wherewith their Procters endeavour most to shake and stagger us; so was the destruction of the Jewish state and Temple to be unto those Jewes, who had withdrawn themselves from that body and Religion wherof they had once been, to embrace the new faith of the Messiah, preached by the Apostles. For if at the end of the 70 weekes approaching, the legall Sanctuary were rased, and the Jewish state dissolved, then would it be apparent indeed, that the Messiah was already come and slaine for sin; because this was infallibly to come to passe within the compasse, and before the expiration of those 70 werkes, or 40 yeares allotted for the last continuance of that City and Sanctuary,*

arie, when it should bee restored after the captivity of Babylon.

Not without cause therefore doth Saint *Peter* in his second Epistle say to the Christian Jewes, *We have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto you doe well that you give heed as unto a light shining in a dark place, untill the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts*: yea and besides, because *Jesus* also as well as *Daniel* had prophesied of the approaching desolation of that City and Temple, mentioning all the signes that were to usher it; if the event when time come should fall out accordingly, then must *Jesus* of Nazareth, who foretold the foregoing signes thereof, be approved as a true Prophet, by whom of a truth the Lord had spoken. Now for the last place I mean to alledge: thus must the last of Saint *James* also be expounded, because the fall and shock of that state might shake the whole nation wheresoever dispersed, unlesse God had spared the Christians, and made them alone happy in that wofull day, or rather because Christ had foretold that one of the next fore-runners thereof should be a generall persecution of Christians, as it happened under *Nero*. Therefore the remembrance of the end of these 70 weeks so neere the expiring, was a good caution to all the Christian Jewes to watch and pray: to this sense therefore I take that of *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* 4. 7. πάντων, γὰρ τέλος ἡγίται, *the end of all things is at hand, bee ye sober therefore, and watch unto prayer*; that is, the end of all your Common wealth, legall worship, Temple, and service, is now within a few yeares: be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer, that ye may be more happy in the day of vengeance and wrath upon our Nation. Neither need we wonder that this desolation should be called the *end*, for our Saviour himselſe taught them so to speak in his prophecy concerning it, as may appeare if we consider that Antithesis in Saint *Luke*, cap. 21. 9. *Ye shall heare of warres, and commotions, but the end is not by*

N

and

and by. *Ver. 20.* But when yee shall see Ierusalem encompassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.

And thus much I thought to adde to my former discourse of latter times, lest through ignorance thereof we might incline to that little better than blasphemous conceit which * *Baronius* by name, and some other of *Romes* followers have taken up; viz. that the Apostles in such like passages as we have noted, were mistaken, as believing that the end of the world should have beene in their owne time; God of purpose so ordering it, to cause in them a greater measure of zeale, and contempt of worldly things; an opinion I thinke not well beseming a Christian.

1 For, first, whatsoever wee imagine, the Apostles might here conceive in their private opinions as men; yet we must know that the Holy Ghost, by whose instinct they wrote the Scriptures, is the Spirit of truth, and therefore what is there affirmed must be true, yea, though the Pen-man himselfe understood it not.

2 Secondly, it was not possible the Apostles should expect the end of the world to bee in their owne time, when they knew so many things were to come to passe before it, as could not be fulfilled in a short time: As first, the desolation of Ierusalem, and that not till the 70 weeks were expired. Secondly, then the Jewes to be carried captives over all Nations, and Ierusalem to be trodden downe of the Gentiles, untill the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled, *Luke 21. 24.* Thirdly, that in the meane time the Roman Empire must be ruined, and that which hindered taken out of the way, *2 Thes 2. 7.* Fourthly, that after that was done, the man of sin should be revealed, and domineere his time in the Temple and Church of God, *Ibid.* Fifthly, after all this, viz. when the fulnesse of the Gentiles should come in, that Israel should be received againe to mercy, *Rom. 11. 27.* Sixthly, that Christ should

* *An. 57. §. 189*

Ann. 72. §. 26.

Ann. 82. §. 3.

Mar. 24. Mar. 13.

Luke 21.

Dan. 9. 24.

should reigne in his Church on earth so long, till he had put downe all rule, all authority and power, and subiected all his enemies under his feet, before he should subdue the last enemy, which is death, and surrender his kingdome into the hands of his Father; 1 Cor. 15. 24, 25, &c. Heb. 2, 8. Seventhly, that the time should be so long, that in the last dayes should come Scoffers. saying, *Where is the promise of his comming*, 2 Pet. 3. 4. How is it possible they should imagine the day of Doome to be so neare, when all these things must first come to passe, and not one of them was yet fulfilled?

And how could the expectation of this day be made a ground of exhortation, and a motive to watchfulnesse, and prayer, as though it could suddenly and unawares surprize them which had so many wonderfull alterations to foregoe it, and yet none of them come to passe. I have spoken hitherto of what was revealed to all the Apostles in generall; but if we take Saint *John* apart from the rest, and consider what was afterward revealed to him in *Ravmas*, we shall finde in his Apocalyptical vision, besides other times more obscurely intimated, an expresse prophecy of no lesse than a thousand yeares, which whatever it meant, cannot be a small time, and must be fulfilled in this world, and not in the world to come. Notwithstanding all this, I make no question but in the Apostles times many of the beleeving Gentiles, mistaking the Apostles admonition to the Jewes of the end of their state approaching, thought the end of the whole world and the day of the Lord had bene also neare, whom therefore *Paul* 2 *Thes* 3. beseeches to be better informed, because that day should not come untill the Apostasie came first, and that man of sin were revealed.

Ἐν ῥῆματι, *Expresly, or, in expresse words.*

NOW I come to the fourth part of this prophecy, the warrant or prooffe thereof. The Spirit hath foretold it Ἐν ῥῆματι, or *in expresse words*, in some place or other of divine Writ. The Spirit told *Peter*, *Acts 10. 19. Behold three men seek thee.* The Spirit said, *Separate Barnabas and Saul, Acts 13. 2. The Spirit forbade Saint Paul to preach in Asia.* The Spirit said that the Jewes should *binde Saint Paul at Jerusalem, Acts 21. 11.* But in all these the Spirit spake not Ἐν ῥῆματι: for these things were no where written, and therefore what it spake, it spake ἀρρητῶς, onely by secret Instinct or Inspiration: but that which the Spirit speaks in the written Word, that it speaketh Ἐν ῥῆματι, *verbatim*, expresly. If therefore concerning this Apostasie of Christian beleevers, to be in these latter times, the Scripture speaketh Ἐν ῥῆματι, then is it to be found somewhere in the Old Testament: for there alone the Spirit could be said to speak Ἐν ῥῆματι, or *verbatim*, in the Apostles time. Having therefore so good a hint given us, let us see if we can finde where the Spirit speaketh of this matter so expresly.

There are three maine things in this our Apostles prediction, whereof I finde the Spirit to have spoken Ἐν ῥῆματι, or, *in expresse words*, and that in the prophecy of *Daniel*. 1. Of these last or latter times. 2. Of the new worship of Dæmons in them. 3. Of a Prohibition of marriage to accompany them. As for the first of these, the ὕμνησις καὶ ἡ ἡμι-ῥαβδός, *Daniel*, as you heard before, expresly names them, *καὶ ἡ ἡμι-ῥαβδός, a time, times, and halfe a time*; being those *last times* of this last kingdome, wherein the Hornish Tyrant should make warre with the Saints, and prevaile against them. For the second, a worship of new Dæmons or Demi-gods with the profession of the name of Christ: you will perhaps think it strange if I should shew

shew it *parus*: but if I doe, it was the Appendix of hindering or debarring marriage, mentioned in the next verse, which as a threed led me the way to the end of the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, where I found it, and in a place too very suspicious, being taken I think by almost all the Ancients for a prophecy of Antichrist; yea and so expounded by the greatest part of our own, though with much variety of reading and application. But heare the words themselves in the 36, 37, 38, 39 verses of the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, translated as I think *parus*, *verbatim*, without any wresting or straining the Hebrew text: they are a description of the *last* or *Roman Kingdome*, with the severall states thereof; conquering nations, persecuting Christians, false worshipping Christ.

The words are these, *Daniel cap. 11. 36, 37, 38, 39. verses.*

36 Then a King shall doe according to his will, & shall exalt and magnifie himselfe above every god, yea against the God of gods shall hee speak marvellous things, and shall prosper untill the indignation be accomplished: for the determined time shall be fulfilled.

37 Then hee shall not regard the gods of his Ancestors, nor shall he regard the desire of women, no nor any god: but he shall magnifie himselfe above all.

36 Tunc faciet pro libitu suo Rex, & exaltet ac magnificabit seipsum supra omnem deum, etiam contra Deum deorum loquetur stupenda, proficietq; donec consummata fuerit indignatio: nam statutum perficietur.

37 Tunc ad Deos majorum suorum non attendet, nec ad desiderium mulierum, nec ad ullum numen attendet: sed supra omne se magnificabit.

ועשר כרצו
המלך ויתרומם
ויתנדר על כל
אל ועל אלה
אלים ידבר
נפלאות והעליז
עד כלה ועם
כי נחרצה
נעשתה:

ועל אלה אבותיו
לז יבן ועל
המדת נשים ועל
כל אלוה לז
יבן כי על כל
יתנדר:

38 For to [or together with] God, in his fear, hee shall honour Mahuzzims: yea together with that God whom his Ancestours knew not, shall he honour them with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and with pleasant things.

39 And hee shall make the holds of the Mahuzzims withall (or joyntly) to the forreigne god: whom acknowledging, he shall increase with honour, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the earth for a reward.

38 Nam ad [vel juxta] Deum, Mahuzzimos, in sede ejus honorabit: scilicet ad Deum, quem non agnoverunt majores ejus, honorabit eos auro, & argento, & lapidibus pretiosis, & rebus desideratissimis.

39 Et faciet munimenta Mahuzzimorum una deo peregrino (sen exotico:) quem agnoscendo, multiplicabit honorem, & dominari faciet eos in multis, terramque partietur in mercedem.

ולאֵלה מעומ על
כנו יכבד ולאֵלה
אשר לא ירעהו
אבותיו יכבד
בזהב ובכסף
ובאנן יקרה
ובחמדות:

ועשה למבצר
מעומ עם
אלוה נכר אשר
הכיר ירבה כבוד
והמשילם רבים
וארמה יחלק
במחר:

¶ Now for the understanding of this Prophecy, we must take notice that the Prophet *Daniel* at the beginning of these verses, leaves off the Greek kingdom with *Antiochus*, of whom he was speaking before, and falls about the Roman: the reason being, because after *Antiochus*, in whose time *Macedonia* (whence that kingdom sprang, with all the rest of *Greece*) came under the Romane obedience; the third kingdom comes no more into reckoning, *Daniel* himselfe calling the time of *Antiochus* reigne, the latter end of the Greek kingdom, cap. 8. 23. and as I take it, he intimates the same in this chapter in the verses immediately fore-going: these wee have now to deale withall: from thence forward therefore the Romane succeeds in the account of the Great Calender of time.

2 Under the name *King* we must understand the whole Roman State under what kinde of government soever : for the Hebrewes use *King* for kingdome, and kingdome for any Government, State or Policy in the world : for the Divell in the Gospel is said to have shewn Christ all the kingdomes of the world, Monarchies, Aristocracies, Democracies, or what other kinde soever.

3 Where it is said, this *King* shall *exalt himselfe above every God*, nothing is thereby meant, but the generality, and the greatnesse of his conquests and prevailings; and the reason of that phrase or manner of speech should seem to be, because in the time of Paganisme every City and Countrey was supposed to have their proper and peculiar gods, which were deemed as their guardians and protectors: whence in the Scripture, according to the language of that time, wee may observe a threefold use of speech. First, The Nations themselves are expressed and implied under the names of their gods: The Israelites were called *the people of Jehovah*, so are the Moabites *the people of Chemosh*, Numb 21.29. The Lord threatned, Deut 4.28. & 28.64. Jer.16.13. *to scatter Israel among the nations, from one end of the earth even to another, and that there they should serve other gods day and night; gods, the work of mens hands, wood and stone, which neither they nor their fathers had knowne:* that is, they should serve them, not Religiously but politically, inso much as they were to become slaves and vassals to idolatrous nations; even such Idolaters as neither they nor their fathers had ever heard of. For as for a religious service of Idols, the Jewes were never so free as in the captivity, as we see by experience at this day: but with the service of bondage they may be said politically to have beene the vassals of Idols, as being in bondage to the servants of other gods. As a Christian taken by the Turks may in the like sense be said to come in bondage, and be a slave to *Mahomet*: for a slave to the servants is in a sense servant to their masters. Let it

also

So Targum, Onkelos and Jonathan both render it expressly Deut. 32.36. & 4. all 16. 1. 28. nec non Targum Jonathan, 1er. 16. 13. 1 Sam. 26. 19. That is in all the places forecited.

* 2 Sam. 7. 23
God is said to
have redeemed
Israel from
Egypt, from
the nations &
their gods See
Tremel. who
turns it more
to our purpose.

also be considered whether that of *David*, 1 Sam. 26. 19. be not to be expounded according to this notion, *They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord; saying, goe serve other gods; that is, banished me into a Nation of another Religion.* Secondly, The exploits of the Nation are said to be done by their gods, even as we by like priviledge of speech ascribe unto our Kings what is done by the people under them: thus 2 Chron. 28. 23. the gods of *Damascus* are said to have smote *Ahaz*; *he sacrificed to the gods of Damascus that smote him: and hee said, Because the gods of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me.* Jer. 51. 44. it is said of the dominion of *Babylon*, that the nations flowed together unto *Bel*, and that hee had swallowed up their wealth, which the Lord threatned there to bring forth again out of his mouth. Thirdly, and that most frequently of all others, What is attempted against the nation, is said to be attempted against their gods: Even as Generals beare the name not only of the exploits, but also of the disadvantages of the armies led by them: so here the gods are said to receive the affronts, defeatures, and discomfitures given to the people under their patronage. * *Rabshakeh* vaunts in his masters name, 2 Kings 18. 33. *Hadst any of the gods of the nations delivered as all his land out of the hand of the King of Assyria? where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Esay 46. 2. prophesieth thus of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus; Bel boweth downe, Nebo stoopeth, they could not deliver the burden, but they themselves are gone into captivity.* In the like straine prophesieth *Jeremy*, cap. 50. 2. *Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her Idols are confounded.* And again, Jer. 51. 44. *I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring out of his mouth that which hee hath swallowed up, and the nations shall not flow together any more unto him: yea the wall of Babylon shall fall.* The same Prophet saith

faith of *Moabs* captivity, chap. 48. 7. *Thou shalt be taken, and Chemosai shall goe into captivity with his Priests and his Princes together.* *Moab* likewise in his affronts and derision of *Israel* is said to have magnified himselfe against the Lord : according to which manner of speech the successe and prevailing of the Roman in the advancing his dominion and subduing every nation under him, is here expressed by his exalting and magnifying himselfe above every God. This I suppose to be the ground of that manner of speech; though if any had rather, as others doe, take gods here for Kings and Potentates of the earth, it will I confesse come all to one purpose.

4. By the gods of their Ancestors, whom the Roman State should at length cashier and cast off, are meant all the Pagan Deities, and heathen gods, which were worshipped in that Empire.

5 By *Desire of women*, which the Roman of that time should not regard, as he was wont, is meant the *desire of living* or desire of having women for the society of life; conjugall affection, which is expressed *Gen. 2. 24* to bee such a desire for which a man should leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, and they shall be both one flesh: and it might have beene in this place, *desire of wives*, aswell as *desire of women*; for there is no other word used in the Originall for wives above once or twice in the whole Scripture, but this *אִשָּׁה* which is here turned *women*. With the like use of the word *desire*, the Spouse in the *Canticles*, chap. 7. 10. expresseth her well-beloved to her husband: *I am my wel-beloveds* (saith she) *and his desire is towards me*; that is, he is my husband; for so twice before she expressed her selfe, cap. 2. 16. *My beloved is mine; and I am his.* chap. 6. 3. *I am my beloveds, and my beloved is mine.* So *Ezec. 24. 16*. the Lord threatening to take away *Ezekiels* wife, saith, *Behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes*; and afterward ver. 18. it followeth, *and at even my wife dyed.* Yea, the

Roman

a S e the ora-
tion o' *Lichius*
to his Souldi-
er., *Eufib. de*
vita Constanti.
lib. 2. c. 5.

(b) Sir **אלה**
כיכר The
Altar he there
speaks of in
his defence
was inscribed
Θεω Αγαθη
νι Ερω which
God, I say he)
I preach unto
you.

(c) Roma cum
penē omnibus
do minatur:
gentibus, om-
nium gentium
serviebat erro-
ribus, & mag-
nam ubi vide-
batur assupsi-
se Religionem,
quia nulla n
respuēbat falsi-
tate, *Leo Mag.*
in Ser. 1. in nar.
Apoc. Pet. &
Paul Hic cōfu-
rādi Dæmonū-
culus, hic omni-
um sacrificio-
rum impietas
destruenda, ubi
diligentissimā
superstitione
habeatur colle-
ctum quicquid
usquam fuerat
his erroribus
Anstrot. 1. d. 11.

Roman language it selfe is not unacquainted with this
speech: *Cicero ad uxorem, En mea lux, meum desideri-
um.* This desire of women and married life, the Roman
should discountenance, when he shook of the gods of his
Ancestors.

6 By the *strange and forraigne God* whom the Roman
should at length acknowledge, is meant (a) Christ; for
though to the Jew every strange and forraigne god were
a false god, yet to the Gentiles, who worshipped none but
Idols, the forraigne God was the true: therefore the
Philosophers at *Athens*, when Saint *Paul* preached Christ
unto them, sayd, he preacheth (b) *Εὐδ δολιμὸν ἄ forraigne*
god. The want of which consideration hath much obcu-
red this prophesie, this *forraigne God* being still supposed
to be a *false God*; when to those who worshipped all
kinds of false gods, as the (c) Roman did, a *forraigne*
god, whom their fathers knew not, must needs bee the
True.

7. Where it is said, *with this forraigne god he shal ho-
nour Mahuzzims*: these *Mahuzzim*, or *Manzzims*, are
these Daimons we seek for, whom the Roman should
worship with Christ, whom hee should embrace; for
Mahuzzims are *Protectores dii*, such as Saints and Angels
are supposed to be, as I shall shew by and by, where
though I shall be new for the particular, yet for the generall
I shall agree well enough with the Fathers, who constant-
ly thought that under this *Mahuzzim* was some Idolmeant,
which Antichrist should worship, and many of our times
have taken it for the *Masse*.

But I must first say something of the translation of this
verse, and then will come to the signification of this word
Mahuzzims.

For the first, whereas the preposition ל *in אלה* is
usually neglected, and the words *והאלה מענוים* *God*
and *Mahuzzim* construed together as one thing, *viz.*
God Mahuzzim, or, as some, the *God of forces*; I expresse
the

the Preposition *Lamed*, and construe *God* and *Mahuzzim* apart, as here, viz, to, or, together with *God* hee shall honour *Mahuzzims*, &c. *Ad, vel juxta Deum, Mahuzzimos honorabis.* For the preposition ל is made of א and signifies the same with it, viz. addition of, or joyning of things, *ad, juxta, apud, pro* ב in *pro* עי *pro* עי *contra, super, to, together, and besides with, as d Lev. 18. 18 Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister.* אלהא, that is, together with her sister. By this meanes the controversie betweene *Iunius* and *Graferus* is taken away: for *Iunius*, as should seeme, seeing no reason why the Preposition ל should be neglected, and that by so doing the Verb נבך was made irregularly and against use to governe a Dative case, he expresses the Preposition by *Quod ad, or Quod attinet ad. (id est) as concerning.* But the words *God* and *Mahuzzim* hee separateth not, but turneth them as in *sarku constructio*, viz, the god of might and of forces; understanding thereby the true and Almighty God himselfe. Against which *Graferus* excepts, first, that to render the Preposition, *ad, as concerning.* favours of a Latinisme rather than of an Hebraisme. Secondly, that hee doth as good as strike out the distinctive accente Athnach (נ) which is a C. Ion; in as much as hee makes the sentence being a full member to bee imperfect and defective, and yet would seeme to stand in awe of that smaller distinction *Zakeph-katon* (:) over the word *Mahuzzim*, which yet stands there, as elsewhere it doth, but for a nota bene. Thirdly, that to expound god *Mahuzzim* to bee the true God, against the consent not onely of the Jewes who ever take it for some Idol or other, but of the ancient Christian writers who understand by it some Idol of Antichrist, yea some, the Divell himselfe, and many of our owne who take it for the Idol of the Masse, and so e otherwise, yet for some Idol-deity. To expound this of the true and mighty God without example in Scripture, *Graferus* thinkes not tolerable;

O 3

wherefore

d) See this use of ל *Egra 1. 5 Vulg. & Angl.* with *Lev. 16. 21 Vulg. & LXX.* *Nu: 9. 15 LXX.* *bid cap: 33: 2. LXX: cap: 32: 33: 1 LXX.* *Vulg: 16m Angl.*

(e) See ver. 43. of this ch. over

מזרם and ver: 3: of the next chapter over

המשכילם where it is impossible it should distinguish, and so elsewhere.

wherefore himselfe had rather yeeld the construction of the verb *יָבִיחַ* to bee irregular : *innim* himselfe having admitted it in the next member of the verse, and to suppose it to be a mysticall Solecisme, the Spirit intending by the Anomaly or incongruity of the Syntax to signifie an Anomaly or incongruity of Religion : but their inconveniences on both sides, as farre as I can see, are wholly accorded by that translation wee have given. Whereof let the Reader judge.

I come now to unfold the signification of the word *Mabuzzim*; a word which most translations retaine the Septuagint calling it *Μαζζιμ* Saint Jerome and the Vulgar Latine, *Maozim*; the Geneva and others, *Mabuzzim* : this *מַבֻּזִּים* *Mabuzzim* I say is in the Plurall number, the singular *מַבֹּז* *Maboz*, which in the abstract signifies sometimes strength, sometimes a Fortresse, or Bulwarke ; of *robustus fuit* : but the Hebrewes use Abstracts for Concretes : examples are many in the Old Testament, as *justitia pro justis*; captivity for captives, &c. In the New Testament, Principallities, Powers, and Dominions, for Princes, Potentates, and Dominators; so *Maboz*, strength, or a Fortresse, for him that strengthens or fortifies, that is a Protector, Defender, Guardian, and Helper. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Psalmes render the word *מַבֹּז* *Maboz*, *ὑπερασμις* and the Vulgar Latine as often *Protector* : the places are these, *Psal. 27. 1. The Lord is ὑπερασμις the protector of my life, of whom should I bee affraid? Psal. 28. 8. The Lord is their strength, and hee is ὑπερασμις Maboz, Ieshuoth, the Maboz of salvation of his annointed* : * where the Septuagint, *ὑπερασμις* and the Vulgar, *Protector salvationum*. *Psal. 31. 1. Bow downe thine care to me, deliver me speedily, be thou unto me ὑπερασμις for a Rocke Maboz* : Septuagint, *ὑπερασμις* Vulg. in *Deum Protectorem* : againe verse 5. *Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me.* *כִּסְיוֹת*

*Some render it not *of*, but, *is his Annointed* or *Mistiah*. that is, *Mistiah* is *Maboz* *לֵבִי* verb.

1170 Thou art my Protector; Septuagint, *ὑποσταστής* for the Vulgar, Protector. Psal. 37. 39. The salvation of the righteous is from the Lord, hee is 1170 *Mahuzzim*, their *Mahoz* in the time of trouble: where the Septuagint and the Vulgar render as before *ὑποσταστής* and Protector. How thinke you now, are not Saints and Angels worshipped as *Mahuzzims*? True Christians have with David, in the Psalm before quoted, one *Mahoz*, *Iehovah Mahoz*, that is, *Christ*; but Apostate Christians have their many *Mahuzzims*. Oh, would they worshipped onely 1170 *Mahoz* of *salvations*, as you heard David even now call him, Psal. 28. You may if you please compare with these places of the Psalmes that in the first verse of this eleventh of Daniel, where the Angel said hee stood in the first yeare of *Darius* the Mede to confirme and bee a *Mahoz* to him, 1170 *ὑποστή* which wee translate, to strengthen him; by which we may see how fitly this name may be applyed to Angels and so to Saints supposed in helping, protecting, assisting, to bee like them. Thus you see the concrete sence of *Mahoz* for Helper, Protector, and Defender, is not new. But what if wee take the word passively, force and strength, for forts and strong ones; will not then the valiant Martyrs and Champions of the faith well beare the name of *Mahuzzims*? and these are they whom at the first, Christians worshipped onely in this sort, as an honour peculiarly due unto their sufferings. Moreover, that you may not thinke this word and the notion thereof improper to bee given unto a Deity, observe that the true God is called a *Rock* 1170 seven times, *Deut.* 32. which the Vulgar turnes as often *Deus*; yea in the same place false gods are termed also 1170 *Rockes*, ver. 31. Their *Rock*, i. e. the Gentiles *Rock* is not as our *Rocke*, even our enemies themselves being Iudges: and ver. 37. Where are their gods (that is, *Baalim*) their *Rock* in whom they trusted? which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, &c. The like you shall finde in *Hannahs* song,

and other places of Scripture. See now the parity : The True God, or Christ himselfe is often by *David* cald *Mahoz*, why may not then False gods, or Plurality of Christs be called *Mahuzzim*? *Rocke* and *Fortresse* are not words of so great difference.

Thus having cleared the chiefeſt difficulties in the Text, and made the way ſmooth, let us read over the words againe, and apply the interpretation unto them.

DAN. II.

Verse 36. Then a King shall doe according to his will, and shall exalt or magnifie himselfe above every god.

Yea against the God of gods shall hee speake marvellous things, and shall prosper, untill the indignation be accomplished; for the determined time shall bee fulfilled.

36 That is toward the end o the reigne of *Antiochus Epiphaneſ* the Roman ſhal prevail, and ſet up the Fourth Kingdome, making himſelfe maſter of the kingdome of *Macedon*, and advancing himſelfe from this time forward by continuall conquest, ſhall Lord it over every King and Nation.

Yea Christ the God of gods, and King of the kings of the earth, who in those times should appeare in the world, the Roman shall mocke, blasphemie, and crucifie, and by most bloody edicts shall persecute and massacre his servants the Christians; and yet shall prosper in his Empire, untill these outrageous times bee ended, that is, untill the daies of *Cenſuram*; for the time God hath appointed must be fulfilled.

Verse

Verse 37. *Then he shall not regard the gods of his Ancestors, nor shall he regard the desire of women nor any God: but hee shall magnifie himselfe above all.*

37 When that appoynted time for the date of his prosperity comes to his period, and the time of his ruine and change of his dominion drawes neare, then this Roman state shall cashiere and forsake the Idols and false gods, whom their Fathers worshipped, and shall acknowledge Christ a God whom their Fathers knew not: at that time the desire of women and married life shall be discountenanced, and shall not bee of that account and regard it had been; but contrary to the long continued custome of the Romans, single life shall be honoured and privileged above it; yea and soone after the Roman shall beare himselfe so, as if he regarded not any God; and with Antichristian pride shall magnifie himselfe over all.

Verse 38. *For so (or together with) God in his seat, hee shall honour Mahuzzims: yea together with that God, whom his Ancestors knew not, shall hee honour them with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and with pleasant things.*

38 That is, together with the Christian God, who is a jealous God, and to be worshipped alone, hee shall worship Mahuzzims, even in his seat and Temple; even with a forraigne God, whom his Ancestors acknowledged not, shall hee honour Mahuzzims, with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and with pleasant things.

Forse

*Verse. 39. And he
shal make the holds of
the Mahuzzims
withal (or joyntly) to
the forrain god: whom
acknowledging, hee
shall increase with ho-
nour, and shall cause
them to rule over
many, and shall distri-
bute the earth for a
reward.*

39. And though the Christian God; whom hee shall professe to acknowledge and worship, can endure no compeeres, yet shall he consecrate his Temples and Monasteries (Ecclesiasticall holds) joyntly to the Christian God and to his *Mahuzzims Deo, & Sanctis.* yea hee shall distribute the earth among *Mahuzzims*, so that beside severall patrimonies which in every Countrey hee shall allot them, he shall share whole Kingdomes and Provinces among them. Saint George shall have England; Saint Andrew shall have Scotland; St. Denis, France; St. Iames, Spaine; St. Marke, Venice, &c. and beare rule as Presidents and Patrons of their severall Countries.

Thus we see how *entire*, how *expressly* the spirit foretold the Roman Empire, having rejected the multitudes of gods and Dæmons worshipped by their Ancestours, and betaken themselves to that One and Onely True God which their Fathers knew not, should neverthelesse depart from this their faith, and revive againe their old Theology of Dæmons by a new Superinduction of *Mahuzzims*.

Now although this Prophecie thus applyed, be so evident, that the onely poynting at the event were able almost to convince the Reader, yet that we may the more yet admire the truth of God in the contemplation of an event so fustable, I will adde these following observations concerning it,

First, that agreeably with the date of the Holy Ghost

Ghost, the Roman Historians themselves have observed and marked out this time of their prevailing against Macedonia (which I said was accomplished toward the end of the reigne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*) for the beginning of the Dominion over the world. *Lucius Florus lib. 2. cap. 7.* Cedente Hanniballe primum victoria Africa fuit, & secutus Africam terrarum orbis; post Carthaginem vinci neminem pudit; secuta sunt statim Africam, Gentis; Macedonia, Gracia, Syria, ceteraque omnia quodam quasi aestu, & torrente fortune: sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. In *Velteius Paterculus lib. 1. cap. 6.* is an Annotation out of one *Emilius Sura*, in these words. *Emilius Sura* de annis populi Romani. Assyrii, Principes omnium Gentium, rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persa, deinde Macedones, exinde duobus regibus, Philippo & Antiocho, qui à Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multò post Carthaginem subactam, devictis, summa Imperii ad Populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus & initium Nini Regis Assyriorum, qui Princeps rerum potius, inter sunt anni mille non genti quinque. Here the time of the Romans prevailing against the Macedonian King is made the beginning of their Empire; even as *Daniel* also beginneth the Roman account from thence; but with this difference, that whereas *Emilius Sura* seemes to reckon from the beginning of these prevailings in the victories against *Philip*, *Daniel* counts from the victory against *Perseus* his sonne; when that Conquest was now perfected, and Macedonia brought into a Province; which happened (as I have already said) the same yeare that *Antiochus Epiphanes* prophaned the Themple of *Jerusalem*.

2 That no Kingdome in the world that we know of, could more literally be said in their conquests to exalt and magnifie themselves above every God, than the Roman; in respect of a solemne custome they used in their wars, by a certain charm to call out the gods of any City

P

when

when they besieged it. The form wherof *Macrobius* gives us *l. 3. Saturn. c. 8.* as he found it in *Sammon. Serenus* his fifth book of hidden secrets, namely this.--If it be a god, it it be a goddesse that hath the City of *Carthage* in protection.--And thou especially, Whosoever thou art, the Patron of this City and people, I pray and beseech, and with your leave require you to abandon the people and City of *Carthage*, to forsake the places, Temples, Ceremonies, and Enclosures of their City; to go away from them, and to strike feare, terrour, and astonishment into that people and City; and having left it, to come to Rome to me and mine; and that our Cities, Places, Temples, Ceremonies, be more acceptable, and better liked of you; that you would take the charge of me, of the people of Rome, and of my souldiers, or as wee may know and understand it: If you doe so, I vow to build you Temples, and to appoint solemne sports for you.

3 That *Constantine*, the first Emperour under whom that State forsook the gods of their forefathers, and became Christian, together with this alteration, abrogated those ancient Roman laws, *Iulia & Papia*, wherein the desire of women and married life was so much privileged and encouraged, and single and unmarried life disadvantaged. Heare it in the words of *Zozoman, lib. 1. cap. 9. Hist. Ecclesiast.* There was (saith he) an ancient law among the Romans, forbidding those who after five & twenty yeers old were unmarried, to enjoy the like privileges with married ones; and besides many other things, that they should have no benefits by Testaments and Legacies, unlesse they were next of kindred, and those who had no children to have halfe their goods confiscated: therefore the Emperour seeing those, who for Gods sake were addicted to chastity and virginity, to be for this cause in the worst condition, he accounted it a folly for men to goe about to increase their kind, with such carefulnesse and diligence; when as nature, according to divine moderation, continually receives as well
diminution

diminution, as increase. Therefore he published a law to the people, that both those who lived a single life, and those who had no children, should enjoy the like priviledges with others: yea he enacted that those who lived in chastity and virginity, should be priviledged above them, enabling both sexes, though under yeares, to make Testaments, contrary to the accustomed policy of the Romans. This alteration of the Roman law by Constantine, Eusebius also witnesseth lib. 4. cap. 26. de vita Constantini: and again, cap. 28. where he saith, that above all he honoured most those that had consecrated their lives to divine Philosophy; he meanes a monasticall life; and therefore he almost adored the most holy company of perpetuall Virgins. That which the fathers had thus enacted, the sonnes also seconded; and some of the following Emperours by new edicts, till there was no relique left of those ancient priviledges, wherewith married men had beene respected; which Procopius saith (how rightly I examine not) was the cause of the ruine of that Empire, which was so much enfeebled and weakned through neglect of the procreation of children, that it was not able to match the numerous armies of barbarous nations. This was the first step of dis-regarding marriage, and the desire of wiving; which was not an absolute prohibition, but discouraging. But no sooner had the Roman Bishop and his Clergy got the power into their hands, but it grew to an absolute prohibition; not for Monkes onely, but for the whole Clergy: which was the highest disrespect that could be to that which God had made honourable among all men.

4 Lastly, it is a thing not to be passed by without admiration, that the Fathers and others, at the beginning of Saint-worship, by I know not what fatall instinct, used to call Saints and their Reliques, *Towres, Walls, Bulwarks* and Fortresses, that is, מבוצצים *Mabuzzim*, in the prime and native signification. *Basil* in his Oration upon the

forty Martyrs, whose Reliques were dispersed over all the Countries thereabouts, speaks in this manner: *These are those who having taken possession of our Countrey, as certain conjoynd Towers, πορταί πύλας σφαλῆναι, secure it from the incursions of Enemies.* The same Basil concludes his Oration upon *Mamas* a Martyr in this manner; that God who hath gathered us together in this place, and disposeth of all that is to come, *keepe us safe from hurt, and secure us from the ravening Wolfe, and preserve stedfast this Church of Casarea, being guarded with a mighty Tower of Martyrs, σπουδαίῳ τῆς μεγάλης πύργου τοῦ ἁγίου.* Chrysostome in *Hom. 32.* upon the Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the Reliques of Saint Peter and Paul; *This corps (saith he) meaning of Saint Paul, fortifies this City of Rome more strongly than any Towre, or ten thousand rampires, as also doth the corps of Peter, πῦρτις πύργῳ καὶ πύργῳ ἐστὶν ἀσπίδων ἀσφαλίστην, &c.* Are not these strong *Mahuzzims*?

The like whereunto is that of *Venantius Fortunatus* a Christian Poet, not above an age younger than *Chrysostome*.

*A facie hostili duo propugnacula presunt,
Quos fidei turres urbs caput orbis habet.*

The Faith's two Towers in Lady Rome do lye,
Two Bulwarks strong against the Einmy.

At the same thing aimes *Gregory lib. 7 Ep. 33. ad Rusticanam Patriciam*, entreating her to come to Rome: *Si gladius Italiae & bella formideris*, If you feare the swords (saith he) and wars of Italy, you ought attentively to consider, how great the protection of blessed Peter, the Prince of Apostles, is in this City, wherein without any great number of people, without the aid of souldiers, we have been so many years in the midst of swords, by Gods providence safely preserved from all hurt.

But

But to returne againe to Saint *Chrysostome*, who in his Homily upon the Egyptian Martyrs, *Hom. 70. ad populum Antiochenum*, speaks after this manner, *These Saints bodies* (saith he) *fortifie* ἡμεῖς *our City more strongly, than an impregnable Wall of Adamant; and as certaine high rocks hanging on every side repell not only the assaults of those enemies, which are sensible and seene with the eye; but also overthrow and defeat the ambuscadoes of invisible fiends, and all the stratagems of the Devill. Here you see are Mahuzzims too.*

So long before, in the dayes of *Constantine*, *Iames Bishop of Nisibis*, renowned for holinesse, was according to order given by *Constantine* in his life time, saith *Gennadius*, buried within the wall of that City, being a Frontire of the Empire, *ob custodiam, viz. Civitatis*. *Gennad. de vir. illustr. cap. 6.*

Evagrius lib. 1. c. 13. tels us that the Antiochians offered up a supplication to the Emperour *Leo* the first, about the yeere 460. for the keeping of the corps of holy *Simeon*, surnamed *Stylita*, or the *Pillarist*, in this forme: *Because our City hath no wall* (for it had beene demolished in a fury) *therefore we brought hither this most holy body, that it might be to us* τοιῆς καὶ ἐκείνου *a Wall and a Fortresse*, which would be in Hebrew Language לשור וצביון *Lesbur vlemahoz.*

Saint *Hilary* also will tell us, that neither the guards of Saints, nor *Angelorum munitiones*, the Bulwarks of Angels, are wanting to those who are willing to stand: here Angels are *Mahuzzims*, as Saints were in the former.

The Greeks at this day, in their *Preces horarie*, thus invoke the blessed Virgin: *O thou Virgin mother of God, thou impregnable Wall, thou Fortresse of salvation,* יְהוָה *Psalm. 28. we call upon thee, that thou wouldest frustrate the purpose of our enemies, and be a fence to this City: thus they goe on, calling her the hope, safeguard,*

and Sanctuary of Christians: here is Μαχουζιμ *Mahoz Mahuzzim*, a strong *Mahoz* indeed.

To conclude, the titles of *Protectors*, *Guardians*, and *defenders*, which is the signification of *Mahuzzim*, when a person is meant, as they are more frequent, so are they no lesse ancient: *Greg. Nyssen*. in his third oration of the forty Martyrs, calls them ἀμεινόμενοι *ameimomenoi*, *Guarders* and *Protectors*.

Eucherius his Saint *Gervase*, the perpetuall Propugnator, Protector of the faithfull. *Theodoret. lib. 8. de curandis Græcorum affectionibus*, calls the holy Martyrs *Guardians of Cities*, *Lieutenants of places*, *Captaines of men*, *Princes*, *Champions*, and *Guardians*, by whom disasters are turned from us, and those which come from Devils debarred and driven away. I might here adde something also concerning Images, whose worship is another part of the doctrine of Demons, & shew how well the name *Mahuzzim* would besit them, which the Iconomacicall Councell of Constantinople calls so unluckily ἀεικονιστὰς *aikeonistas*, the fortresses, or *Mahuzzim* of the Devil; & perhaps the nine and thirtieth verse in the fore-alledged Prophecie might be yet more literally translated, if the word *facere* were taken in a religious sense: And he shall doe unto, or offer unto the holds of *Mahuzzim*, together with forreigne gods, &c. that is, he shall doe religious service to the Images of Saints, together with Christ. I might also put you in minde of the terme *munitum*, given to the Crosse, and that so usuall Latine phrase of *Munire signo Crucis*, to fortifie, that is, to signe with the signe of Crosse; but I will not engage my selfe too farre in these Grammaticall speculations.

As for the following verses of this Prophecie, if any desire to know it, they may, as I think, be interpreted and applied thus.

Ver. 40. And at the time of the end, that is, in the Romans ὁ ἔσχατος καιρος, or latter times, shall the King of the South

But *Constantinus* *Mocossa* the Greek historian inveighing against *Leo Isaurus* for demolishing Images, calls them, *twines* *atque muniti-ones religiosi cultus*.

South (that is, the Saracen) push at him, and the King of the North (the Turk) shall come against him, like a Whirlwind, with charrets, and horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the Countries, and shall overflow and passe over.

Ver. 41. He shall enter also into the glorious Land (Palestina) and many shall be overthrowne, but these shall escape out of his hands, Edom and Moab, and the chiefe of the children of Ammon: that is, the Inhabitants of Arabia Petraea, which were never yet Provincials of the Turkish Empire; yea, with some of them he is faine to be at Pension for the safer passage of his Caravans.

Ver. 42. He (the Turk) shall stretch forth his hands also upon the Countries, of those parts, and the Land of Egypt (though it should hold out long under the Mamelukes, even till the yeere 1517) shall not escape.

Ver. 43. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold, silver, and all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Cushites, that is, the neighbouring Nations, whether of Africke, or Libya, as in those of Algiers, &c. or of the Arabians in Scripture called Cushim shall be at his steps, that is, at his devotion. That which remaines as I suppose is not yet fulfilled, and therefore I leave it: Time will make it manifest.

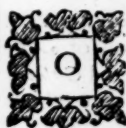
PART II.



PART II.

Verf.2. *Through the hypocrisie or faining of lyes, &c*
ὑποκρίσιν ψευδολογίας : of those who have their consciences
fear'd, κακὰ τὰ ἐν συνείδησιν ἡ ἰσθία συνείδησιν.

Verf.3. *Of those who forbid to marry, and command to*
abstaine from meats, κακὸν τὸν γάμον, ἀπέχουσι βρωμάτων ; which God hath created to bee received with
thanksgiving of them that beleeve, and know the truth,
*αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐκτίσας ἐς μετὰ ἡμῶν καὶ εὐχαριστίας τοῖς μέσσις ἐς ἐμπνοή-
 κων ἡ ἀλήθεια.*



F the first part of this Prophecie, being a description of the Condition of that solemne defection which was to come, I have spoken hitherto. I come now to the second part of the division, the quality of the persons, and the means wherby it was to enter, and to be advanced, which is set forth in the verses now read ; which though you may find by others otherwise translated, yet I hope the translation which I have propounded, if the judicious Reader please to examine it, will approve it self not only not to be an enforced one, but such as salves that incongruity of construction, which the other could not avoid, for it is usually translated intransitively, with reference to the persons expressed in the former verse, viz. that they should speake lyes in hypocrisie, having their conscience feared with an hot iron, and forbidding marriage, and commanding to abstaine from meats ; so as that which in the former verse, is named Doctrines of devils, should
 only

only meane that in generall termes, which in these verses is particularly instanced, to be doctrines of prohibiting marriages, and abstaining from meates, as two branches of that devillish doctrine; for so *Calvin, Melancthon*, and some others seeme to expound it. But why this interpretation should not be the most likely: my first reason is:

First, because it makes *Saint Paul*, who speaks of that great Apostasie of Christians, which was to be in the Later Times, to instance only in the smaller; and if I may so say, almost circumstantiall errors; and to omit this maine and principall, which the Scripture elsewhere tells us, should be *Idolatry*, or *spirituall fornication*; who can beleieve that he could so balk the substance, and name that only, which in comparision is but an Appendix thereto.

Secondly, Hee prophesies here in expresse words, of such things as were to come, *ἐν ἑσπέραις καίς*, in the Later Times; but errors about marriage and meates, were no novelty in the Apostles owne times, as the diligent Reader may easily collect out of their Epistles; which makes it improbable that he would specify the Apostasie of the later times in these alone.

Thirdly, But my last reason whereunto I thinke I may trust, is, that the Syntax of the words in the Greeke is incapable of such an intransitive construction, and consequently of the sense depending thereon; for the persons intimated in the former verse, are expressed *in casu recto*, *τις ἀγορεύων*; but the persons here intended, we finde in the Genitive; *ψευδοδόκον, καυτοπειρασμένον, κωλύοντων*, which I cannot see how they can agree with *τις ἀγορεύων*, after the manner of intransitive construction, without breach of grammaticall congruity, not else-where sampled in our Apostles Epistles; indeed they would agree with *ἀξιωματικόν*, but that would bee a harsh sense every way; for either we must say as some

Q

de

Calvin, Beza.

doe, that by devils are meant devillish men, or men led by the Devil, which is an hard signification; or else it would be a stranger sense, and I think not over-pliable to the usuall exposition, to say that devils should lye, have feared consciences, and forbid marriages, or meats: So that Beza, with others, had rather confesse a breach of Syntax, than incur the inconvenience of such a forced sense. *Major est habita (saith he) sententia, quam constructionis ratio*; the Apostle heeded more the matter than he did the Grammar. But what needs this, so long as there is a better way to save it? namely, to conster the words transitively, making all these Genitive cases to be governed of ἐν ὑπocrίσει, as, ἐν ὑπocrίσει ψευδομένων by, or through the faining of lyers; ἐν ὑπocrίσει κτηναιομένων through the faining of those who had their consciences feared; and so forward: which construction is observed and followed by *Andreas Hiperius*, one of our reformed Writers, who translates it, *per simulationem falsilicorum*, &c. and expounds it, *de modo quo fallent spiritus impostorum fallent per simulationem, seu hypocrisin falsilicorum*, &c. and I beleeve that * many others have taken it; for our late Translations are indifferent to be taken either way: howsoever it be, I see no way but this to keepe the Syntax true and even, and wholly to avoid the fore-mentioned inconveniences: which as it is easie and obvious, and not strained, so I hope to let you see the event to have been most answerable thereunto: That this was the manner, and this the means, this the quality of the persons, whereby the doctrine of *Demons* was first brought in, advanced and maintained in the Church, viz. through the hypocrisie, faining craft, or counterfeiting of those who told lyes, of those who had their consciences feared, &c.

As for the use of the Proposition (ἐν) to signifie *causam instrumentalem*, or *modum actionis*, he that is not a stranger in the Scripture, knowes to be most frequent, the Greeke text

* So *Castellio* seemes to understand it, translating it *per simulationem hominum falsilicorum*.

text borrowing it from the use of the Hebrew Preposition α which the Hebrews call α as when it signifies In, α (1) *subjecti*. But two or three examples will not doe amiss: *Matth. 5. 13.* If the salt hath lost its savour, wherewithall shall it be salted? $\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \alpha\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$? *Act 17. 31.* Because God hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the World in righteousness, $\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\ \delta\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha$, by the man whom he hath ordained. *2 Pet. 3. 1.* I stirre up your pure minds, $\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\theta\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota$, by way of remembrance. *Tit. 1. 9.* That he may be able, $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\epsilon\sigma\eta$, by sound doctrine, to exhort and convince the gain-sayers, and most naturally to the business we have in hand. *2 Thess. 2. 9. 10.* Of the man of sin, whose coming, (saith the Apostle) is after the Working of Satan, $\epsilon\iota\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\ \delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\ \phi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\ \alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\ \tau\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$, With all powers, and signs, and lying Wonders (or through them) and through all deceivableness of unrighteousness, &c. So in my Text, $\epsilon\iota\ \upsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\ \phi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\sigma$, &c. through the hypocrisie of Lyers.

Now for the unfolding of these words, this must first be observed in generall, that they are not to be so understood, as if these, who are the bringers in, and advancers of the doctrines of *Demons*, should every one of them be guilty of all the severall imputations in this description; but they are to be construed rather as an *asyn-deton*, by understanding the Conjunction, as if it had been thus uttered: Through the hypocrisie of Lyers, and through the hypocrisie of men of seared consciences, and lastly, by the hypocrisie of those who forbid marriages, and meats. Or thus: through the hypocrisie, partly of Lyers, partly of men of seared consciences, partly of those who forbid marriage, and command to abstine from meats: and so though many were guilty of all, yet some may be exempt from some; as nam ly some may be guilty of the last note, of forbidding marriage, and abstaining from meats, and yet free of the former, of being

Vide etiam E-
Phef. 4. 14.

In omni di-
tributione o-
mitti copula-
tiva videtur,
vix apponi.
Linac.
Nonne sic eti-
am in Græcis.

counterfeit Lyers, and men of feared Consciences: which I speake for reverence of some of the Ancients, who though otherwise holy men, yet cannot be acquitted from all the imputations here mentioned, nor altogether excused from having an hand, through the Fate of the times wherein they lived, in laying the ground-work, whereon soone after the great Apostasie was builded.

This therefore being remembred, I come now to the unfolding of them in severall: and first of the first, the *hypocrisie of Lyers*, ὑπόκρισις ψευδοδιδασκων. The word ὑπόκρισις signifies dissimulation, a faining, counterfeiting, a semblance, and shew of that which is not so indeed, as it seemeth; and this word we must repeat, and χρῆσι, as belonging, in common, with the rest which followes; for all should be counterfeit: Lying should carry the counterfeit of Truth; the feared Conscience, a semblance of devotion; the restraint of Marriage should be but a shew of chastity; and abstaining from meats, a false appearance of abstinencie: for the persons of whom they are spoken, should either make a shew of what themselves knew was not; or that which they thought they had, should be no better than a false shew, and counterfeit of that they took it for.

The Vulgar Latine in *Mar.* 12. 15. and the Syriack in the same place, turn the word *Hypocrisie*, *versutia*, *dolus*, craft and subtilty: which sense, if need were, would not be denied admittance here. But I return to ψευδοδιδασκων, the *hypocrisie of Lyers*; which I conceive to be the same, and no other, than that which our Apostle speaks in the same case, *2 Thess.* 2. where he tels us, That the coming of the man of sinne, and the Apostasy attending him, should be after the Working of Satan, With all power, and signes, and lying wonders; and With all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse, or unrighteous and ungodly deceiving; and that God should send them strong delusions, that they might beleeve a lye, &c. Yea some of this, and
or

of that which follows in that place; may extend also to the rest which follows in my Text, howsoever the most thereof, as you hear, doth most evidently expound this *ὑποκρίσις* *Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ*, this *hypocrisie* of *Lyers*. Now according to the event, this *hypocrisie* of *Lyers* doth appear in three things: 1. Lyes of Miracles. 2. Fabulous Legends of the Acts of Saints, and sufferings of Martyrs. 3. Counterfeit writings under the name of the best and first antiquity. Lyes of Miracles will display their hypocrisie in three particulars. 1. Forgery. 2. Illusion. 3. Misapplication. 1. Forgery of Miracles never done, as were the reports of wondrous dreames, and visions, which had no other credit, but the Authors honesty; or miraculous Cures, by the power and reliques of Saints deceased; as when those who never were blind, made others believe they had newly received sight. 2. Illusion; when though something were done, yet it was but a seeming, and a counterfeit only of a miraculous work, indeed some juggling trick of the Divell, or of his instruments. Lastly, Mis-application; either when that was attributed to a divine power, which was nothing but *ἔργα τοῦ Σατανᾶ*, the work and operation of the Devill: or when it was interpreted, and abused to invite and confirme men in some idolatrous error, as it happened in the Miracle of the Shrines and Sepulchres of the holy Martyrs, which were interpreted to bee for the confirmation of their Power, Prefence, and notice of humane affaires after death, and to warrant us, and encourage men to have recourse unto them by prayer, and invocation, as unto Mediatours; and to give that honour unto their Reliques, which was due unto God alone. The like is to be said of the Miracles of Images, and of the Host, which though they smelt strong of Forgery, or Illusion, were supposed by a divine disposition to be wrought for the like end and purpose. All which was *ἰσχυρὴ πλάνη*, the power of seduction, or strong delusion, to make the world be-

leeve a Lye, as Saint *Paul* speaks, *2 Thess. 2. 11.*

Concerning the hypocrisie of fabulous Legend-writers of the Acts of Saints and Martyrs, you know what it meanes, as also the last which was named Counterfeit Authors, under the name of Antiquitie; as approving those errors which latter times devised; I shall not need here to ule any further explication: And thus you see what is comprehended under ὑπόκρισις ψευδογράφων, the hypocrisie, counterfeiting, or faining of Lyers. I should now come to display the truth of this particular of this Prophesie in the event; But I will first unfold the next imputation, ὑπόκρισις καυτευσμένων, the hypocrisie of those who have their consciences seared; which though it might be exemplified in other things, yet I meane to instance only in that afore-mentioned, and so must give you the story of both together.

Ἐν ὑπόκρισι καυτευσμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, &c.
Through the hypocrisie of those who have their consciences seared. For ἐν ὑπόκριτι, as I said before, is to be repeated ὁδὸς νόσος. Καυτῆριον signifies both the place seared, and the marke printed by the searing with an hot iron. Καυτεῖν is to cauterize, to seare with an hot iron, or cut off with searing, as Chirurgions do rotten members: now that which is seared, becomes more hard and brawny, and so more dull, and not so sensible in feeling as otherwise. In this sense καυτευσμένοι ἡ ἰδίαν συνείδησιν signifies those who have a hard and a brawny Conscience, which hath no feeling in it: in the other sense as καυτεῖν is to cut off by searing, it must signifie those who have no conscience left; there is not much difference, but I follow the first, a hard and unfeeling Conscience. And whether those ψευδογράφοι, whereof we spake before (to use no other instances) were not of such metall, for their conscience, I thinke no man can deny. Who could have coined, or who could have beleev'd such monstrous stuffe, as the Legends are stored with, but such as were cauterized?

rized? If they had had any tendernesſe or feeling, not only of Conſcience, but even of ſenſe, they could never have beleev'd, or vented ſuch ſtuffe as there is. As *Vincent. hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 84.* That the Virgin *Mary* ſhould draw out her breſts, and milke in 'I know not what Clerkes mouth. That ſhe played the Mid-wife to an Abbeſſe, got with child by her Cater, and ſent the Baſtard by two Angels to a certaine Hermite to be brought up. *Idem ibid. c. 86.* That ſhee came and lay the firſt night in the middeſt between a certain Bride-groome and his Bride. *Idem lib. 7. cap. 87.* *Cæſarius* in his ſeventh book, *ca. 34.* reports, that the Virgin *Mary*, for twelve whole yeares together, did ſupply the place of a certain Nun, called *Beatrice*, while ſhe lay in the Stewes, till at length returning, ſhee freed the Virgin from ſtanding Sentinell any longer. And *lib. 7. cap. 33.* That ſhe ſaid to a certain Souldier, I will be thy wife, come and kiſſe me, and made him do ſo. That ſhe tooke a Monk about the neck and kilned him. In an Italian booke called, *The miracles of the bleſſed Virgin*, printed at *Millaine 1547.* A certain Abbeſſe being great with child, the holy Virgin willing to cover the crime, did in her ſtead preſent her ſelf before the Biſhop in form of an Abbeſſe, and ſhewed by ocular demonſtration, that ſhe was not with child. *Faſciculus temporum*; written many yeeres agoe, tells us of Saint *Gilgols* wife uſed to ſing with her lower mouth, becauſe ſhee ſcoffed at her husbands Miracles.

But that which *Johannes de Nicol.* in his reformed Spaniard tels, that he read taken out of *Trithemius*, is the more worthy to be remembred, as being a principall motive in his converſion, who waſtill then extremely addicted to the Idol-worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin; which was much cooled, when he read that ſhe came into the chamber of Fryer *Allen* (a Dominican that made her Roſary) made a ring of her owne haire, wherewith ſhe etpouſed her ſelfe unto him, kiſſed him, let him handle her

her breasts, and conversed as familiarly with him, as a Bride is wont with her Bridegroom: whether think you not that these fellows were feared in their conscience? what block could have been more senselesse? *Melchior Canus* speaking of the golden Legend, as they call it, a book fraught with such stuffe, as you have heard, mee thinks almost expresses the meaning of a cauterized conscience. *Hanc homo scripsit* (saith he) *ferrei oris, & plumbei cordis*, a fellow of an iron mouth, and leaden heart, as if he had said, *νεγμελακρὸν & τὴν ἰσὺν στυγεράν*, of a brawny and unfeeling conscience.

But I come to shew how this prediction of our Apostle hath been accomplished, how *καταργησις θεοδιδόγων*, the confuting and feigning of lyers, was the meanes whereby the doctrine of *Demons* was advanced in the Church, I meane the deifying and worshipping of Saints and Angels, the adoring and templing of Reliques, the bowing down to Images, the worshipping of Crosses as new Idoll-columnnes, the worshipping of the breaden god, or of any visibible thing whatsoever upon supposall of any divinity therein: all which I have proved to be nothing else, but the Gentiles idolatrous Theologie of *Demons*, revived amongst Christians.

The first of these, the deifying and invoking of Saints, and adoring Reliques is the most ancient for time of all the rest, and began to appeare in he Church presently after the death of *Julian* the Apostate, who was the last Ethnicall Eperour; the grounds and occasions whereof were most strange reports of wonders shewed upon those who approached the shrines of Martyrs, and prayed at their memories, and sepulchers: devils charmed, diseases cured, the blind saw, the lame walked, yea, the dead revived, and other the like, which the Doctors of those times for the most part avouched to be done by the power and prayers of glorified Martyrs, and by the notice they tooke of mens devotions at their sepulchers; though

though at the beginning those devotions were directed to God alone, and such places only chosen for the stirring up of zeale and fervour, by the memory of those blessed and glorious Champions of Christ. But whiles the world stood in admiration, and the most esteemed of these wonders, as of the glorious beams of the triumph of Christ; they were soon perswaded to call upon them, as patrons and mediators, whose power with God, and notice of things done upon earth, they thought that these signes and miracles approved.

Thus the Reliques of Martyrs beginning to be esteemed above the richest jewels, for the supposed vertue even of the very ayre of them, were wonderfully sought after, as some *divine Elixar*, soveraigne both to body and soule. Whereupon another scene of wonders entred, even of visions, and revelations, wonderfull and admirable for the discovery of the sepulchers and ashes of Martyrs, which were quite forgotten, yea, of some whose names and memories, till then, no man had ever heard of; as *S. Ambrose's Gervasius*, and *Protasius*. Thus in every corner of the Christian world were new martyrs bones ever and anon discovered, whose verity againe miraculous effects and cures seemed to approve; and therefore were diversly dispersed, and gloriously templed, and enshrined. *Hil. lib. ad Constantium* intimates miraculous cures of the Reliques of Martyrs to have been as ancient as his time, yea as the time of the Churches peace ^b. All these things happened in that one age, and were come to this height in lesse than 100 yeares. But here is the wonder most of all to be wondred at, that none of these miraculous signes were ever heard of in the Church, for the first 300. yeares after Christ, untill about the yeare 360; after that the Empire under *Constantine* and his sonnes, having publicquely embraced the Christian faith, the Church had peace, and the bodies of the despised Martyrs, such as could be found, were now bestowed in most

R

magni

b Plus crudelitati vestrae, Nero, Deci, Maximiniane debemus. Diabolum enim per vos vicimus, Sanctus ubique beatorum Martyrum sanguis exceptus est; dum in his Dæmones mugiant, dum ægritudines depelluntur, &c. At tu (id est Constantinus) omnium crudelitatum crudelissime damno majore in nos, & venia minore, defecis, &c.

c See Clem.
Con. fol. 106.

d A delicate
Suburbs of
Antioch.

e Adde, that
no such thing
could bee, so
long as they
used to pray
for Martyrs, as
well as others
of the dead.
See Clem. &
alios.

magnificent Temples, and there gloriously enshrined. And yet had the Christians long before used to keep their Assemblies at the ^c Cæmities and monuments of their Martyrs; how came it to passe, that no such vertue of their bones and ashes, no such testimonies of their power after death, were discovered untill now?

Babylas his bones were the first that all my search can find, which charmed the devill of *Daphne*, *Apollo Daphneus*, when *Julian* the Apostate offered so many sacrifices to make him speak; and being asked why he was to mute, forsooth, the corps of *Babylas* the Martyr, buried neere the Temple in ^d *Daphne*, stopped his wind-pipe. I feare, I feare here was some hypocrisie in this businesse, and the devill had some feat to play: the very name of *Babylas* is enough to breed jealousy, it is an ominous name, the name *Babylas*; yea, and this happened too at *Antioch*, where *Babylas* was Bishop and Martyr in the persecution of *Decius*. Would it not do the devill good, there to begin his Mystery, where the Christian name was first given to the followers of Christ? howsoever this was then far otherwise construed, and a conceit quickly taken, that other Martyrs bones might be found upon triall, as terrible to the devill, as those of *Babylas*; which was no sooner tryed, but experience presently verified with improvement, as you heard before; so that all the world rung so with wonders done by Martyrs, that even holy men, who at the first suspected, were at length surpris'd, and carried away with the power of delusion.

Besides the silence of all undoubted ^e antiquity of any such sepulchrell wonders to have happened in the former ages, the very manner of speech, which the Fathers living in this miraculous age used, when they spake of these things, will argue they were then accounted novelties, and not as continued from the Apostles times. *Chrysostome* in his Oration contra Gentiles, of the businesse of *Babylas*

Babylus speaks thus; ὅτις ἀπίσται τοῖς ὑπο τῶν Ἀποστόλων γυναικοῖς τὰ πάρεργα διαπύμπαι σοδοῦς ἀνασχυνίας : If any man beleeves not these things, which are said to be done by the Apostles, let him now beholding the present, desist from his impudency. Ambros. Epist. ad sororem Marcellinam, relating of a peece of the speech he made, upō the translations of the bodies of *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, and the miracles then shewed, reparata (saith he) vetusti temporis miracula cernitis : You see the miracles of ancient times (he means the time of Christ and his Apostles) renewed. S. August. lib. de civ. Dei 22. cap. 8. in a discourse of the miracles of that time, saith ; We made an order to have bills given out of such miracles as were done, when we saw the wonders of ancient times renewed in ours : Id namque fieri volumus, cum videremus antiquis similia divinarum signa virtutum, etiam nostris temporibus frequentari, & ea non debere multorum notitia deperire. But alas, now began the ὕψος καὶ γὰρ, this was the fatall time, and thus the Christian Apostasie was to be ushered ; If they had knowne this, it would have turned their joyous shoutings and triumphs, at these things, into mourning.

The end, which these signs and wonders aimed at, and at length brought to passe, should have made them remember that warning which was given the ancient people of God : Dent. 13. If there arise among you a Prophet, or a dreamer of dreames, and giveth thee a signe or a Wonder; & that signe or Wonder come to passe, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us goe after other Gods and serve them ; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that Prophet, or dreamer of dreames : for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soule. But why should I go any further, before I tell you, that even in this also, the idolatry of Saint-worship was a true counterfeite of the Gentiles idolatry of Dæmons ? Did not

R 2

Dæmon-

In which respect *ἡ δαίμωνια δαίμωνισαν* though the Genitive case were taken actively, would signifie the Idolatry of Saint-worship, viz. the worship of the dead, which the Devils are wont thus to counterfeit.

Dæmon-worship enter after the same manner? was it not first insinuated, and afterward established by signes, and wonders of the very selfesame kinde, and fashion? Listen what *Eusebius* will tell us in his fifth book *Preparat. Evangel. cap. 2.* according to the Greek edition of *Rob. Stephen*, when (saith he) those vvicked spirits(as he proved thē to be vvhich vvere vvorshipped under the names of Dæmons) savv mankind brought off to a deifying of the dead (he means by erecting statues, and ordaining ceremonies and sacrifices for their memorials) ἐγγυθεν ἑαυτοὶ καὶ συναρξοὶ τῆς πλάνης παύσαν; they insinuated themselves, and helped forward their error: Κηρύσσει πῃ τῶν ζώντων ἃ δι' ὅτι πρὶν τῶν κατασκευῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀγιάζονται by certaine motions of the statues, which anciently vvere consecrated to the honour of the deceased: as also τὰς διὰ χρισμῶν φαντασίαις, διαγνώσκειν τε συμμάτων by ostentation of oracles and cures of diseases, whereby they then superstitious ranne headlong, sometimes to take them to be some heavenly povvers and Gods indeed, and sometimes to be τὰς τῶν τι θεοποιμένων ἑρῶν ψυχὰς; the soules of their deified worthies. And so (saith he) the earth-neighbouring-Dæmons which are the Princes of the Ayre, those spiritualities of wickednesse, and ring-leaders of all evill, were on all hands accounted for great Gods: ὥτε τῶν παλαιῶν νεκρῶν μνήμη τῆς μελίσσοντος ἡξίστο διαγνώσκειν; and the memory of the ancients deceased was thought worthy to be celebrated with a greater service; the features of whose bodies the dedicated images in every city seemed to represent; but the soules of them, and those diviner and incorporall powers, οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες καθυπερβύνοιο διὰ πολλὰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς; the wicked Dæmons counterfeited by working many miracles.

Here *Tertullian* also speaks in his *Apology to the Gentiles, cap. 21. in fine.* *Querite ergo si vera est ista divinitas Christi: si est ea quā cognita ad bonū quis reformatur, sequitur*

cur ut falsa renuntietur, compertâ imprimis illâ omni rati-
one, qua delirescens sub nominibus & imaginibus mortuo-
rû, quibusdâ signis et miraculis, et oraculis, fidē divinitatis
operatur. Search therefore this Deity of Chrilt, whether it
be true, or not; if it be that, by the knowledge whereof
a man shall be reformed to good, it follows then, that
the false be renounce'd; especially, that whole mystery
(he means of Gentiles Idolatry, and Dæmon-worship)
being discovered, which under the names and Images of
the dead, through Signes, Miracles and Oracles, obtaineth
an opinion of Divinity.

Chrysostome shall conclude, who in his Oration In
* Iudaizantes saith, that the Dæmons of the Gentiles
wrought Miracles for the confirmation of Paganisme,
καὶ ὅς τινες πολλὰ πάλαιος διὰ τὸ αὐτῶν τέχνης νοσήματα ἀπέ-
λυσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑγίαν τὸν χεμοντας ἐπαγγαζον: τί ἔν
κοινωνίᾳ δὲ τὸ ἀσθεῖας διὰ τότο μὴ γένοιτ. For (saith he)
they oftentimes by their skill cured diseases, and restored
to health those that were sick; what should we partake
therefore with them in their impiety, because of this?
God forbid. Then he addes out of Moses, Dent. 13. that
which we even now quoted; which, had it bin as well
applied to the miracles amongst Christians present, as it
was to those of the Gentiles past, perhaps he that spoke
it, would have questioned something which he inclined
to beleeve.

The second particular I named of *ἱστορίαις ἁγίων*,
was fabulous; Legends of the Acts of Saints and Martyrs;
this was also another means to advance the doctrines of
Dæmons. For the true acts and stories of Martyrs being
extinguished for the most part, by the bloody Edict of
Dioclesian, they now began to supply again that losse, by
collecting such tales as were then current of them, and
adding thereto such miracles as were fabled after death;
fashioned all to the best advantage of what they meant
to promote in the Church, and was already on foot in

Savil, Tom. 6.
p. 376. alii
Hom. prim. ad-
vers. Iudeos.

the same. Such was that wherewith the good Father *Gr. Nazian.* was abused in his funeral Oration upon *Cyprian* and many others of the Greek Churches; that *Cyprian*, that great *Cyprian*, who was both Citizen and Bishop of *Carthage*, in the reign of *Decius* (for of him *Gregory* speaketh expressely) even being formerly a Conjuror, and falling into love with a Christian Virgin *Iustian*, some say of *Antioch*, when as by wooing and ordinary means he could not win her unto his will, he went about to prevaile with Magick spels and conjurations; which the Damsell perceiving, she having recourse to God, sett to work against him with prayer and fasting, and in her devotions also besought the Virgin *Mary* to succour her a Virgin in that jeopardy: by which means *Cyprians* Magicall enchantments were frustrated, and he convinced thereby, became a Christian. All which *Baronius* himselfe confesses to be a fable, as well he might, it being unknowne both to *Pontius* his Deacon, who lived with him, and wrote his life; and to the Western, and African Churches, where he lived and dyed: who knew, and who could know better, that in his Paganisme he was not a Magitian, but a Professour of Oratory at *Carthage*, far enough from *Antioch*, and converted by one *Cacilius*: Nevertheless, we have cause to think, that this tale, together with the like, served not a little for the advancement of the mystery of Dæmons in the Eastern Churches; when we see our Adversaries so willing to have that passage (as seems by their often alledging it) of calling upon the blessed Virgin to be authentically, notwithstanding they know (which the Greeks so wel could not, he being a Latine Bishop) that the whole story must needs be a fable. Of this stamp are the well known Legends of our Latine Churches, which almost all of them drive principally at this mark; it being also the ordinary conclusion of their tales (sure of our English) that since God hath done thus and thus by this holy Martyr, or sith God hath with

with such miracles honoured this Martyr, let us pray unto him, that by his merits and intercession we may obtain salvation. Nor is it a late device; *Greg. Turonensis* above a thousand years ago in his two books *De miraculis martyrum*, as his fabulous narrations, (which yet many of them he refers to others before him) are excellently well framed for the promotion of Saint-worship; so in the Conclusion of them he Plainly confesses, that that was his ayme shutting up his first book thus. *Unde oportet & nos eorum Patrocinia expetere, ut eorum mereamur Suffragiis, vel quod nostris digni non sumus meritis obtinere, eorum possumus Intercessionibus adipisci, &c.* His second thus; *Ergo his miraculis lector intendens intelligat, non aliter nisi Martyrum reliquorumq; amicorum Dei adiutoriis se posse salvare, &c.*

But among the Greeks *Simeon Metaphrastes* hath a strain beyond us all, who makes prayers for many of his Martyrs, wherein they desire of God, that whosoever should pray unto him in their names, or have recourse to their sepulchers, when they were glorified, might obtaine whatsoever they ask, yea remission of sins it selfe: which because it is so singular a counterfeit of a lying Greek, I shall not do amisse to insert the particulars, together with something about the occasion and time of this device.

In the Martyrdom of *Anastasia*, a Roman Virgin, under *Diocletian*, he tels us if we be so wise as to beleieve it,

That at the time of her suffering, when she had, as was fit, given thanks unto God, and prayed for the happy accomplishment of her Martyrdom, and afterward made suit for those who being sick should have recourse unto her (*viz.* after death) shee heard a voice from heaven certifying, that what she had asked was granted her.

Saint

This *Gregory* of *Tours* died Anno 596.

But I finde now the same in the *Auica Legenda* of the following Martyrs, save the first, which is not there. *S. Barbara* is but the Appendix.

Saint *Barbara*, a Virgin of *Heliopolis*, martyred under *Maximilianus*, he makes, under the Executioners hand, to pray in this manner :

*And thou O King (God) now heare my prayer, that whosoever shall remember thy name, and this my conflict, no pestilent disease may enter upon this house, nor any other of those evils, which may bring damage, or troubles to the bodies of men. She had no sooner spoken, saith he, but a voice was miraculously heard from heaven, calling her and her fellow Martyr *Julian* to the heavenly places, and promising also that those things, which shee had asked, should be accomplished.*

In Saint *Blasius* (who suffered, saith *Baronius*, under *Licinius*) our *Simeon* tels us.

That when a woman came unto him to cure her son, who had a fish-bone sticking in his throat, he prayed in this manner : *Thou O Saviour, who hast been ready to help those who called upon thee, beare my prayer, and by thy invisible power take out the bone which sticks in this child, and cure him : and whensoever hereafter the like shall befall men, children, or beasts, if any of them shall remember my name, saying, O Lord hasten thy help through the intercession of thy servant Blasius, doe thou cure him speedily, to the honour and glory of thy holy Name.*

Again, he tels us, while they were carrying him before the President, he restored to a poor widow a hog, her only hog, which a Wolfe had taken away from her. And when afterward, in signe of thankfulnessse, shee brought the hogs head and his feet boiled to the Martyr in prison, he blessing her, spake in this maner: *Woman in this habit celebrate my memoriall, and no good thing shall ever be wanting in thy house from my God: yea and if any other, imitating of thee, shall in like manner celebrate my memoriall,*

riall, he shall receive an everlasting gift from my God, and a blessing all the dayes of his life.

When he comes to suffer, he makes him pray to God thus: *Here me thy servant, and whosoever shall have recourse to this thine Altar, (he means himselfe) and whosoever shall have swallowed a bone or a prickle, or be vexed with any disease, or be in any affliction, necessity, or persecution, grant Lord to every one his hearts desire, as thou art gracious and mercifull, for thou art to be glorified now and evermore.*

When he had thus prayed (saith he) Christ descended from heaven in a cloud, and overshadowed him: and our Saviour said unto him, *O my beloved Champion, I will not onely doe this, but that also which thou diddest request for the Widow; and will blesse also every house which shall celebrate thy memory, and I will fill their store-houses with all good things, for this thy glorious confession, and thy faith which thou hast in me.*

Saint Catharine, whom he calls *Acatharina*, a Martyr of *Alexandria*, under *Maximilianus*, he makes to pray thus at her Martyrdome.

Grant unto those, O Lord, who through me shall call upon thy holy Name, such their requests as are profitable for them, that in all things thy Wondrous Works may be praised now and evermore.

But above all the rest, *Marina's* prayer, whom we Latines call Saint *Margaret*, is compleat, and for the purpose; she suffered under *Dioclesian*, and thus she prayed, if you dare beleve *Simeon*.

And now, O Lord my God, whosoever for thy sake shall worship this Tabernacle of my body, which hath fought for thee; and whosoever shall build an Oratory in the name

S

of

h O happy
Simon.

of thy handmaid, and therein offer unto thee spirituall sacrifices, oblations, and prayers; and all those who shall faithfully describe this my conflict of Martyrdome, and shall read and remember the name of thy handmaid; give unto them, most holy Lord, who art a lover of all the good, and a friend of soules, remission of sinnes; and grant them propitiation and mercy, according to the measure of their faith, and let not the revenging hand come neere them, nor the evill of famine, nor the curse of pestilence, nor any grievous scourge; nor let any incurable destruction either of body or soule beside them. And to all those who shall in faith and truth adhere to my house (her Oratory or Chappell) or unto my name, and shall unto thee, O Lord, offer glory and praise, and a sacrifice in remembrance of thine Handmaid, & shall aske salvation and mercy through me, grant them, O Lord, abundant store of all good things; for thou alone art good and gracious, and the giver of all good things for ever and ever. Amen.

i If she prayed this prayer with her selfe, by what revelation was it made knowne to others?

While she was thus praying with her selfe (saith i Simeon) behold there was a great earthquake, yea, and the Lord himselfe, with a multitude and host of holy Angels standing by her, in such sort as was perceptible to the understanding, said; Be of good cheare Marina, and feare not, for I have heard thy prayers, I have fulfilled, and will in due time fulfill whatsoever thou hast asked, even as thou hast asked it.

Thus saith Simeon; who neverthelesse in the very entrance of this his tale of Marina, or Margaret, complains much, forsooth, that not a few of these narrations of the acts of Martyrs, were at the beginning forgot, yea profaned (as he saith more truly then he was aware of) *Evidentissimis Demoniorū doctrinis*. Besides, he calls I know not what narration of the Virgins Martyrdome, in that sort corrupted, *dictio Demoniacā*; but for his own part, he would reject all counterfeit fables, and tels us nothing but the truth; which how honestly he hath performed, and

and what touchstone he used, let the Reader judge. ^b *Baronius* I am sure is quite ashamed of him, who though he can be sometimes content to trade with not much better ware, yet this of *Simeons* he supposes will need very much washing and cleansing, before it be merchantable.

But for the better understanding of this mystery of iniquitie, and what necessity there was of such desperate shifts, when time was; ye shall know, that this *Simeon* lived towards the end of that time of great and long opposition against idolatry, in the Greek and Eastern Churches, by divers Emperours, with the greatest part of their Bishops, peeres, and people, lasting from about the year of our Lord 720, till after 840, that is, 120 years; which was not against Images only, though they bare the name; but the worship of Saints, and their reliques; the state whereof shall not be amisse to represent out of such records of Antiquity, as our Adversaries themselves have been pleased to leave us; if it be but for their sake who so often ask us, whether there were ever any of our religion before *Luther*. Let us therefore heare what Writers of their own sect, such as then lived, and were eye-witnesses, will tell us. *Leo Isaurus* (saith *Theophanes*, *missel. lib. 21. cap. 23.*) erred not only about the ^c respective adoration of venerable Images; but about the intercession of the most chaste Mother of God, and all the Saints, whose reliques also the most wicked man abominated, like unto his masters the Mahumetans. This was the first of those Emperours: the next was *Constantinus*, whom they surnamed *Copronimus*, of whom the same Author (*ibid. c. ult.*) speaks as followeth: *This pernicious*, (saith he) *inhumane, and barbarous Emperour abusing his authority tyrānically, and not using it lawfully, at the very beginning made an Apostasie from God, and from his undefiled Mother, and from all his Saint.* Again, *lib. 22. cap. 4.* Upon the twenty sixth yeare of his reigne he shewed himself wicked, beyond the frenzie of the Mahumetans, to all that

b In notis ad
Martyrologi-
um Roman.
Jul. 13.

ἡ ἁγία ἡ μήτηρ
τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ ἅγιος.

Were Orthodox (so he calls Idolaters) under his Empire, Bishops, Monks, Lay-men, and others his subjects: every where, as well by Writing as by speech, banishing, as unprofitable, the Intercession of the holy Virgin and Mother of God, and of all the Saints, through Which all succour is conveyed unto us; and causing their holy reliques to be rejected and despised: and if the reliques of any notable Saint, soveraigne both to body and soule, were knowne to lye any where, and were, as the manner is, honoured by those Which were religious, presently he threatned such as these with death, as wicked doers, or else with Banishment, proscriptions, and torture. As for the reliques acceptable to God, and esteemed by the possessours as a treasure, they were taken from them, from thence forward to be made hatefull things.

Againe, cap. 48. of the next yeere.

If one getting in pain, or being in pain, chanced to utter the usuall language of Christians, saying, O Mother of God help me; or were found keeping vigils, &c. he was adjudged as the Emperours enemy, and stiled Immemorabilis, unworthy of memory; this was a title of infamy.

Again, cap. 54. anno regni 31.

If one were found to have a relique but to keep (that is, though he worshipped it not) yet neverthelesse aid Lichanodraco the Emperours President burn it, and punish him that had it as a wicked doer. Thus saith Theophanes.

Habetur in operibus Damasceni auctoris, interprete Iacobi Billio, ex Reginae matris bibliotheca, & apud Surium, Tom. 6. Nov. 28.

Heare now what the Author of the Acts of Monk Stephen, whom the same Emperour made one of their Martyrs for patronizing Idols, can tell us; heare what hee saith of the great Councell of Constantinople, held in this Emperours reigne against Images.

O Christ, how should I not admire thy lenity! — To that height did those most impudent tongues yet further break out,

out, that they were not afraid to utter that monstrous and impious speech, viz. that the very Virgin Mother of God her selfe was now after her death unavailable, and no use to be made of her, nor could she help or protect any one.

The same Author thus deplores the state of those times, abusing the words of *Psalme 79*.

O God the heathen are come into thine Inheritance ; thy holy Temple have they defiled, and made Hierusalem an heap of stones ; The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat to the fowles of the ayre, and the flesh of thy Saint unto the beasts of the earth ; that is (saith he) the veverable and sacred reliques of Martyrs, quas partim igni, partim mari, partim deniq; (ô facinus orbi universo damnum ferens) precipitiis tradiderunt; which they cast partly into the fire, partly into the water (O villanous act whereby the whole world is damnified) partly threw downe into precipices.

There is nothing yet in these relations will doe any man hurt, by engendring a misconceit, especially if he remember the tale is told by malicious Adversaries, that counterfeit reliques were plentiful in those dayes as well as now : That *Hezekiah* brake in pieces the brazen Serpent, made by Gods own commandement, a holy monument and type of Christ, when it was once abused to Idolatry.

After the death of this Emperour *Constantine*, and his sonne, who reigned not long after him, the idolatrous faction, under *Constantine* his nephew, and the Queen mother *Irene*, againe for some yeares prevailed ; and that so farre, as to packe a ^b Councell, the Bishop of *Rome* having a maine stroke therein ; whereby the former Councell of *Constantinople* was condemned, and the worship of Images again established. But *Leo Arminius* comming to the Empire, the Orthodox part again prevailed, as before they had done, during the reigne of three Emperours

^b Called the second of *Nice*.

Habetur apud
Baron. an. 843.
18.

more. The last Emperour of the opposers of Idols was *Theophilus*, the last Patriarch *John*, and that to the very end; the Idolatry of Saint-worship was opposed more or lesse, as well as that of Images, as may be gathered out of that *ἐκκλῆσιον*, or the song of triumph, which the Greeks used to sing the first Sunday in Lent, for a memoriall of their last and finall conquest of the opposers of Images, ever since that time, where in the Hymne of *Theodorus* Ode 8. I find this verse, Ταῖς ἱερὰς ἑστέον νεύματα καὶ τοὺς ἱερὰς εὐχὰς, Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐκκλῆσιον, ἱερατοὶ ἀνέμους οἱ ἀπενταὶ τὴν ἐκκλῆσιον : (i. e.) The sacred reliques of the Saints, and their Images, were not as all to be worshipped, said most wickedly the renouncers of piety, the barbarous *Lezick* and *John*. This *John* is that Patriarch of *Constantinoble*, which I said was the last of the opposers of Idols, & is often mentioned in this song, as is also *Lezick*, but what he was is uncertaine. But the whole story being delivered unto us only by profest enemies, if they should fasten no worse calumnies upon the opposite side than yet you have heard, you would think perhaps that the Patrons of Idols then were farre more ingenuous to their Adversaries, than we find their Successours now.

Hearc therefore something of this kind also, that you may see as they agreed with us in the same profession against Idols, so did they also in suffering the like slanderous lyes from their Adversaries; in discouraging whereof I shall bee nearer to *ἡλικίαν* *ἡλικίαν* than I was before.

In that great Councell of 338. Bishops, held at *Constantinoble* against Idols, under *Constantinus Copronymus*, were, by some that wished wel to Saint-worship, though they consented against Images, these two Canons inserted into the first draught of the definition of the Synod. First, if any one should not confesse the holy & ever blessed Virgin *Mary*, truly & properly *Deipara*, (the Mother of

of God) to be higher then any visible or invisible creature, and with a sincere faith implores not her intercession, let him be Anathema. Secondly, If any one shall not confesse all the Saints which have been from the beginning of the world untill now, to be honourable before God both in soule and body, or shall not intreat their prayers, let him be Anathema: which, when the definition came to be read in the Councell, the prevailing part of the Fathers caused to be blotted out; a whereupon that slander, fastned on them by their enemies, may seem to have taken the first hint, as it forsooth by their rejecting these two foisted Canons, they had therefore denied whatsoever was contained in them, as that the Virgin *Mary* was *Deipara*, or Mother of God; or that the Saints were to be honoured so much, as with that honourable title of Saints.

For *Cedrenus* would make us beleeve, that this Emperour *Constantine* published a generall law, *δογμα καθεστικόν*, that none of the servants of God should in any wise be called *Saints*; yea, that such of their reliques as were found, should be despised, and their intercession not to be prayed for; because, said he, they can avails nothing. The prophane wretch added (saith the same Authour) Let no man pray for the intercession, no not of *Mary*, for she can do him no good, *ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ θεοῦ τὸν ἀνὴρ ὁμομύθεον*; moreover, that she could not be called *Deipara*, the Mother of God. Then he tels us, that he compared the blessed Virgin, after she was delivered of Christ, to a purse of gold, after it is emptied of the gold that was once in it. The same with *Sedrenus*, almost word for word, hath *Suidas*, so that the one may seem to have been transcribed out of the other.

But *Theophrastus*, one who lived at the same time, whereas *Cedrenus* was more than 240 years after, seems much more ingenuous, for in his funerall Oration upon *Nicetas*, a ^b Confessour of those times, whose Disciple he

α μὲν ἡ ἐκδοσις
αὐτῶν ταύτων,
καὶ ἡ ἡμετέ-
ρειον εὐπεί-
δειαν πρὸς τοῦ
προσώπου
ἀποβύοντο
λαϊσάντης ταύ-
την ἐκ τῶν δι-
αυτῶν συν-
τάξεων, &
καὶ τὰς ἡμετέ-
ρας, saith
the Confuter.
Cone. Nic. 2.
act. 6. tom. 6.

Apud Surium
Apr. 3. tom. 2.

b Vnder Leo
Arminius.

b Viz. The
Emperour.

he was, relating otherwise the same things that *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* doth; yet when he comes to the story of the purse, he brings in the Emperour, expressly calling the Virgin *Mary Deipara*; but finds fault, that he would not vouchsafe her the name *Saint*. *Ita Deiparens Maria* (b saith he) *neque enim sanctam dignabatur nominare illam* (saith *Theosterictus*) *indignus ille; quo tempore Christi in se habebat, valde honoranda illa erat; ex quo autem tempore illum peperit, nihil differebat à reliquis*. Indeed it seemes at the wiping out of these fore-mentioned Canons, there passed something in the Councell (as is wont in such disputes) concerning an indifferenc or lawfulness in ordinary speech to mention such places, as were dedicated to the memory of Saints, without the addition of the name *Saint*. For I find that *Stephen* the Monk, afterward forsooth a Martyr, at what time the Emperour lent some of the Bishops and others unto him, to require his subscription to the decree of the Councell, thus expostulates with them: *Did ye not* (saith he) *discard that adjective Saint from all the just, from all the Apostles, from the Prophets, Martyrs, and other godly men? For it was bravely decreed by you, That when any one were going to any of these, and were asked whither he went, he should answer to the Apostles, to the forty Martyrs; or being asked whence he came, he should in like manner say, From the Temple of Martyr Theodore, or from the Temple of the Martyr George.*

But *Theosterictus* tels the same thing of the Emperour *Constantine* himselfe. *Sanctos Martyres* (saith he) *quantum in ipso erat, honore privavit, cum preceperit illos non esse sanctos appellandos; sed simpliciter nominari Apostolos, quadraginta Martyres, Theodorum, Georgium, & alios similiter*: he deprived, as much as in him lay, the holy Martyrs of honour, in that he commanded, they should not be stiled *Saints*, but simply named the forty Martyrs, *Theodore, George, &c.* Whereby it appeares, that this law

(whatsoever it was that these Authors charge the Emperour with) was something which proceeded from the Councell it self, as Monk *Stephen* even now charged them. Besides, that it was something onely about the calling of places dedicated to Saints, though our Authors (as Calumniators use) tell it of Saints at large.

Lately, it seemes to have growne upon some question, how farre, and in what kind, Saints were to be honored, which was occasioned by the wiping out of those Canons afore-mentioned.

Johannes Chropalata and *Cedrenus* relate, that *Michael Balbus*, the last save one of the Emperours that opposed Idols, ἱδρωσιν μὴ πῦρ ἢ χρυσοῦς ἢ ἀργύρου ἢ ὁσίου ἡρώου τιμῆν * (*Azins*) ὁρίσας ἐκκαθάρσαι; ordained, that the word Saint should not be set upon any Images whereloever they were painted (for this was, and as some say * is yet, the fashion of the Greeks, to adde the names of the Saints to the Images that represent them) now if any such thing as this were done, or discoursed of, in the dayes of *Constantinus*, whom they call *Copronimus*, you may easily ghesse what fuell it might adde to the fire of that slander we speak of.

* *Possivinus in sua Nescovis.*

But why should we trouble our selves any longer to find out the originall of that, which we are certain was a notorious lie ? for it is apparent in the definition of the Councell it selfe, which is thus calumniously charged, that they both give the title of Saints often to the Apostles, Fathers, and others, and of *Deipara* to the blessed Virgin. I shall not need to recount every place where they give the title of Saint to particulars; heare but what they say in generall: *Sancti qui Deo placuerunt, & ab ipso sunt, et æquum est spiritibus, dignitate sanctitatis honorati vivunt semper Deo, licet hinc migraverunt*: the Saints which pleased God, and are by him honoured with the dignity of Saint ship, though they be departed hence, yet to God they live alwayes. Again, *Nescus est Christianis*

nis, δαίμονα ἔχειν ἰδοῖ, *Demonum culticum Gentium moribus uti, et Sanctos qui tali et tantâ gratiâ resplendebunt (sc. conregnare cum Christo, et iudicare orbem terrarum et conformes fieri gloria ipsius) in gloriâ & mortuâ materiâ, καταβιβάζειν, contumeliâ afficere*: It is unlawfull for Christians to use the fashions of Gentiles, who worshipped Demons or Devils; and in a base and livelesse matter (they meane Images) to dishonour the Saints, who shall one day shine in such and so great grace and glory *viz.* to reigne with Christ and to judge the world, and to be made like to his glory, as they said a little before *Concil. Nicen. 2. Art 6. Tom. 4.*

As for the other part of the calumny, about filling the Virgin Mary, *Deipara*, heare not onely what they practised, but what they expressly decreed, *ibid Tom. 6.*

οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐμμοχρὸν Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀληθινόν τε Ἐμμανουήλ, καὶ διὰ τούτο Θεοτόκον εἶναι τὴν ἀγίαν παρθένον, Ἀνάθεμα: If any one shall not confesse God to be truly Emanuel, and therefore the holy Virgin to bee *Deipara*, the Mother of God, let him bee *Anathema*. Here the blessed Virgin hath both the name of Saint (*ἁγία*) and *Θεοτόκος*, mother of God given her. All this you shall find in the sixth act of the idolatrous Councell of *Nice*, where the enemies, while they would confute the definition of the Synod of *Constantinople*, have preserved it, which else had utterly perished, as the Act thereof have done.

Now judge whether *Constantine* and his Councell were guilty or not, of what the idolatrous action charged them with. We may wonder the lesse at this notorious impudency of lying companions, seeing we have like experience of such calumnies fastened upon our selves this day; though there be so many thousand eyes and eares, and writings too, which confute them.

And thus you have seen what manner of times they were, about the end of which our *Simeon Metaphrastes* lived. Was it not high time for him think you, and those hands

hands to which he was beholding (for I will not charge him withall) to ply the old craft, and ree[n]force the Legends with new lyes, when the credit of Saint-worship lay thus a bleeding? It is not credible they would be so much wanting to themselves. And it is as apparent, that those tales of the new strain, which we had cut of *Simion*, were co[n]co[n]d in this age, and not before; For if any such thing had been know[n], or delivered from elder times, how came it to passe no notice thereof was given us by any writer of Ecclesiasticall story, by any Father, by any Compiler or forger of Martyrs lives and miracles till now? Certainly so miraculous and wonderfull things, as voyces from heaven, and Christ descending thence in a cloud, and the like, had been worth the telling: But alas, they could speak but little of these Martyrs, have only the names and times of their sufferings. And thus I end my digression, which yet I hope hath not been altogether impertinent to the present argument.

The last particular of *expious Jewels*, or, the *Hypocrisie of liars* I made to be counterfeited writings, under the names of the first and best Antiquity: S. Peters Liturgy; the Liturgy of S. James; *Mattheu*; *Marke*; the Apostles Councell at *Antioch*; scyffed works under the names of *Austin*, *Crigen*, *Cyprian*, *Athanasius* and others. Through which we need not doubt, but the doctrine of Damons was promoted, when we see some not ashamed still to maintaine it by these counterfeited authorities.

Thus you see, how the first-learned and the most ancient part of the doctrine of Damons, the *Deifying of Saints & Martyrs*, was advanced by the hypocrisie of liars. The same you shall find to have bin verified also in the advancing of the next-born *Damon-chau[n]gling Image-worship* and of the third the *Idolatry* of the *M. ss. God*, all brought in, and established by the means and wayes aforesaid. I need not spend time in historicall allegations, they are well enough know[n]; and *primam in quocunque genere est men-*

infra consequentium. By that I spake of the first, you may judge of those which follow; yet for Images I will tell you a story or two for a taste: *Bale* our Country man (*Script. Illust. Britan. Cent. 11. ca. 51. 95.*) relates, that about the year 712. the *Egwin* of *Worcester* published in writing certain Revelations, yea expresse Visions he had scene, wherein he was eneyned to set in his Diocesse of *Worcester* the Image of the blessed Virgin. for the people to worship; which Pope *Constantine* the first having made him confirme by oath, not onely ratified by his Bull; but caused *Brinkwald* the Arch-bishop to hold a Councell of the whole Clergy at *London*, to commend them to the people.

In that Idolatrous Councell of the second of *Nice* one of their proofes, among many the like for worshipping of Images, is a tale quoted out of I know not what *Sophronius*, of a certain Recluse, who using to worship an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, holding *Christ* in her armes, had been a long time tempted by the Divell to fornication; whereat on a time the old man being much aggrieved, the Devill visibly appearing told him in plaine termes (but under an oath of secrecy) that hee would never cease to vex him, untill he left worshipping the Image of the blessed Virgin. The Monke notwithstanding hee had made him sweare by the most high, hee should tell no body, yet acquaints one *Abbat Theodore* with the businesse, who not onely allowes of his perjury in revealing it, but gives him this ghostly resolution: *συμβάλλει*
ὅτι σοὶ μὴ καταλειπεῖν εἰς τὸ πάλιν ταυτὶ παραίρειν, εἰς ὃ μὴ
ἐπέλθῃς, ἢ ἵνα ἀρνησῇ τὸ πεποιημένον ἢ κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν
ἡμῶν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα ἐν εἰκότι. It were better
 he frequented all the Stewes in the City, than not to worship *Christ* and his mother, in an Image. I am afraid some of their Monk successours still obseive this wholesome counsell.

I must tell you also some of the miracles and lyes for
 laying

laying the foundation of Transubstantiation, and thence advancing the Idol of the Masse. A certaine Monke reports, that he saw Jesus Christ in forme of a Child sitting upon the Altar. Another saith yea more then one, that *Witiking* King of the *Saxons* entering disguised into a Church, and diligently observing the Christians fashion of receiving the Communion, saw them put a little pretty smiling boy into their mouths. These wonders and others of the like apparitions of Flesh and blood began not, till about the end of the 800 yeares. But that they might seem ancients, *Simeon Metaphrastes* hath a forged Legend of *Arsenius* the Hermite; and some body counterfeited the life of Saint *Basil*, under the name of *Amphilochius* his companion, which now they begin to be ashamed of. And for teare the people might suspect that these were illusions, they keep yet some of the flesh and blood which was thus transubstantiated, for a monument, in many Churches. To these apparitions, to make all compleat they tell us of a hive of Bees teene in Saint *Gervais* his Monastery in *Paris*, which built a Chappell of Wax in honour of the Host, which some body put into the hive; and a miracle of an Asse that left his provender to worship the Host; and many other the like: but I have stayed too long amongst them, and therefore let here be the conclusion of *ἐπίκεισθαι φαντασίαν*, that we may passe on to that is yet behind.

Εν ὑπερίσσει καλόν ἐστι, γαμεῖν, * ἀπὸ χρεώσεως βραμύνης
αἱ ὁ Θεὸς ὑπείκει, &c.

I Come now to the last description of the means whereby the doctrine of Demons was to be advanced, viz. through the hipocrisie of such as forbid marriage, and command to abstaine from meats. Who are these? The wonderfull correspondence of the event makes me verily be-

* Vide opus
Hierarchicum
seu Cosm. Miga-
lian in Timoth.
ubi ex Hemero
αἱ τῶν καὶ οἱ πο-
δογῆτες,
It. Occum.

believe that the Ho'y Ghost intended here (at least chiefly) to decipher unto us Monks and Doctors of Monkerie, by two such marks, as are the chiefe points and grounds of that singularity of life. For prohibition of marriage, and difference of meats are inseparable characters of Monasticall profession, and goe common to all that crew of hypocrites, whether solivagant Hermites, or Anchorites which live alone, or Canobites which lived in society. And if we take them joyned together, as our Apostle doth, I think they can besit no other kind of men by way of rule and precept, but these alone. 'Tis true, all Antichrists Priests are forbidden marriage, generally and absolutely; but meats they are not, save onely upon certaine dayes and times, which is not their case alone, but the people also partake with them in the like restraint. But Monks are bound by the vowed rule of their profession, to abstaine from both absolutely and perpetually. Concerning the first heare S. Chrysostome speak; hom. 7. in Math. Nobis & Monachis (saith he) omnia mandata Dei sunt communia, prater connubium: all the commandments of God are common to us, with Monks, besides marriage. Wherefore in the Councell of Chalcedon is an expresse Canon, cap. 16. Ut nec Deo dicata Virgo, nec Monachus nubant: that no Nun or Monk should marry, (i. e.) they might not forsake their profession.

For the second the abstaining from meats, Saint Benedict can tell us best, who is the father and founder of wel-nigh all the Monks of the West. His rule, which they all bind themselves to observe, saith; a carnibus omnes abstineant, let all abstaine from flesh. Again, Carnium etiam quadrupedum omnino ab omnibus abstineatur comestio: let all abstaine together from the eating of flesh of foure footed beasts. Hence is that decree of Bishop Fruitionus in Gratian dist. 5. Carnem cuiquam Monacho, nec gustandi, nec sumendi est concessa licentia: no Monk hath leave granted him to take, or so much as to tast a piece of flesh.

And

And these were the two principall observations of the first Monks, before they came to be gathered into a society of a common life, under certaine set rules. *Paulus Thebanus* the first pattern of this kind of life, abstained as from marriage (whereof there is no question) so from all meats, save bread and dates. *Anthony* the next eat nought but bread and salt, and both drank no other drink but water. *Epiphanius* in his *Anchorato* tels us of differing observations in this kind. Some eat no flesh, but fish; some neither of both, but fruits and hearbs: some eat flying creatures, but abstained from all besides. But if you will take meats in this place in a larger sense, you shall have a full definition of Monkery, and take in that other Monasticall principle of renouncing possessions, & having no propriety in any thing, which they account the second fundamentall principle, next to the vow of chastity or single life. Now may not *separate* meats, be expounded in this sense? We know the word (Bread) in Scripture signifies all things needfull for the maintenance of life; *omnia vita subsidia*; and therefore we ask them all in the Lords prayer under that name, *Give us this day our daily bread*. Marke the words of *David* to *Ziba*, 2 *Sam.* 9. *Thou and thy sonnes, and thy servants, shall till the Land for him (Mephibosheth) and shalt bring in the fruits, that thy masters Sonne may have* חֵלֶב food to eat. Here bread or food, is taken for *Mephibosheths* whole maintenance, the who'e profit of the land which *Ziba* tills. *Matth.* 10. 9. 10. *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brasse in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither coats, nor shoes, nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy & ἵκανός ἐστιν.* Here gold, silver, brasse, cloaths, and staves, and all come under τροφή, that is, meat. In stead whereof *Saint Luke* chap 10. vers. 7. putteth τὸ μισθὸν αὐτοῦ, his hire. *Prov.* 30. 8. *Agur* saith, *Give me neither poverty nor riches. feed me with food convenient for me,* חֵלֶב יִפְתָּ. By all which appeares, that food and meat in Scripture

Scripture is often taken for *in ista vita non aduato*, as Saint James speakes cap. 2. vers. 16. for all provision of things for the use of the body, and this life; maintenance, revenue, estate, possession, why may not then *abstaining from meats* in this Prophecie meane or include abstaining from possessions, *votum paupertatis*, the vow of poverty, and renouncing of the world, as the hypocrites call it? to which the following words, *et paraxia*, are every way plyable as to the stricter sencie, and may be read thus: *which God hath created to be enjoyed with thanksgiving of them which*, &c. Let us heare S. Bennets rule speak for all. *Nemo aliquid proprium habeat, nullam omnino rem, neq; codicem, neq; tabulas, neque graphiarum, sed nihil omnino*: Let no man have any thing proper or as his owne, no kind of thing, neither book, nor writing, nor Inkehorne, nor any thing at all. And those who had once imposed upon themselves this law, were prohibited forever to returne to the world againe. *Monachis non licere ad saeculum redire*, saith the Canon of a great Concell. Heare a story of S. Hierome *Epist. ad Eustochium*. A certain Monke being dead was found to have been so good a husband, as to have had lying by him one hundred *Solidi*, which he had gotten by weaving of linnen; hereupon great doubt there was, what it should be done withall, whether given to the poore, to the Church, or to what use. But *Pambo*, and *Isidorus*, and the other Fathers (of the Monks) laid their heads together, decreed it should be buried with him, with this blessing, *Pecunia tua sit tecum in perditionem*, thy money perish together with thee. The like sentence gave Gregory the great against *Iustus* a Monk, for the like fault, *Dial. 4. c. 55.*

I conclude therefore, that these words are a description of Monckery by such notes as are fundamentall, which way soever we take them, either containing single life and *discrimen ciborum*, the differencing of meats, or the

two vowes of chastity and poverty, or all three of them, Chastity, Poverty, and Abstaining from meats. As for that other vow of obedience, it was not from the beginning, nor common to all; not to Hermites and Anchorites, but such as lived in common under an head. And these are the men through whose hypocrisie, and by whose meanes the doctrine of Dæmons should be brought in, and advanced among Christians in the latter times.

Now let us see and behold with admiration the truth of this part also of the prophesie. Where first observe that this singular kinde of life began even just at the time when the doctrine of Dæmons was to enter. For *Paulus Thebanus*, and *Anthony*, the first patterns thereof, dyed, the former in the reigne of *Constantine*, the latter a little before the yeere 360; whence, or neere unto which time, we began our reckoning before of the first entrance of Saint-worship into the Church. About that time (*Monks* till then having been confined to *Egypt*) *Hilarion* brought them into *Syria*, and presently *Saint Basil* gave them a certaine rule to live together in form of a Polity, and with the assistance of his brother *Gregory Nyssen* and *Gregory Nazianzen* (who all entred this new kinde of life) dispersed them over all *Asia* and *Greece*; whose encrease was so wonderfull, that almost in an instant they filled the world, and their esteem was so great, that there was scarce a man of note but took upon him this kinde of life.

Though therefore it be most true, that our Apostles prophesie will be verified, which soever of the two, either such as themselves entred the restraint of a Monastick life, or those who approved, taught, and maintained the holinesse of that profession, as the rest did, were the ring-leaders and Foster-fathers of this defection; (for both come within the verge of such as torbid marriage, and command to abstaine from meats) yet wee will not content our selves with so loose an application, but see what an hand Monks and Friars themselves (chiefly I suppose

intended by the holy Ghost) had in this businesse.

And first in the doctrine of Dæmons, adoring of Reliques, and Invocation of Saints : where that which I first speake of shall be in the words of *Cheremittius*, lest some more tender of the honour of our fathers upon earth, than of the glory of our father in heaven, might take exception. Heare therefore not mee, but *Cheremittius* in his *examen Concilii Tridentini* : About the yeare of our Lord God 370. per *Basilium*, *Nissenum*, & *Nazianzenum* in publicos *Ecclesia conventus*, occasione orationum *Panegyricarum Invocationum Sanctorum* invahi incipit, eodem tempore cum ab iisdem authoribus *Monachatus* ex *Egypto* & *Syria* in *Græciam* introduceretur, Et videtur (saith he) hæc sive portio, sive *Appendix Monachatus* fuisse. By *Basil*, *Nissen*, and *Nazianzen*, upon occasion of *Panegyricall* orations, *Invocation* of Saints began to be brought into the publicke Assemblies of the Church, at the same time, when by the same Authors the profession of *Monasticall* life was brought out of *Egypt* and *Syria* into *Greece*; and it seemes (saith he) that this was either a part, or an appurtenance of *Monkery*, &c. Againe speaking of *St. Ambrose* when he had once turned *Monke*, howsoever hee was before; *Non tamen nego (inquit) Ambrosium, tandem cum Monachatum a Basilio mutuo sumpsisset, etiam ad Invocationem Sanctorum inclinare coepisse, ut patet ex libro de viduis*. I deny not (saith he) but *Ambrose* at length, when he had once borrowed *Monkery* from *Basil*, began also to incline to the *Invocation* of Saints, as appears in his book *De viduis*. Thus *Cheremittius*.

And that you may yet further see how operative *Monkes* were in this businesse, heare *Saint Augustine* de opere *Monachorum*, cap. 28. *Tam multos hypocritas sub habitu Monachorum usquequaq; dispersit Satan, circumvntes provincias, nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes. Alii membra Martyrum, si tamen Martyrum venditant; & omnes petunt, omnes exigunt, aut sumptus*

sumptus lucrosa egestatis, aut simulata pretium sanctitatis.
 The Devill (saith he) hath dispersed in every corner such a crew of hypocrites, under the habit of Monkes, gadding about every Countrey, sent no whither, staying no where, every where restless, whether sitting or standing; some sell the limbs of Martyrs, if so be of Martyrs; and all asking, all exacting either the expence of a gainfull poverty, or the hire of a counterfeit sanctity. These were those surely which occasioned that rescript of *Theodosius* the Emperour, *Nemo Martyrem distrabat, nemo mercetur; let no man buy, let no man sell a Martyr*: whereby we may gather what honesty was like to be used amongst them: we know, *Laudat vinales qui vult extrudere merces*; Merchants use to commend their commodities. *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived and died somewhat before the yeere 600. tels us this, *Monachos quosdam Romam venisse, ac prope Templum Pauli corpora quedam noctu effodisse, qui comprehensi fassi sunt in Graciam se ea pro Sanctorum reliquiis portatos fuisse*; That certaine Monks came to *Rome*, and neere unto *Saint Pauls Church*, in the night time, digged up certaine bodies; who being apprehended, confessed they meant to have carried them into *Greece* for reliques of Saints. The same Author, *l. 9. c. Hist. Fran.* relates a story of another counterfeit Monke, who pretended to come out of *Spaine* with Martyrs reliques; but being discovered, they were found to be certaine herbs, with bones of Mice, and such like stuffe: and hee tels us there were many such seducers which deluded the people. And he said true, there were many indeed, and many more than *Gregory* tooke for such, even those hee tooke for honest men. For though it must not be denyed, but God had some of this order which were holy men, and unsainedly mortified, notwithstanding their error in thinking God was pleased with that singularity of life; yet must it bee confessed, that the greater part were no better than hypocrites, and counterfeits, and

that the lamentable defection of the Christian Church chiefly proceeded from, and was fostered by men of that profession, as in part we have heard already.

And if you can with patience heare him speake, I will adde the testimony of *Ennapius Sardinus*, a Pagan Writer, who lived in the dayes of *Theodosius* the first, about the yeare 400. in the life of *Edesius*, most bitterly inveighing against the Christians for demolishing the renowned Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: hee speakes in this manner: *When they had done* (saith hee) *they brought into the holy places those which they call Monkes, men indeed for shape, but living like Swine, and openly committing innumerable villanies, not to bee named; who yet tooke it for a peece of Religion thus to despise the Divinity* (he meanes of *Serapis* :) *for then* (saith he) *who-soever wore a blacke coat, and would demeane himselfe absurdly in publicke, got a tyrannicall authoritie; to such an opinion of vertue had that sort of men attained. These Monkes also they placed at Canopus, instead of the intelligible gods, to worship slaves, and those of no good condition; thus bringing a boord of Religion upon men. For having powdered the bones and skuls of such as had beene condemned of many crimes, and punished by a legall course of justice, they made Gods of them; prostrating themselves unto them, and thinking themselves the better for being polluted with Sepulchres: they called them forsooth Martyrs, and some Deacons, yea and Solicitors of their prayers with the gods; being but indeed perfidious slaves, who had beene well basted with the whip, and carried the scarres of their lewdnesse upon their bodies, and yet such gods as these the earth brings forth.*

Thus the wretched caitiffe, and damned dogge, blasphemes the Saints and servants of Christ, who loved not their lives unto death; the dust of whose feet he was not worthy to licke up. Yet may we make a shift to gather hence, what manner of offices Monks were then busied in,

And

And if *Baronius* tooke leave to use his testimony for the antiquity of Saint-worship, why may not I with the like liberty alledge it, to shew that Monkes and Friars were ring-leaders therein?

But when the idolatry of Image-worship came to bee added to those of Saints, whether Monks and Friars were not the chiefe ticklers therein, judge when you shall hear how it fared with them in that great opposition against Idols in the East.

Of *Leo Isaurus*, the first of those Emperours that opposed Images, we have this in generall out of the Greek Menology: That hee rag'd most cruelly against Bishops and Monkes, which maintained the worship of Images; and that he burnt a whole Cloyster of such kinde of people in their Monastery, together with a famous Library, and all their furniture.

But *Constantine* his sonne made a worse fray amongst them. For the Author of the Acts of Monke *Stephen* tells us; That he being reprov'd and convicted for what hee had done (*viz.* against Images) by the religious and wor-thie professors of Monastickall life, he raised an implacable war against them; calling that noble habit, *oxotus endyma*, the vesture of darknesse; and the Monks themselves, *dum-porvitus*, that is, unworthy of memory; and besides, charging them all Idolaters, for the worshipping of venerable Images.

The same is confirmed by *Theozerillus*, another Author of that time, who saith, That the whole aime and study of this Emperour was to extinguish and root out the Order of Monks.

And for particulars, heare what *Theophanes* (himselfe a Monk, and a little tinged too in this flame, before ended) will informe us.

In the one and twentieth yeere of his reign: hee caused (saith he) *Andreas Calybites*, a worthy Monke, who re-prov'd him for his impiety (in demolishing Images) to bee

scurged till hee died, lib. 22. cap. 30. Hist. miscell.

In the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne hee caused Monke Stephen to be dragged by the heeles in the streets, till being rent in peeces, he died; both for the aforesaid offence, and because he drew and perswaded many to a Monasticall life, Ibid, cap. 39.

The same yeere the Emperour (saith he) disgraced and dishonoured the Monasticall habit, publicly commanding every Monke to lead a woman by the hand, so to march through the Hippodrome, all the people abusing them, and spitting upon them, Ibid cap. 40.

In the seven and twentieth yeare, the Monasteries (hee saith) partly he destroyed to the very foundations, partly bestowed them upon his Capitaines and Souldiers, Ibid, cap. 49.

In the same yeere, when he could not draw Peter a Metra, a famous Stylite, or Pillar-Monke, unto his opinions, he caused him likewise to be dragged by the heeles, and his body cast out into the streets, Ibid, cap. 48.

In his thirtieth yeere, his Prator, or Deputy Lichanodracō gathered all the Monkes in his jurisdiction together, and commanded them to obey the Emperour, to put on a white coat, and to marry wives instantly, or to have their eyes put out, and to be sent into exile, Ibid. cap. 52. So the Emperour, when he would have Constantine the Patriarch abjure Monkery, he made him (saith the same Authour) eat flesh, Lib. eod. cap. 29.

In the one and thirtieth yeere the same Lichanodracō sold all the Monasteries, both of men and women in his jurisdiction, and sent the money to the Emperour. If hee found any one to have a relique of any Saint in keeping, he burnt it, and punished him that had it. Hee slew the Monks, some with stripes, some with the sword; and left not a man, where he had to doe, that wore a Monasticall habit; whereupon the Emperour wrote thus unto him,
 Ἐν ὧν ἐν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡ καρδία μου, ὅς τις ἄνθρωπος τὴν δι-
 ἀμνησιν μου I have found thee a man after mine owne heart,
 who

who fulfilled my whole will. Thus much of Constantine.

The like reports Cedrenus of Michael Balbus, That he abominated Monkes, and diversly afflicted them, ordaining one punishment after another against them. As also of Theophilus, the last Emperour that opposed Images: Theophilus (saith hee) ordained *ἀπαγορεύειν τοῖς μοναχοῖς τὰς πόλεις*, that no Monkes should have access unto the Cities, and that they should by all meanes be banished; *οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχειν ἐκείνους τοῦτον*, and not so much as dare to be seen in the Countrey: and that he caused the Monasteries and places of holy retirement to become common and secular habitations: what the reason was, we may learne by that the same Author tells us: Of those (saith he) which reprehended the Emperour, the Abramite Monkes were the chiefe; who freely adventuring into his presence, did demonstrate that Monasticall life was not an invention of yesterday, or the other day, but an ancient and primitive institution, and that holy Images were familiar in the Apostles times, and that Saint Luke painted an Image of a blessed Virgin, &c. But it seemes the Emperour was not convinced by their demonstration: for this their boldnesse cost them full deare, as our Authour relates.

By this time I know you understand what the matter was that this Image-storme fell so heavily upon the heads of Monks and Friars: and yet notwithstanding all this, they at length prevailed, and carried the day (so God would have it) for their Idols. For another Theophanes, whom they call the Presbyter, a Writer also of his time tells, That Theophilus being dead, Theodora the Empresse (whilst she reigned in the minority of Michael her sonne) when she meant to restore Image-worship, which had beene banished now the second time, ever since Leo Armenius, *Re cum illis communicata, qui erant in magistratu & dignitate constituti, accersit cum ipsis eos, qui inter Monachos praestabant, & de Imaginum institutione quaestionum proponis*

proponit. Cumq; idem omnes consentientes comperissent, diuturnoq; ejus rei desiderio teneri, a q; animo excruciarī propter Religionis in hac re mutationem, postulat, ut se etiam Patrum auctoritatibus ad veritatem confirmarent, quas variis in libris invenissent. Mandavitque quo in loco Palatii prefinito, cunctis Ecclesiasticis universus cogeretur, & ad populum ea de re verba faceret, &c. that is, when shee had acquainted the Magistrates, and those that were in authority, therewith, together with them she sent for the chieft of the Monks, and propounded to them the question concerning the restoring of Images: whom when she found all men for the purpose, yea very eager for the businesse, she called a Synod, whereby Idolatry was againe publickly erected in the Greeke Church, 120 yeeres after it first beganne to be purged thereof, by *Leo Isaurus* the Emperour.

For the Idolatry of the masse-god, which was not in use, at soonest, till a thousand yeeres after Christ, when the opinion of Transubstantiation had gotten strength, we shall not need trouble our selves much to shew that Monks and Friars were the authors and advaneers thereof; since by that time, these kinde of men were become the onely masters of Divinity: and therefore wee need not doubt, that what was then broached in the Church, came out of their shop.

Judge now, by what you have heard, how truly this Prophesie of *Saint Paul* is fulfilled, who told us that the *Doctrines of Demons* should be brought into the Church, ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ καυδόντων σαρκὸς καὶ ἀποκρύπτου βρομῶντων; through the hypocrisie of those who forbid to marry, and (command) to abstaine from meats.

FINIS.

Printed for *Samuel Man* at the Swan in
Pauls Church-yard.

A
PARAPHRASE
AND
EXPOSITION
of the Propheſie of
SAINT PETER,
Concerning the day of CHRIST'S
ſecond Coming,

Deſcribed in the third Chapter of his
ſecond EPISTLE.

AS ALSO,
How the CONFLAGRATION, or De-
ſtruction of the WORLD by fire, (whereof
Saint Peter ſpeaks) and eſpecially of
the HEAVENS, iſto be
underſtood.

BY
JOSEPH MEDE, B. D. late Fellow of
Chriſts Colledge in Cambridg.

The ſecond Edition corrected and amended.

LONDON,

Printed by R. *Leybourn*, for SAMUEL MAN, dwelling at the
ſign of the Swan in Pauls Church-yard. 1649.



A P A R A P H R A S E
A N D
E X P O S I T I O N

of the Propheſie of
S A I N T P E T E R ,
Concerning the day of *C H R I S T S* ſecond
Coming,

On the third Chapter of the ſecond
E P I S T L E .

Verſe 1, 2.



*S*aint Peter ex-
horts the belie-
ving Jews, unto
whom he writes
to be mindful of
the words of the holy Prophets,
(a) Eſay, Daniel, & Malachi,
concerning the coming of Chriſt to judgment, & the reſtaura-
tion then promiſed, it being alſo confirmed by the Apoſtles of
our Lord and Saviour.

(a) **I**F that which St. Peter
here deſcribeth were
foretold by the old Pro-
phets, then muſt Saint Peter
be ſo expounded, as it may
be ſhewen in them, and a-
gree with them.

A 2

Verſe

Verse. 3, 4.

For howsoever it were then believed both by Jews & Christianed Gentiles, yet in the last dayes should come those, who walking after their own desires (or humours) should deny and deride the expectation of any such promise (b) of that day of Christ, saying, Where is the promise (c) of his coming? Where is the new heaven and new earth you talk of?

(b) This ἔσχατος τῶν ημερῶν, or last dayes, should seem to be the time of the Churches Apostasie under Antichrist, according to that of Saint Paul, 1 Tim. 4. 1. In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of errour, & doctrines of demons. For as the times of the fourth and last of Daniels Kingdoms were the last times in general, during

which Christ was to come, and found his Church and Kingdome: So the latter times of the fourth Kingdome, being the period of a time, times, and halfe a time, wherein the wicked horne should domineere, are the latemost times of the last times, or last times in speciall.

(c) I take Promise here for *res promissa*, the *antithesis* implying that to be the meaning, viz. The scoffers say, Where is the promise of his coming? Nevertheless we look for a new heaven, and a new earth, according to his promise. But here is somewhat, (Reader) in the application wherein thou maist erre; but be not thou uncharitable in thy censure, nor thinke that I am. For although the crying down and condemning the opinion of the *Chiliassts*, will be found to be neere upon the beginning of the times of the Antichristian Apostasie, (which I suppose to be called the last times;) and that the utter burying of that opinion falls within these times: yet thou must know, first, That there is not the like reason of the first Authors of crying down a truth,

truth, and of thoſe, who led by their authority, take it afterwards, without further examination, for an error. Secondly, to ſcoffe, is one thing, and barely not to believe, is another. Thirdly, it is one thing to deny a promiſe ſimply, and another to deny and queſtion the manner thereof: as alſo, to reject a truth ſincerely propounded, and when it is entangled with errors, as that of the later Chiliaſt may ſeem to have been.

Verſe 4. *pars altera.*

The reaſon of this their unbelief being, becauſe they imagine, there hath never yet, ſince the creation of the world, been any example of ſuch a deſtruction and change enſuing it, as this at the coming of Chriſt ſhould be. For ſince the Fathers ſel aſleep (ſay they) even ſince Adam died, all things have continued as they were from the beginning of the creation. Therefore the expectation of any ſuch change of the world, & the ſtate of things therein (as is ſuppoſed) is vain and frivolous, and never to be fulfilled.

Touching the Jews, and the impeachment of this opinion amongſt them in the later times, I find amongſt the Doctors of the *Gemara*, or głoſſe of their *Talmud*, (which was finiſhed about 500 yeers after Chriſt) a tenet of one *R. Samuels*, אין חילום דיה למוח המשיח אלא שבעיר מלכויות בלבד. That there was to be no difference between the preſent ſtate of the world, and the dayes of Meſſiah, but in regard of the bondage under the kingdoms of the Gentiles onely; thereby oppoſing the more ancient opi-

nion and tradition of the renovation of the world. After this time there appears to have been amongſt the Jews a ſect of the followers of the opinion of this *R. Samuel*, which at length was greatly advanced by the authority of

A 3

learned

learned *Maimonides*, who having drunk too deep of the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, (wherein he was admirably skillfull) became a champion against the opinion of the worlds renovation to be in the dayes of *Messiah*; and that upon this ground, *Quod mundus retinet & sequitur consuetudinem suam*; which saying he ascribeth to some other Rabbins of the same opinion before him, which for the sense and meaning is the self same with that here of the scoffers: *All things* (say they) *continue, as they were from the beginning of the creation*. Nevertheless *Aben Ezra*, who lived not long after *Maimonides*, maintained still (as also others did) the contrary; & there are extant certain discourses and tractates amongst them, purposely written of this argument, and confuting the opinion of *Rambam* and his followers; as one called *שנים חדשים* *cali novi*, proving the necessity of the renovation of the world, and directed against *cap. 29. lib. 2. of Maimonides* his *More Nebochim*. Another by *R. Isaac Abarbinel*, *מפעלי אלהים* *Opera Dei*, (out of *Psal. 66.5.*) wherein all the arguments brought against the renovation are confuted. And no doubt there are more of the like nature, which we know not of.

Verse 5,6.

But those who suppose this (*τὸ θελοντε*) that there hath never yet any such destruction or change befallen the creation, and thence conclude, there is nor shall such ever be; they weigh and consider not the universal deluge in the time of *Noah*, (when the curses laid upon the creature for mans sin

first

first ſolemnly tooke place,)
brought as a like deſtruction, ſo
a like change upon the world
for the degeneration of the
creature; as this at the ſecond
coming of Chriſt ſhall be for
the reſtauration & renovati-
on of the ſame in the glorious
liberty of the children of God.
For the heavens were of old,
and the globe of the earth, con-
ſiſting partly (ἐξ ὕδατος) of
water, viz. that of the great
deep; & partly (δι' ὕδατος)
amongſt (d) water, to wit, the
clouds and flood-gates of hea-
ven hanging about it, all fra-
med by the word of God: By the
which waters (δι' ὧν ὕδατων)
the world which then was, be-
ing overwhelmed with water,
perished, as it is written Gen.
7. 11. ſeq. in the 600. year of
Noahs life, in the ſeventeenth day
of the month were al the foun-
tains of the great deep broken
up, & verſ. 18. and the wa-
ters; & 21. and all fleſh died.

Verſe 7.

But the heavens and the earth
(i. e. the world) which is now,

(d) διὰ ſometimes ſignifies
inter, amongſt, or in the miſt
of, as if it were διὰ μέσων: So
Herodotus, διὰ νήσων, inter
iſulas. Howſoever we ren-
der the Prepoſition, I ſup-
poſe S. Peter by his δι' ὕδατος
means the ſuperiour water,
which together with that of
the ſea, or great deep, con-
curred to the drowning of
the world, as appears by the
place of Geneſis alleaged.

by

by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire (c) at the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men, according to the Prophecie of Daniel, c. 7. who saw a fiery stream issuing and coming forth before the Fudge of the world, & the body of the fourth beast burned therewith: And of Esay, c. 66. who saith of that day, That the Lord shall come with fire, & with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebukes with flames of fire: And that by fire and by his sword, (i.e. by his sword of fire, in *id est*) the Lord would plead with all flesh, and the slain of the Lord shall be many. So also Malachy cap. 4. That the great and terrible day shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble, which at the coming of that day (f) shall be burnt up.

Verse 8.

But whereas I mentioned (saith Saint Peter.) the day of judgment, lest ye might mistake it

(e) From this proportion which the judgment to come by fire, hath unto that which was by water in the deluge, Irenaeus calsit *Diluvium ignis*, lib. 5. c. 29. juxta edit. Fevardentii.

(f) It may be it is of this day that the Prophet Esay also speaks, cap. 9. 5. where he saith, that the battel of the Messiah should not be as the battel of the warrior, with
for

for a ſhort day, or a day of few hours, I would not, Beloved, have you ignorant, that one day (g) with the Lord is as a thouſand yeers, & a thouſand yeers as one day.

confuſed noiſe, and garments rolled in bloud; but with burning and fuel of fire. For the old Prophets for the moſt part ſpeak of the coming of Chriſt indefinitely and in general, without that diſtinction of firſt and ſecond coming, which the Goſpel out of *Daniel* hath more clearly taught us: And ſo conſequently they ſpake of the things to be at Chriſts coming indefinitely and altogether, which we who are now more fully informed by the Revelation of the Goſpel, of a twofold coming, muſt apply each of them to his proper time: thoſe things which befit the ſtate of his firſt coming, unto it; and ſuch things as befit the ſtate of his ſecond coming, to the ſecond; and what befits both alike, may be applied unto both.

(g) Thus I expound theſe words by way of pre-occupation or premunition, becauſe they are the formal words of the Jewiſh Doctors, when they ſpeak of the day of judgment, or day of Chriſt, as Saint Peter here doth, viz. יום אחד חס"ב אלף שנים *una dies Dei S.B. ſicut mille anni.* And though they uſe to quote that of the ninth Pſalm, (*mille anni in oculis tuis ut dies heſternus*) for confirmation thereof, yet are not theſe words formally in the Pſalm. So that St. Peter in this paſſage ſeems rather to have had reſpect to that common ſaying of the Jews in this argument, than to the words of the Pſalm; where the words (*one day with the Lord is as a thouſand yeers*) are not, though the latter part of the ſentence (*a thouſand yeers as one day*) may allude thither; as the Jews alſo were wont to bring it, for a confirmation of the former. 2 Theſe words are commonly taken as an argument, why God ſhould not be

B

thought

thought slack in his promise (which follows in the next verse: But the first Fathers took it otherwise, and besides, it proveth it not: for the question is not, whether the time be long or short in respect of God, but whether it be long or short in respect of us; otherwise not 1000, but 100000 yeeres are in the eyes of God no more than one day is to us, and so it would not seem long to God, if the day of judgment should be deferred till then. 3 Let the judicious consider it, whether this passage so prone to be taken in the exposition I have given, yea, and alledged to that purpose, were not some part of a motive to the ze-
*lotical Anti-Chilias*ts (whereof *Eusebius*, whom we trust was none of the least) to be so willing and ready to question the authority of this Epistle, as they did also at the same time of the *Apocalyps*. The pretence against this Epistle was, that it wanted the testimonie of allegation by the first Fathers. But (*Dies Domini sicut mille anni*) quoted both by *Iustin Martyr* and *Irenaeus*, is not out of the ninth Psalm, as they took for granted, (for there are no such words, but out of the Epistle of *Peter*, who applyeth it to the day of judgment, which he calleth *Dies Domini*, *ἡμέρα Κυρίου*: Consider it.

Verse 9.

And though this day be deferred, yet is the Lord not slack concerning his promise, (as some men account slackness, as if he had alter'd his purpose, or meant never to performe it) but the cause of this delay, is his long-suffering (a) towards us of the seed of Israel, not wil-

(a) Saint Peter speaks and writes in this Epistle to his
ling

ling that any ſhould periſh at that day, but that the whole nation ſhould come unto repentance, (b) which, if that day ſhould ſurprize them in their unbelief, muſt inevitably periſh with the reſt of the enemies of Chriſt.

brethren the Jewes, as appears by the firſt verſe of this chapter.

(b) So the ſame Saint Peter in his firſt publick Sermon to his Nation in the Temple, after the ſending of the holy Ghoſt (Act. 3. 19, &c.) exhorts them to repent and

be converted *ὡς τὸ ἐξαλειφῆαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν*, for the waſhing away of their ſins, that ſo, (ὅπως αὖ) thoſe times of reſreſhing and reſtitution of all things which God had ſpoken by the mouth of al his holy Prophets, might come, which till then were to be ſuſpended.

Object. But God could have haſtened the Jewes conversion, if it had pleaſed him.

Reſp. But it ſtood with the œconomy of Gods juſtice, when the Jewes had rejected Chriſt, their expiation, to grant them this grace, until they ſhould have fulfilled a time of penance for all the ſins of their Nation, even from the firſt time they were a people, until the laſt deſtruction of Jeruſalem. For ſince they would none of their pardon and attonement by Chriſt, (with reſpect unto whoſe coming God had ſo long ſpared them ; for all their expiation by ſacrifice looked unto him) God would not bate them an ace of the judgment they had merited, but would viſit all the former ſins of their Nation upon them, from the golden Calf, until their crucifying, and finally, rejecting of their Meſſiah.

Verſe 10.

But as for the manner of the coming of this great day of

B 2

the

the Lord, it shall be suddenly and unawares, as a thief in the night, in which the heavens (c) with a crackling noise of fire shall pass away, & the *στριμία* (c) or host of them shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works thereof shall be burned.

(c) What these Heavens are, and why I render *στριμία* the host of them; and how this conflagration is to be understood, I will shew when I have done my Paraphrase.

Vers. 11, 12. Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be; in all holy conversation and godliness, to make our selves fire-proof, and such as may abide the day of refining? as namely becometh those who by faith look for, and hasten the coming of the day of the Lord, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the host of them melt with fervent heat. For our life & conversation ought to be suitable to our faith, and we are so to walk, as if that were always present which by faith we look for.

Vers. 13. But this conflagration ended, (whatsoever those scoffers say, who question the promise of Christs second coming) we look according to his promise Isa. 65. & 66. for a new heaven and a new earth, (that is, a new and refined state of the world) wherein righteousness shall dwell, according as the same Prophet saith, cap. 60. 20, 21. The Lord shall be thine everlasting light, & the dayes of thy mourning shall be ended, thy people also shall be all righteous; they shall inherit the land, or earth, for ever.

Vers. 14, 15, 16. Wherefore beloved (seeing that ye look for such things at his coming) be diligent that

that ye may be found in him in peace, without ſpot and blameleſs, & account the long-ſuffering of God, in the delay thereof to be ſalvation. Even as our beloved brother Paul alſo (one of the Apoſtles of our Lord, who conſirmeth theſe words of the holy Prophets) according to the wiſdom given unto him, hath written unto you, enforcing the like exhortation unto holineſſe of life, from this our faith and experience of the Lord Jeſus his appearing to judgment, which we now make unto you: viz. Heb. 12. 14, 28, 29. As alſo in all his Epiſtles, ſpeaking in them of theſe things, viz. Rom. 2. 4. coll. com. verſ. 5, 6, 7. & 1 Cor. 1. 7, 8. & 3. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 9, 10, 11. in initio, & 7. 1. Phil. 1. 10. & 2. 15, 16. & cap. 3. 10. Colloſſ. 3. 4, 5. 1 Theſſ. 2. 12. & 3. 13. denique 5. 23. 2 Theſſ. 1. 8, 11. 1 Tim. 6. 14, 15. Tit. 2. 12, 13.

How this Conflagration of the world

whereof Saint PETER ſpeaks, and eſpecially of the Heavens, is to be underſtood.

FOr reſolution of this queſtion, I muſt promiſe ſome things, to make the way thereto the more eaſie.

R. I. That the old Hebrew language wherein the Scripture ſpeaks, there is no one word to expreſſe the compages of the ſuperiour and inferiour bodies, which we call *Mundus*, but theſe two words *Heaven* and *Earth* (עַרְוָה וָאֶרֶץ) joyned to
and

and put together, onely so that when Saint Peter saith (the World that then was, perished by waters; but the Heavens and Earth that are now, are reserved to fire:) He might as well have said according to his meaning, The Heavens and the Earth which then were, perished by waters, as the World that now is shall by fire. For the words *Heaven* and *Earth* joyned, imply no more in the one (according to the Scriptures notion) than the single word *Mundus* or *World* doth in the other, being applyed to the history of the great deluge: as also, a *New heaven* and a *New earth* is the same notion with that in our expression, where we say a *New World*; that is to say, *Novarum facies, novarum conditio*; which we otherwhile apply to very small, and even particular and domestical changes, when we say, Here is a new World; which the Hebrew would or might expresse, Here is a new Heaven and a new Earth.

2 That it is not like that any other World, or Heaven and Earth, shall perish by fire, than such a one as heretofore perished by water: for so the *Antithesis* importeth, viz. The World, or Heaven and Earth that then was, perished by water, the Heaven and earth which now is, is reserved for a destruction by fire. Now the World which perished by water was no other than the sublunary World; the Heaven whereof is that which we call Aire, but the Scripture Heaven, which sublunary heaven, together with the earth, was marred by that general deluge, and the creatures belonging to them both either wholly destroyed, or
marvel-

marvellouſly corrupted from that they were before: ſuch a World therefore, and no other Heaven and earth, ſhal undergo the ſecond deluge of fire for reſtauration, which before ſuffered the deluge of water for corruption.

3 Obſerve alſo, for the better underſtanding of Saint Peters meaning, That the word *κοινη* which we in this place are wont to turn Elements, is not like to be underſtood in the notion of the Greek Doctors, whoſe terms and notions the Scripture uſeth not, but otherwiſe divideth the World. Nay further, in this place it cannot be ſo underſtood, for that the Hebrew diviſion of the World into Heaven and Earth is here expreſſed, and the *κοινη* diſtinguiſhed from them both. But when the whole world is divided into Heaven and Earth *αἰὲρ καὶ γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ*, by Earth is meant the *Earthen Globe*, which Saint Peter ſaith is *ἡ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ*, and ſo the water and earth are both included in the ſole name of *Earth*: In Heaven the Aire is included. Thus three of the Physical Elements are beſtowed. The fourth is the Fire: but this is that which is to burn the *κοινη*, and ſo none of the *κοινη* to be burnt. And if any of theſe Elements could be exempted from this diviſion into Heaven and Earth, beſides the Fire, viz. the Aire, yet could not that, nor any of them alone be *κοινη* in Saint Peter: For *κοινη* notes more than one. It muſt needs therefore be, that *κοινη* here meaneth ſomething elſe. Let us ſee if we can find out what it is. Mark then Saint Peters order, *δι' οὗτου καὶ κοινῆς* then *γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ* *ἡ οὐρανὸς*:
By

By which correspondence it should seeme that *עֲרֻכָּה* should be some furniture belonging to *caelum*, as *מִן הָעֲרֻכָּה* are the buildings & whole furniture of creatures belonging to *terra*; which furniture of both, but especially that of the *Heaven* the Scripture calls *מִן הָעֲרֻכָּה* the host of them, Gen. 2, 1. *The heavens & the earth were finished, וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הָעֲרֻכָּה וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ* and all the host of them: LXX. *ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν*. Vulg. *Ornatus eorum*. Nay, seeing the whole world is nothing else but the *heaven* and the *earth*, and what is contained in them, (i.e.) *exercitus eorum*: and seeing *heaven* and *earth* are both here distinctly named, and *מִן הָעֲרֻכָּה* put for the host of the *earth*; it must needs be that *עֲרֻכָּה*, named as distinct things from all three, should note the host of *heaven*: And so the meaning of Saint Peter should be, when he saith *ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν*, as if he had said, *ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς*, the heavens and the host thereof; or *καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμος αὐτῶν*, as he says, *γῆ ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν*, the earth and the works therein. But how, will some man say, should *עֲרֻכָּה* come to have this notion? I answer thus, The Hebrew verb *עָרַךְ* signifieth, *in ordine militari sto, incedo*, and so answers to the Greek verb *ἐτάχην*, which is expounded, *ἐν τάξει ἐτάχην*, i.e. *in ordine militari incedo*, Vide Scap. ex Etymolog. Accordingly the LXX. render the Hebrew *עָרַךְ* *ἐτάχην*, i.e. *in praesentia sto, instructa acie sto*. Now if the verb *עָרַךְ* signifie the same with the Greek *ἐτάχην*, why may not the Hebrew Noun *עָרַךְ* (which we turn *exercitus*) be rendered *ἐτάχην*; the Hellenists or Greekish Jews, as in other words so here following the Etymo-

Etyymology from $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$, & having eye more to their own native language, than to the uſe of Greeke. It would be long to ſhew in how many words they, and the Greek Scriptures written according to their Dialect, uſe notions wth the Greek uſed not, (*viz.*) reſpecting ſome conformity or other in their own tongue. The works of the learned in ſacred Criticiſme are of late full of ſuch obſervations, whereby many difficulties and obſcurities in Scripture become clear and eaſie. Nevertheless the Gentile-Greeks themſelves uſe $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ and $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ s (which come of the ſame verbe $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$) in the ſame ſenſe we plead for, *viz.* for *ordo militaris*, Military array; why may not then the *Helleniſts* (ſo the **Greek Jewes* are called) do ſo with $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ i*on*, being for the etymology every way as fit, ſeeing alſo they are otherwiſe wont to permute ſignifications from vicinity of ſound.

* See th' Syriack Act. 9. 20. where $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ are turned *Judei qui loquebantur Grece.*

For a further confirmation of this notion of $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ i*on* I contend for, I will adde what I have met with to that purpoſe. *Schickardus*, a learned Profeſſor of the Oriental languages, at *Tabingen*, in his *Bekinath happieruſhim*, pag. 44. hath diſcovered out of *Rambans*, or *R. Moſes ben Nachmans* Preface in *Peruſche haſtaroth*, two paſſages taken out of the Chaldee copy of the *Wiſdom of Solomon*, which that *Rabbi* had ſeen: whereby the ſaid *Schickard* proveth againſt *St. Jerome*, that the Greek is not the Original, but was tranſlated out of Chaldee. The paſſages which this *Ramban* quoteth thence are cap. 7. 5, 6, 7. and part of the 8. And again, verſ. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. In the laſt of which quotations, becauſe there is in the Greek $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\iota\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\iota\ \kappa\omega\iota$, I greedily looked what word in the Caldee answered here to $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\iota$, which I found to be $\kappa\eta\lambda\iota\kappa$, which thoſe who have ſkill know to ſignifie the Planets, 12. ſignes or conſtellations of Heaven, as being the ſame with the Hebrew $\kappa\eta\lambda\iota\kappa$. $\Sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\iota\alpha$ therefore here are Stars and Planets, which

* have ſince looked in the Preface of

Ramban, where I found those Chaldee passages mentioned, which the Rabbin translated into Hebrew, and for the Chaldee which answereth to

עֲרֵבְיָא
עֲרֵבְיָא
he renders
מַעֲרָב
מַעֲרָב

which I shall not need prove to be the host of the Ethereall Heaven: yea, and perhaps too, עֲרֵבְיָא and מַעֲרָב are derived of the verb עָרַב, *ire*, as עֲרֵבְיָא is of עָרַב. Now we know the Scriptures make mention of three Heavens; first, the Aire or sublunary Heaven: secondly, the Ethereall and starry Heaven: thirdly, the Heaven of Glory, or Empe-reall Heaven. Every of these Heavens have their host or army: the host of the heaven of glory, or the third, are the Angels and blessed Spirits: the host of the Ethereall heavens are the Stars and Planets: the host of the Aereal, or sublunary heaven, are either visible, as the clouds of heaven, νεφέλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and other meteors, as also the rest of the creatures mansioning therein, as the fowles of the heaven, ψεῖδα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ or invisible, viz. the wicked Spirits and Devils, whose Prince Satan, is called *the Prince of the power of the Aire*, Eph. 2. 2. and his host κοσμοκράτορες, *rulers of the world*, i. e. the sublunary world; and τὰ πνευματικά τοῦ αἵματος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, *wicked spirits in heavenly places*, viz. in the lowest or sublunary heavens, Eph. 6. 12. And whether S. Paul, Gal. 4. 8, 9. and Col. 2. 8, &c. includes not some of those under his εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κόσμου, I cannot affirm: let the learned further consider it, when namely he speaks to Gentiles, and of Gentiles, and not Jews.

Having hitherto prepar'd the way, let us now come closer home to S. Peter, whose words evidently import, that some of these heavens, or al of them, shal suffer a conflagration at the day of Christ. Not all of them, for, who ever put the Empyrean heaven into that reckoning? And for the Ethereall heaven, he that considereth the supereminent nature and immensity thereof, and of those innumerable bodies therein, in regard of which the whole sublunary world is but a point or center, & that it no way can be proved that ever those bodies received any curse for mans sin, or contagion by the worlds deluge, or that any enemies of God dwell

dwell in them to pollute them: he that conſidereth this wil not eaſily be induced to believe that the fire of the day of judgement ſhould burn them. It remaineth therefore that the ſublunary heavens only, with their *τοιχῆα* are to be the ſubject of this conflagration.

Theſe *heavens* (ſaith S. Peter) *λυθήσονται*, i. e. *ſolventur*, and their *τοιχῆα* ſhall melt with fervent heat: It is a Metaphor taken from the refining of mettals, *quæ igne ſolvuntur ut purificentur*: ſo that *ὁ ὕψους πυρὶ μὲντοι λυθήσονται*, is as much as *Cæli igne adhibito conflagrabitur*. This to be the meaning of *λυθήσονται* appears, becauſe S. Peter himſelf interprets *ſolvi* to be *liqueſieri*. For having in the tenth verſe ſaid *τοιχῆα λυθήσονται*, (i. e.) *ſolventur*, he in the twelfth verſe repeating it ſayes, *τοιχῆα τήνυσται*, (i. e.) *liqueſient*; Now *melting* is for refining and purifying. Nor is the word *πυρὶ μὲντοι* averſe from this notion, the LXX. uſing *πυρὶ* for the Hebrew *הַי* as in the Pſalms more than once: *The words of the Lord are as refined ſilver*, LXX. *ἀργύριον πεποιημένον*, Pſal. 12. and ſo elſewhere. But when the ſublunary heaven ſhall be thus refined, even the Ethereal lights of the Stars, of the Sun and Moon, &c. will appear to thoſe on earth much more glorious than now they do, as ſending their rayes through a purer *Medium*; ſo that all the world to us-ward ſhall be as it were renewed.

As for *παρελϋσονται* (or *paſſing away*) verſe 10. it is an Hebraiſme, ſignifying any change, or going of a thing from the ſtate wherein it was, and answers to the verbe *הָיָה*, which ſignifieth both *transire* and *permutari*, as *עָבַר* in Chaldianisme doth. And Schindler notes that Pſal. 102 the Arabick for *הָיָה* *mutabuntur*, hath *יַחַבְרִין* *transibunt*. In the twelfth verſe it is expounded by *λυθήσονται*, but *λυθήσονται* I have already ſhewed is commuted with *τηνῆσονται*; they therefore all three of them ſignifie one

and the same thing; and I see no reason why we should imagine a greater *emphasis* in παλεῦσθαι for an utter abolition in the destruction by fire, than is before implied in ἀπόλωτο, when he spake of the destruction by water: οὗ τότε κόσμος (inquit) ὕδατι κατακλυθεὶς ἀπάλειο.

But what shall become of the invisible host, which I named as part of the στρατῶνα of this sublunary heaven, viz. those πνευματικά τῆς σαρπείας, the army of wicked and unclean spirits: shall the fire of the last judgement touch these? I answer: Though the operation of the fire shall not be upon them to burn them, yet shall they also suffer by this fiery judgement, being thereby to be exiled and dejected from those high mansions, and bestowed in some lower place: for so that of Jude seemeth to imply, *The Angels* (saith he) *which kept not their first estate, but left their own (or proper) habitation, he hath reserved to (be bound with) everlasting chaines of darkness, at the judgement of the great day.* Vide Pilcat. in hunc locum.

And this seemes to me to be the most literal and unforced exposition of this description of Saint Peter, of the *heaven and earths* conflagration at the day of Christ, and so to be preferred before any other.

But if a *Prophetical* strain or scheme may here be admitted, there is another way of explication, which yet in the conclusion will come to the same purpose the former did, although the way thereto be not the same. And certainly our Saviour in the Gospel describing the coming of this day, useth a *Prophetical* expression: *The Sunne* (saith he) *shall be darkened, and the Moon shall not give her light, and the Starres shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken.* For if this be taken literally, whither shall the stars fall from heaven, which are either as big, or many times bigger than the globe of the earth, where shall be

room for them? if ſuch a ſcheme there be ſuppos'd in St. Peters deſcription, th'explication may be after this manner.

Mundus, or the *World*, (to omit other particular exceptions) is according to the Scriptures uſe, either *Mundus continens*, or *Mundus contentus*, (give me leave to uſe thoſe termes for diſtinction ſake:) By *Mundus continens* I mean the compages and frame of the Phyſical *heaven & earth*, wherein the reſt of the creatures are contained: By *Mundus contentus*, the ſtate or body of the inhabitants or Kingdoms of the earth. Now to whatſoever the notion of *Mundus* is applicable, there is alſo ſuppoſed to be an heaven and earth, as being the names and parts whereby the Scriptures expreſs the *World*. The *heaven* then of this *Political world* is the ſovereignty or ſovereign part thereof, whoſe hoſt and ſtars are the powers ruling in the *World*: In the higheſt place *Gods* and *Idols*; next, *Kings*, *Princes*, *Peers*, *Counſellours*, *Magiſtrates*, and other ſuch lights ſhining in the Firmament. And at ſuch a meaning and no other (it being an Oriental notion) may aime (for ought I can ſee) that ſuppoſed ſtutious ſtyle of *Sapores* King of *Persia* to *Constantius* the Emperour, *Rex Regum Sapores*, *frater ſolis & luna*, *particeps* (i.e. *ſocius*) *ſyderum*, *Constantio fratri ſalutem*. But to go on: *Earth* is the *Pezantry* or *vulgus hominum*, together with the terreſtrial creatures ſerving the uſe of man: Of ſuch an Heaven, as this is, the Lord ſpeaketh in the Propheſie of *Haggai*, cap. 2. v. 6. Yet once it is a little while, and I will ſhake all Nations, and the deſire of all Nations ſhall come. And again v. 21. I will ſhake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of Kingdoms, and I will deſtroy the ſtrength of the Kingdoms of the Heathen, &c. Of ſuch an heaven and earth ſpeaketh *Feremy*, c. 4. v. 23. I beheld the earth, and it was without form and void, (רחו ורבוה) and the heavens, & they had no light: viz. as if the *World* were turn'd into the old *Chaos* again, *Gen.* cap. 1. See the reſt.

rest which followeth. Of such Heavens & Earth speaketh the Lord in *Esay*, cap. 51. v. 15, 16. namely, of the Heavens and Earth of the World, or state of Israel. *I am* (saith he) *the Lord thy God, who divided the sea,* (to wit, the Red sea) *when the waters thereof roared; the Lord of Hosts in his name: And put my Word* (i. e. my Law) *in thy mouth, and covered thee in the shadow of my hand,* (i. e. protected thee in thy march to Canaan) *that I might plant the Heavens, and lay the foundations of the Earth,* (i. e. make thee a State, and build thee into a Political World) *and say unto Sion, thou art my people.* Of such a kind of Heaven speaks the same Prophet, cap. 34. v. 2, 4, 5. *The indignation of the Lord is upon all Nations, and his fury upon all their Armies, &c. And all the Host of Heaven shall be dissolved, and the Heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the Vine, and as a falling figge from the figge-tree. For my sword shall be bathed in Heaven: Behold it shall come down on Idumea, &c.* See the rest, & know that this destruction of Edom is prophesied of in no lesse hyperbolicall a strain by *Obadiah*, and *Jeremy* cap. 49. from v. 7. to 22. *Ezek.* 35. v. 4. & 25. 12. which I note, lest any man wondering at the *hyperbole* of this of *Esay*, should think it applicable only to the day of judgement. And that such schemes as these were usual to the Nations of the Orient, may appear not only by the Chymical Philosophy derived thence, (which makes heaven & earth & stars in every thing) but from the testimony of *Moses Maimonides*, who (*more Nebochim part. 2. cap. 29.*) affirms that the Arabians in his time in their vulgar speech, when they would express that a man was fallen into some great calamity or adversity, used to say, *Cælum ejus super terram ejus cecidit*: Compare *Lament.* 2. 1. No question these schemes were as familiar to them, as our Poets strains and expressions are to us, though of another *genius*: Ours are borrowed from fables, stories,

ſto-ries, places; theirs, more from the frame of the World, the Sunne, Moon, Stars, and Elements, &c.

If ſuch a notion of *Calum* and *Terra* may have place in this place of *Peter*, (and why may he not uttering a Propheſie borrow a Poetical ſtrain?) it may eaſily appear what Heaven and Earth the fire at Chriſts ſecond coming ſhall burn up and conſume, *viz.* the heaven and the earth of the contained world, ſuch as thoſe which the former judgement by water over-whelmed and deſtroyed; the VVorld of wicked ſtates and men, high ones & low ones, princes and peſants, man & beaſt; according to that twice repeated paſſage, *Eſay* 2. 11, 17. (which the ancient Jewes interpreted of the day of judgement) *The loftineſſe of man ſhall be bowed down, & the haughtineſſe of men ſhall be made low, & the Lord alone ſhal be exalted that day: And the Idols* (theſe are part of the hoſt of heaven we See the Apoſtolic ſpeak of) *he ſhal utterly abolish.* And of ſuch of the latter times heavens and *οὐρα* as theſe, it mattereth not though we underſtand an abſolute deſtruction (*viz.* of ſo much as ſhall be burned) as was in the deluge of *Noah*. And ſo likewiſe of the earth and works thereof. But whereas by the univerſal deluge, though only the *Mundus contentus* periſhed, yet notwithstanding the *Mundus continens* was therewith corrupted and depraved: In the deſtruction of fire it ſhall be otherwiſe; for the world of wicked ones being deſtroyed, the Heaven and the Earth which contained them ſhall be purged and refined, for the righteous to dwell therein. This Expoſition I put but in the ſecond place, becauſe, where the proper ſenſe of the letter may be kept, I prefer it before any other.

To conclude, if any there yet be, whom neither of the former expoſitions can ſatiſfie, but will needs have the fire and burning here ſpoken of, to be that whereby the World is to be utterly annihilated; It ſhould anſwer, that the day of

of judgement is a thousand yeers; and this fire, though it be to be *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, *in that day*, yet shall it not be in the beginning, but end thereof; the beginning being but a destruction of the enemies of Christ, and the Kingdome of Satan, and then a restauration: The end, a destruction of the whole creature it self by utter annihilation; and then St. Peters words, ver. 13. to be construed after this manner, *That howsoever the Heavens and the Earth shall at length be dissolved by fire, neverthelesse before that shall be, we look for a new Heaven and a new Earth* (i. e. a new World or restauration) *to precede this abolition, according to his promise,* Esay, 65. & 66.

But such an exposition, methinks, would not suit so well with that which I take to be St. Peters chiefest scope in this passage; nor with the words of the holy Prophets he pointeth at, which seem to speak only of such a fire, which should precede a restauration, and not of that which should cause an utter abolition of the World: And as concerning such an utter abolition of the whole frame of Heaven and Earth, after the Oeconomy of the Redemption & victory of Christ shall be finished, it seemeth to me a mystery which hath no bottome. Howsoever, I am not perswaded this place of St. Peter should mean any such thing. Those passages, *Job 14. 12. Psal. 102. 26. and Apoc. 20. 11.* may seem to be of more moment. And if any such annihilation shall be, it stands more with reason it should be by the immediate power of God, without the instrument of any creature, than by fire; and that he who at first brought it out of nothing without any creatures help, should reduce it to nothing again without the help of any creature.

Δεῖξά τῷ Θεῷ τὴν παντοκράτορι.

Δεῖξά τῷ Θεῷ τὴν παντοκράτορι.